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LUCIUS ANNAEUS FLORUS
EPITOME OF ROMAN HISTORY

CORNELIUS NEPOS

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CORNELIUS NEPOS

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LUCIUS ANNAEUS FLORUS

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LUCIUS ANNAEUS FLORUS

EPITOME OF ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

EDWARD SEYMOUR FORSTER, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

TO

MY WIFE

INTRODUCTION

The Author

Remarkably little is known of the author of the *Epitome;* even his correct name is quite uncertain. Most recent editors give him the name of L. Annaeus Florus, which is found in the title of the work in the *Codex Palatinus* 894, rejecting the name Julius Florus, which occurs in the title of the *Codex Bambergensis*, on the grounds that the absence of any *praenomen* is suspicious and that the name Julius may well be due to a corruption.[1] It is not impossible, however, that none of the titles given in the MSS. are correct, and that the author of the *Epitome* is identical with the P. Annius Florus who was a poet and a friend of Hadrian (Spartianus, *Hadr.* 16) and author of the Dialogue *Vergilius orator an poeta*, part of the introduction of which has been preserved in a MS. at Brussels and is appended to the editions of Halm and Rossbach. He may have been a relative of Seneca, Lucan and Pomponius Mela. The Brussels fragment gives us some biographical detail about its author. He was born, we are told, in Africa and as a boy took part at Rome under Domitian in the Capitoline Competition, but was unsuccessful owing to favouritism; in disgust at

[1] See Rossbach in the Teubner text, pp. xliii.

his failure, he travelled abroad for a time, eventually settling down at Tarraco in Spain and adopting the profession of letters. He must subsequently have migrated to in Rome in the principate of Hadrian.

The *Epitome* itself contains no internal evidence about the life of its author except as to the date at which he composed the work. He states (I. Introd., 8) that a period of not much less than two hundred years had elapsed since Caesar Augustus (*a Caesare Augusto in saeculum nostrum haud multo minus anni ducenti*). It is difficult to decide how to interpret the words *a Caesare Augusto*. It would perhaps be most natural to take 27 B.C., the date of the foundation of the Principate, as the *floruit* of Augustus, in which case the composition of the *Epitome* would fall in the Principate of Marcus Aurelius. If, on the other hand, we may take the birth of Augustus in 63 B.C. as the beginning of the period of two hundred years, the date of the composition will fall in the second half of the Principate of Hadrian, a date which is consistent with the identification of the author as the literary friend of Hadrian.

The Work

The *Epitome* is an abridgment of Roman History with special reference to the wars waged by the Roman people from the foundation of the city down to the age of Augustus. In the MSS. it is described as an epitome of Livy, and no doubt owes much to that author, who is sometimes quoted *verbatim*, but Livy is by no means the only source, and Florus frequently makes statements which are at variance with those of Livy. The works of Sallust and

Caesar were certainly employed by the epitomist, and there are reminiscences of Vergil and Lucan. There is reason to suppose the *Histories* of the elder Seneca were also used as a source. It is probable that Florus imitated the division of the history of Rome into four ages—infancy, youth, manhood and old age—from this writer, who, according to Lactantius (*Inst. Div.* VII, 15, 4), employed this division.

The work was deliberately planned as a panegyric of the Roman people, and interprets events, wherever it is possible, in a sense favourable to the Romans. The author is strikingly free of any political bias, except that in the Civil War he appears to side with Julius Caesar rather than with Pompeius.

The Bamberg MS. adopts a division, which has been followed by most editors, into two books, the first dealing with the growth and establishment of the empire, and the second with its decline, the Gracchan age forming the line of division.

Though not ineffective as giving a general sketch of Roman History, the work is inaccurate in detail and full of inconsistencies and errors both chronological and geographical. The author possesses a certain literary gift, often, however, marred by a strong tendency to rhetoric, which, though occasionally felicitous, more frequently shows itself in fantastic exaggeration and empty bombast. The author's love of brevity too often leads to obscurity, and the constant insertion of exclamatory remarks and the poverty of vocabulary are irritating characteristics.

The *Epitome* once enjoyed—perhaps owing to its rhetorical character—a considerable popularity and

was widely used as a school-book as late as the end of the seventeenth century. The Elzevir Press alone published six editions between the years 1638 and 1674.

The Text

It is now generally recognized that the best MS. of Florus is the *Codex Bambergensis* E III 22 (*B*), which dates from the beginning of the ninth century. Its importance was first pointed out by Seebode in 1821, but Otto Jahn was the first editor to make full use of it in the Teubner edition of 1852. It has also been collated by Halm and Rossbach. It is written on parchment and contains also the *History* of Dares Phrygius and the *Breviarium* of Festus.

The *Codex Bambergensis* ends abruptly at *profundo,* ten words before the end of II, 33, and the preceding passage beginning at *recreatus,* twenty-six words before the end of II, 32, is written in rather darker ink by a later hand (B^1), which also added several omitted passages (I, Introduction 1, *Populus* to 3, *videantur;* II, 1, 1, *seditionum* to 2, *gentium;* II, 29, *sarmatae* to *pacem;* II, 30, 34, *tres legiones* to 36, *patronos;* II, 31, *Haec* to *victoria fuit,* and inserted the headings and lists of chapters, besides making minor corrections throughout the text. It seems certain that B^1 had the same original before him, adding passages where *B* had been unable to decipher the MS., and making corrections where *B* had erred; his readings, therefore, are to be regarded as worthy of every consideration. Another hand (B^2) made a smaller number of less

important corrections in the eleventh or twelfth century.

The *Codex Bambergensis* stands in a class by itself; the other existing MSS. belong to one family. The oldest of these is the *Codex Palatinus Latinus* 894 (*N*), formerly in the Library of the Monastery of St. Nazarius at Lorsch, and therefore often known as the Codex Nazarianus. It is written on parchment and dates from the end of the ninth century. It has corrections, no doubt taken from the same archetype, by the same hand that wrote the original, and by a later hand of the twelfth century which sometimes emends small errors but more often introduces corrupt readings. It has been collated by Jahn (in a somewhat summary manner), by Wölflein and by Rossbach

The third MS. of first-rate importance is the *Codex Leidensis Vossianus* 14 (*L*), written on parchment in a fine hand of the eleventh century. It is closely related to *N*, but contains too many discrepancies to be derived directly from it.

Other MSS. of the same class are :—

The *Codex Palatinus Heidelbergensis* 1568 (*Palat.*) of the eleventh century;

The *Codex Harleianus* 2620 (*Harl.*), in the British Museum, of the thirteenth century;

The *Codex Monacensis* 6392 (*Monac.*) of the eleventh century;

The *Codex Parisinus* 5802 (*Paris.* 5802), which is known to have been used by Petrarch, and the *Codex Parisinus* 7701 (*Paris.* 7701), both of the twelfth century.

The *Codex Leidensis Vossianus* 77 (*Voss.*); and

The *Codex Vratislaviensis Rehdigeranus* R78 (*Rehd.*), of the fifteenth century but containing some excellent corrections.

Another important authority for the text of Florus is the work of the historian *Jordanes* (I), a Goth, who in the middle of the sixth century wrote a work entitled *De summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum*, in which he made extensive use of Florus; he copies him, with a few omissions and alterations, for the period down to the Macedonian wars (Florus, I, 1–28), and again for the Parthian war (I, 46), the war against Antony and Cleopatra (II, 21), and the wars of Augustus (II, 22–27). Although the MS. of Florus which Jordanes used was much older than *B*, it was closely allied to it and has many faults in common with it, and only occasionally provides a better reading. Jordanes is a somewhat uncertain guide: he himself confesses that he was *agrammaticus*, and he sometimes misunderstands his authorities; but where he confirms the reading of *B*, as he often does, his testimony is of great value. His work has been preserved in several MSS., of which the *Codex Heidelbergensis* and the *Codex Pollingensis* are the most important.

For the text of the present edition *B* is taken as the basis, and the *apparatus criticus* aims at giving the authority, whether of an MS. or of an editor, for any important variations from the readings of *B* which have been inserted in the text. In order not to overburden the *apparatus criticus*, where the reading of *B* has been adopted, none of the variants which may be presented by the other MSS. are

usually mentioned, and small corrections of orthography have not been noted. Readers who require a complete *apparatus criticus* should consult the edition of Rossbach.

Bibliography

The following are the principal editions of Florus :—

Editio Princeps, without date or place (Paris, *circa* 1470).
Addus : Venice, 1521.
E. Vinetus : Poitiers, 1554.
C. Salmasius : Heidelberg, 1609.
J. Freinsheim : Strassburg, 1632.
J. G. Graevius : Utrecht, 1680.
C. A. Duker : Leyden, 1722.
G. Seebode : Leipzig, 1821.
O. Jahn : Leipzig, 1852.
C. Halm : Leipzig, 1854.
O. Rossbach : Leipzig, 1896.

Florus has been translated into English by J. Davies (1670; a version which was re-issued in 1672 with corrections by Casaubon), and by J. S. Watson in Bohn's Classical Library.

I wish to express my warmest thanks to my colleague, Professor W. C. Summers, Firth Professor of Latin in the University of Sheffield, who kindly read through the translation in MS. His suggestions have enabled me to make improvements on practically every page of the book.

Edw. S. Forster.

LUCIUS ANNAEUS FLORUS

L. ANNAEI FLORI

EPITOMAE DE TITO LIVIO BELLORVM OMNIVM ANNORVM DCC LIBRI II

Capita Libri I[1]

I. A Romulo tempora regum VII.
II. Anaceφalaeosis eorum temporum.
III. De mutatione rei publicae.
IIII. Bellum Etruscum cum rege Porsenna.
V. Bellum Latinum.
VI. Bellum cum Etruscis Faliscis Veientibus Fidenatibus.
VII. Bellum Gallicum.
VIII. Bella Gallica.
VIIII. Bellum Latinum.
X. Bellum Sabinum.
XI. Bellum Samniticum.
XII. Bellum Etruscum Samniticum Gallicum.
XIII. Bellum Tarentinum.
XIIII. Bellum Picens.
XV. Bellum Sallentinum.
XVI. Bellum Volsiniense.
XVII. De seditionibus.
XVIII. Bellum Punicum primum.
XVIIII. Bellum Liguricum.
XX. Bellum Gallicum.
XXI. Bellum Illyricum.
XXII. Bellum Punicum secundum.
XXIII. Bellum Macedonicum primum.

[1] Epithoma Iuli Flori de Tito Liuio · bellorum omnium · annorum septingentorum · libri · N · duo · feliciter *B*: L · Annei · Flori · epitoma de Tito Liuio · incipit liber primus · lege feliciter *N*: Incjpit liber primus epitomarum Annei Flori · detitoliuio *L*.

LUCIUS ANNAEUS FLORUS

THE TWO BOOKS OF THE EPITOME, EXTRACTED FROM TITUS LIVIUS, OF ALL THE WARS OF SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS

The Chapters of Book I

I. The Period of the Seven Kings, beginning with Romulus.
II. Recapitulation of the rule of the Seven Kings.
III. On the change of government.
IIII. The Etruscan War against King Porsenna.
V. The Latin War.
VI. The War with the Etruscans, Falisci, Veientines and Fidenates.
VII. The War with the Gauls.
VIII. Further Wars with the Gauls.
VIIII. The Latin War.
X. The Sabine War.
XI. The Samnite War.
XII. The War against the Etruscans, Samnites and Gauls.
XIII. The Tarentine War.
XIIII. The Picenian War.
XV. The Sallentine War.
XVI. The Volsinian War.
XVII. Of Civil Discords.
XVIII. The First Punic War.
XVIIII. The Ligurian War.
XX. The Gallic War.
XXI. The Illyrian War.
XXII. The Second Punic War.
XXIII. The First Macedonian War.

XXIIII. Bellum Syriacum regis Antiochi.
XXV. Bellum Aetolum.
XXVI. Bellum Histricum.
XXVII. Bellum Gallograecum.
XXVIII. Bellum Macedonicum secundum.
XXVIIII. Bellum Illyricum secundum.
XXX. Bellum Macedonicum tertium.
XXXI. Bellum Punicum tertium.
XXXII. Bellum Achaicum.
XXXIII. Res in Hispania gestae.
XXXIIII. Bellum Numantinum.
XXXV. Bellum Asiaticum.
XXXVI. Bellum Iugurthinum.
XXXVII. Bellum Allobrogum.
XXXVIII. Bellum Cimbricum Teutonicum Tigurinum.
XXXVIIII. Bellum Thracicum.
XL. Bellum Mithridaticum.
XLI. Bellum piraticum.
XLII. Bellum Creticum.
XLIII. Bellum Balearicum.
XLIIII. Expeditio in Cyprum.
XLV. Bellum Gallicum.
XLVI. Bellum Parthicum.
XLVII. Anaceφalaeosis.

I. A Romvlo Tempora Regvm Septem

Populus Romanus a rege Romulo in Caesarem Augustum septingentos per annos tantum operum pace belloque gessit, ut, si quis magnitudinem imperii cum annis conferat, aetatem ultra putet. 2 Ita late per orbem terrarum arma circumtulit, ut qui res illius legunt non unius populi, sed generis humani facta condiscant. Tot in laboribus periculisque iactatus est, ut ad constituendum eius im-

XXIIII. The Syrian War against King Antiochus.
XXV. The Aetolian War.
XXVI. The Istrian War.
XXVII. The Gallo-Greek War.
XXVIII. The Second Macedonian War.
XXVIIII. The Second Illyrian War.
XXX. The Third Macedonian War.
XXXI. The Third Punic War.
XXXII. The Achaean War.
XXXIII. Operations in Spain.
XXXIIII. The Numantine War.
XXXV. The Asiatic War.
XXXVI. The Jugurthine War.
XXXVII. The War with the Allobroges.
XXXVIII. The War with the Cimbri, Teutones and Tigurini.
XXXVIIII. The Thracian War.
XL. The Mithridatic War.
XLI. The War against the Pirates.
XLII. The Cretan War.
XLIII. The Balearic War.
XLIIII. The Expedition to Cyprus.
XLV. The Gallic War.
XLVI. The Parthian War.
XLVII. Recapitulation.

I. The Period of the Seven Kings, beginning with Romulus

The Roman people during the seven hundred years, from the time of King Romulus down to that of Caesar Augustus, achieved so much in peace and war that, if a man were to compare the greatness of their empire with its years, he would consider its size as out of all proportion to its age. So widely have they extended their arms throughout the world, that those who read of their exploits are learning the history, not of a single people, but of the human race. By so many toils and dangers

perium contendisse Virtus et Fortuna videantur.
3 Qua re cum, si quid aliud, hoc quoque operae pretium sit cognoscere, tamen quia ipsa sibi obstat magnitudo rerumque diversitas aciem intentionis abrumpit, faciam quod solent, qui terrarum situs pingunt: in brevi quasi tabella totam eius imaginem amplectar, non nihil, ut spero, ad admirationem principis populi conlaturus, si pariter atque insemel universam magnitudinem eius ostendero.

4 Si quis ergo populum Romanum quasi unum hominem consideret totamque eius aetatem percenseat, ut coeperit utque adoleverit, ut quasi ad quandam iuventae frugem pervenerit, ut postea velut consenuerit, quattuor gradus processusque
5 eius inveniet. Prima aetas[1] sub regibus fuit prope per annos quadringentos, quibus circum urbem ipsam cum finitimis luctatus est. Haec erit eius infantia.
6 Sequens a Bruto Collatinoque consulibus in Appium Claudium Quintum Fulvium consules centum quinquaginta annis patet, quibus Italiam subegit. Hoc fuit tempus viris armis incitatissimum, ideoque
7 quis adulescentiam dixerit. Deinceps ad Caesarem Augustum centum et quinquaginta anni, quibus totum orbem pacavit. Hic iam ipsa iuventus imperii
8 et quasi robusta maturitas. A Caesare Augusto in

[1] gradus—aetas *NL*: quattuor gradibus romae aetas *B*.

---

[1] *i.e.* as geographers represent the world in a map.

[2] This number is clearly wrong, since Brutus and Collatinus were Consuls in 509 B.C., Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius in 212 B.C.

have they been buffeted that Valour and Fortune seem to have competed to establish the Roman empire. So, as the history of Rome is especially worthy of study, yet because the very vastness of the subject is a hindrance to the knowledge of it, and the diversity of its topics distracts the keenness of the attention, I intend to follow the example of those who describe the geography of the earth, and include a complete representation of my subject as it were in a small picture.[1] I shall thus, I hope, contribute something to the admiration in which this illustrious people is held by displaying their greatness all at once in a single view.

If anyone were to contemplate the Roman people as he would a single individual and review its whole life, how it began, how it grew up, how it arrived at what may be called the maturity of its manhood, and how it subsequently as it were reached old age, he will find that it went through four stages of progress. The first period, when it was under the rule of kings, lasted for nearly four hundred years, during which it struggled against its neighbours in the immediate vicinity of the capital. This period will be its infancy. Its next period extends from the consulship of Brutus and Collatinus to that of Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius, a space of one hundred and fifty years,[2] during which the Roman people subjugated Italy. It was an age of extreme activities for its soldiers and their arms, and may therefore be called its youth. The next period is the hundred and fifty years down to the time of Augustus Caesar, during which it spread peace throughout the world. This was the manhood and, as it were, the robust maturity of the empire. From the time of Caesar

saeculum nostrum haud multo minus anni ducenti, quibus inertia Caesarum quasi consenuit atque decoxit, nisi quod sub Traiano principe movit lacertos et praeter spem omnium senectus imperii quasi reddita iuventute reviruit.

1 Primus ille et urbis et imperii conditor Romulus
2 fuit, Marte genitus et Rhea Silvia. Hoc de se sacerdos gravida confessa est, nec mox fama dubitavit, cum Amulli regis imperio iactatus in profluentem cum Remo fratre non potuit extingui.
3 Si quidem et Tiberinus amnem repressit, et relictis catulis lupa secuta vagitum uber admovit infantibus matremque egit. Sic repertos apud arborem Faustulus regii gregis pastor tulit in casam atque
4 educavit. Alba tum erat Latio caput, Iuli opus; nam Lavinium patris Aeneae contempserat. Ab his Amullius iam septima subole regnabat, fratre pulso
5 Numitore, cuius ex filia Romulus. Igitur statim prima iuventutis face patruum ab arce deturbat, avum reponit. Ipse fluminis amator et montium, apud quos erat educatus, moenia novae urbis agi-
6 tabat. Gemini erant; uter auspicaretur et regeret,

---

[1] See Introduction, p. x.

Augustus down to our own age there has been a period of not much less than two hundred years,[1] during which, owing to the inactivity of the emperors, the Roman people, as it were, grew old and lost its potency, save that under the rule of Trajan it again stirred its arms and, contrary to general expectation, again renewed its vigour with youth as it were restored.

1. The first founder both of the city and of the empire was Romulus, the son of Mars and Rhea Silvia. That Mars was his father the priestess confessed when she was pregnant, and presently common report no longer doubted it when, by order of King Amulius, Romulus was thrown with his brother Remus into the river: but his life could not be destroyed; for not only did the Tiber stay its stream, but a she-wolf left her young to follow the infants' cries, offered them her udder and played the part of mother to them. Finding them in these circumstances under a tree, Faustulus, the shepherd of the royal flock, took them to his cottage and brought them up. Alba was at that time the chief city of Latium, having been built by Iulus; for he had disdained Lavinium, the city of his father Aeneas. Amulius, of the seventh generation from Aeneas and Iulus, was reigning, having driven out his brother Numitor, whose daughter was mother of Romulus. Romulus, therefore, in the first ardour of youth, expelled his uncle from the citadel and restored his grandfather. He himself, being a lover of the river and mountains amongst which he had been brought up, conceived the idea of building a new city. As he and Remus were twins, they resolved to call in the help of the gods to decide which of them should

adhibere placuit deos. Remus montem Aventinum, hic Palatinum occupat. Prius ille sex vulturios,
7 hic postea, sed duodecim videt. Sic victor augurio urbem excitat, plenus spei bellatricem fore; id
8 adsuetae sanguine et praeda aves pollicebantur. Ad tutelam novae urbis sufficere vallum videbatur, cuius dum angustias Remus increpat saltu, dubium[1] an iussu fratris, occisus est: prima certe victima fuit munitionemque urbis novae sanguine suo consecravit.

Imaginem urbis magis quam urbem fecerat; in-
9 colae deerant. Erat in proximo lucus; hunc asylum facit, et statim mira vis hominum; Latini Tuscique pastores, quidam etiam transmarini, Phryges qui sub Aenea, Arcades qui sub Evandro duce influxerant. ita ex variis quasi elementis congregavit corpus
10 unum, populumque Romanum ipse fecit rex.[2] Erat unius aetatis populus virorum. Itaque matrimonia a finitimis petita, quia non inpetrabantur, manu capta sunt. Simulatis quippe ludis equestribus virgines, quae ad spectaculum venerant, praedae fuere: et haec statim causa bellorum. Pulsi fugatique
11 Veientes. Caeninensium captum ac direptum est

[1] increpat saltu dubium *NL*: increpat saltu transiluit dubium *B*.

[2] rex *Iordanis cod. Rehd.*: res *BINL*.

inaugurate the city and rule there. Remus took his stand on the Aventine, Romulus on the Palatine hill. Remus first observed six vultures, Romulus was after him in time but saw twelve. Being thus victorious in augury, he began to build the city, full of hope that it would prove warlike; for the birds, accustomed to blood and prey, seemed to indicate this. It was thought that a rampart was enough for the protection of the new city. In derision of its small size Remus leaped over it and was put to death for doing so, whether by his brother's order or not is uncertain; at any rate he was the first victim and hallowed the fortification of the new city with his blood.

Romulus had brought into being the idea of a city rather than an actual city; for inhabitants were lacking. There was in the neighbourhood a grove, and this he made a place of refuge; and immediately an extraordinary number of men flocked thither—Latin and Tuscan shepherds, and even men from across the sea, Phrygians who had entered the country under Aeneas, and Arcadians who had come with Evander. Thus he gathered together a single body consisting of various ingredients and, as king, himself created the Roman people. But a population consisting solely of men could only last for a single lifetime; wives were, therefore, demanded from the neighbouring peoples and, when they were refused, were seized by force. For, a pretence being made of holding horse-races, the maidens who had come to look on were carried off. This immediately gave rise to wars. The Veientines were defeated and put to flight; the city of Caenina was captured and plundered. Moreover, Romulus with his own

oppidum. Spolia insuper opima de rege Agrone
12 Feretrio Iovi manibus suis rex reportavit. Sabinis proditae portae per virginem Tarpeiam. Haec dolose[1] pretium rei quae gerebant in sinistris petiverat, dubium clipeos an armillas; illi, ut et fidem
13 solverent et ulciscerentur, clipeis obruere. Ita admissis intra moenia hostibus, atrox in ipso foro pugna, adeo ut Romulus Iovem oraret, foedam suorum fugam sisteret; hinc templum et Stator
14 Iuppiter. Tandem furentibus intervenere raptae laceris comis. Sic pax facta cum Tatio foedusque percussum, secutaque res mira dictu, ut relictis sedibus suis novam in urbem hostes demigrarent et cum generis suis avitas opes pro dote sociarent.
15 Auctis brevi viribus, hunc rex sapientissimus statum rei publicae inposuit: iuventus divisa per tribus in equis et armis ad subita belli excubaret, consilium rei publicae penes senes esset, qui ex auctoritate
16 patres, ob aetatem senatus vocabantur.[2] His ita ordinatis repente, cum contionem haberet ante urbem aput Caprae paludem, e conspectu ablatus
17 est. Discerptum aliqui a senatu putant ob asperius

[1] haec dolose *Rossbachius*: non dolo sed puella *B I*: nec dolos sed puella *N*.
[2] vocabantur: vocabatur *B I*.

---

[1] Jupiter as the "Striker" of his enemies.
[2] The King of the Sabines.
[3] *i.e.* men between the ages of twenty and forty.
[4] *Senatus* from *senes*, "old men."

hands bore to Jupiter Feretrius[1] the "spoils of honour" won from their king Agron. To the Sabines the gates of Rome were betrayed by the maiden Tarpeia. She had craftily demanded as the reward of her act the objects which they carried on their left arms—it is doubtful whether the words meant their shields or their bracelets; they, in order both to fulfil their promise and to take vengeance upon her, overwhelmed her with their shields. The enemy having been thus admitted within the walls, so fierce a battle took place in the very forum that Romulus prayed to Jupiter to stay the disgraceful flight of his men; in commemoration of this a temple was erected and Jupiter received the title of "the Stayer of flight." At last the women who had been carried off, with their hairs dishevelled, interposed between the furious combatants. Thus peace was made and a treaty concluded with Tatius[2]; and a wonderful event followed, namely, that the enemy left their homes and migrated to the new city and, by way of dowering their daughters, shared their ancestral wealth with their sons-in-law. Their strength rapidly growing, the king very wisely imposed the following new organization upon the State: the young men[3] were divided into tribes and were to keep watch with arms and horses against any unexpected attack, while the policy of the State was to be in the hands of the old men, who were called "fathers" from the authority which they exercised, and from their age "the senate."[4] After making these arrangements, Romulus was suddenly borne away from human sight while he was holding an assembly near the lake of the She-goat. Some think he was torn to pieces by the Senate because

ingenium; sed oborta tempestas solisque defectio
18 consecrationis speciem praebuere. Cui mox Iulius Proculus fidem fecit, visum a se Romulum adfirmans augustiore forma quam fuisset; mandare praeterea ut se pro numine acciperent; Quirinum in caelo vocari; placitum dis ut gentium Roma poteretur.

2 Succedit Romulo Numa Pompilius, quem Curibus Sabinis agentem ultro petiverunt ob inclitam viri
2 religionem. Ille sacra et caerimonias omnemque cultum deorum inmortalium docuit, ille pontifices, augures, Salios ceteraque sacerdotia, annumque in
3 duodecim menses, fastos dies nefastosque discripsit,[1] ille ancilia atque Palladium, secreta quaedam imperii pignora, Ianumque geminum, fidem pacis ac belli, in primis focum Vestae virginibus colendum dedit, ut ad simulacrum caelestium siderum custos imperii flamma vigilaret: haec omnia quasi monitu
4 deae Egeriae, quo magis barbari acciperent. Eo denique ferocem populum redegit, ut, quod vi et iniuria occuparat imperium, religione atque iustitia gubernaret.

3 Excipit Pompilium Numam Tullus Hostilius, cui

[1] discripsit *NI*: descripsit *BL*.

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[1] Priests of Mars.

[2] The sacred shields were said to have fallen from heaven, and were in the charge of the Salii in the Temple of Mars; the Palladium, an image of Pallas (Minerva), was reputed to have been saved at the sack of Troy.

of his excessive harshness; but a storm which arose and an eclipse of the sun created the impression that he had been deified. This belief was strengthened when Julius Proculus declared that Romulus had appeared to him in a form more majestic than he had possessed in his lifetime, and also commanded that they should regard him as a deity, and declared that his name in heaven was Quirinus, and that it was the will of the gods that Rome should rule over the world.

2. The successor of Romulus was Numa Pompilius, whom, while he was living at Cures in the territory of the Sabines, the Romans of their own accord invited to become king owing to the fame of his piety. He instructed them in sacred rites and ceremonies and all the worship of the immortal gods; he established pontiffs, augurs, the Salii,[1] and the other priesthoods; he divided the year into twelve months and appointed the days upon which the courts could and could not meet; he gave them the sacred shields and the Palladium,[2] the mystic tokens of empire, and the double-faced Janus, the symbol of peace and war; above all he handed over the care of the hearth of Vesta to the Vestal Virgins, that the flame, imitating the heavenly stars, might keep guardian watch over the empire. All these arrangements he attributed to the advice of the goddess Egeria, so that his barbarous subjects might accept them with greater willingness. In a word, he induced a fierce people to rule with piety and justice an empire which they had acquired by violence and injustice.

3. Numa Pompilius was succeeded by Tullus Hostilius, to whom the kingship was voluntarily

in honorem virtutis regnum ultro datum. Hic omnem militarem disciplinam artemque bellandi
2 condidit. Itaque mirum in modum exercitata[1] iuventute provocare ausus Albanos, gravem et diu
3 principem populum. Sed cum pari robore frequentibus proeliis utrique comminuerentur, misso in conpendium bello, Horatiis Curiatiisque, trigeminis hinc atque inde fratribus, utriusque populi fata
4 permissa sunt. Anceps et pulchra contentio exituque ipso mirabilis. Tribus quippe illinc volneratis, hinc duobus occisis, qui supererat Horatius addito ad virtutem dolo, ut distraheret hostem, simulat fugam singulosque, prout sequi poterant, adortus exuperat.
5 Sic—rarum alias decus—unius manu parta victoria est, quam ille mox parricidio foedavit. Flentem spolia circa se sponsi quidem, sed hostis, sororem viderat. Hunc tam inmaturum amorem virginis
6 ultus est ferro. Citavere leges nefas, sed abstulit virtus parricidium,[2] et facinus infra gloriam fuit.

Nec diu in fide[3] Albanus. Nam Fidenate bello missi[4] in auxilium ex foedere medii inter duos
7 expectavere fortunam. Sed rex callidus ubi inclinare socios ad hostem videt, tollit animos, quasi man-

[1] exercitata *Iordanis cod. Emmeranus*: exercitate *B*: exercita *N*.
[2] parricidium *Iordanis cod. Emmeranus*: parricidam *B I N L*.
[3] nec diu in fide *L I*: nec desit deinde *B*.
[4] missi *L*: misit *B N I*.

offered out of respect for his worth. It was he who founded all military discipline and the art of warfare. So when he had wondrously trained the soldiers of Rome, he ventured to challenge the Albans, an important and for a long time a leading people. But when both sides, possessed of equal strength, were becoming weakened by frequent battles, the fortunes of the two peoples were entrusted, as a method of shortening the war, to the Horatii and Curiatii, triplets of brothers on either side. It was a well-contested and noble struggle and remarkable in the manner of its end. For when three had been wounded on one side and two killed on the other, the surviving Horatius, adding craft to valour, pretended flight in order to separate his adversaries, and attacking them singly, in the order in which they were able to follow him, overcame them. In this way (an honour rarely won on any other occasion) victory was achieved by one man's hand—a hand which he soon afterwards sullied by murder. He had noticed his sister weeping because he wore the spoils of one who, though he was her betrothed, was her country's foe. The maiden's girlish affection he punished with the sword. Justice arraigned the crime, but his valour saved him from the penalty for murder, and his guilt was accounted less than the glory which he had won.

The Alban people were not long true to their allegiance. For in the war against Fidenae the contingent sent according to the treaty remained neutral and waited to see what fortune would bring. But the crafty king, when he saw that his allies were inclined to join the enemy, raised the spirit of his men by giving out that they did so by

dasset: spes inde nostris, metus hostibus. Sic fraus
8 proditorum irrita fuit. Itaque hoste victo ruptorem
foederis Mettum Fufetium religatum inter duos
currus pernicibus equis distrahit, Albamque ipsam
9 quamvis parentem, aemulam tamen diruit, cum
prius omnes opes urbis ipsumque populum Romam
transtulisset; prorsus ut consanguinea civitas non
perisse, sed in suum corpus redisse rursus videretur.
4 Ancus deinde Marcius, nepos Pompilii ex filia,
2 pari avo[1] ingenio. Igitur et muro moenia amplexus
est, et interfluentem urbi Tiberinum ponte com-
misit, Ostiamque in ipso maris fluminisque confinio
coloniam posuit; iam tum videlicet praesagiens
animo futurum ut totius mundi opes et commeatus
illo velut maritimo urbis hospitio reciperentur.
5 Tarquinius postea Priscus, quamvis transmarinae
originis, regnum ultro petens[2] accepit ob industriam
atque elegantiam; quippe qui oriundus Corintho
2 Graecum ingenium Italicis artibus miscuisset. Hic
et senatus maiestatem numero ampliavit, et centuriis
tribus auxit equites[3] quatenus Attius Naevius
numerum augeri[4] prohibebat, vir summus augurio.
3 Quem rex in experimentum rogavit, fierine posset,

[1] pari avo *F. E. Koehlerus*: pravo *N*: raro *B*.
[2] petens: potens *B*.
[3] equites *add. Iahnius*.
[4] augeri *L I*: augure *B*.

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[1] From Liv. I. 36, 2 (cp. Cic. *de rep.* 2, 36), it is clear that Tarquinius had wished to add three new centuries, but, owing to Attius' opposition, had to be content with doubling the number of knights in each century (cp. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. p. 107[3]). *Centuriis* must, therefore, be a dative, or else we must read ⟨*in*⟩*centuriis* with Sauppe.

his orders; this aroused hope in the minds of our soldiers and fear in those of the enemy. Thus the deceit of the traitors proved fruitless. So after the defeat of the enemy Tullus bound Mettus Fufetius, the violator of the treaty, between two chariots, and tore him asunder with swift horses. The city of Alba itself, the parent of Rome but also its rival, he destroyed, after first transferring all its wealth and the inhabitants themselves to Rome, in order that thus a kindred State might seem not to have perished but to have been reunited to the body to which it belonged.

4. The next king was Ancus Marcius, a grandson of Pompilius through his daughter, a man of a disposition like that of his grandfather. He both surrounded the city with a wall and built a bridge over the Tiber which flows through it. He also planted a colony at Ostia where the sea and river join, even then evidently foreseeing that it would form as it were the maritime store-house of the capital and would receive the wealth and supplies of the whole world.

5. After him Tarquinius Priscus, though sprung from a country across the seas, petitioned for the kingdom on his own account, and obtained it because of his industry and refinement; for, having been born at Corinth, he had combined the intellect of a Greek with the qualities of an Italian. He augmented the dignity of the senate by raising its numbers and increased the number of knights in the three centuries, since Attius Naevius, a man much skilled in augury, forbade the number of centuries to be increased.[1] By way of testing this man, the king asked him whether what he had

4 quod ipse mente conceperat. Ille rem expertus augurio, posse respondit. "Atqui hoc" inquit "agitaram, an[1] cotem illam secare novacula possem"; [2] 5 et augur "potes ergo," inquit, et secuit. Inde Romanis sacer auguratus. Neque pace Tarquinius quam bello promptior; duodecim namque Tusciae 6 populos frequentibus armis subegit. Inde fasces, trabeae, curules, anuli, phalerae, paludamenta, praetextae, inde quod aureo curru, quattuor equis triumphatur, togae pictae tunicaeque palmatae, omnia denique decora et insignia, quibus imperii dignitas eminet,[3] sumpta sunt.

6 Servius Tullius deinceps gubernacula urbis invadit, nec obscuritas inhibuit quamvis matre serva creatum. Nam eximiam indolem uxor Tarquinii Tanaquil liberaliter educaverat, et clarum fore visa 2 circa caput flamma promiserat. Ergo inter Tarquinii mortem adnitente regina substitutus in locum regis quasi in tempus, regnum dolo partum sic 3 egit industrie, ut iure adeptus videretur. Ab hoc populus Romanus relatus in censum, digestus in classes, decuriis atque collegiis distributus, summaque regis sollertia ita est ordinata res publica, ut omnia patrimonii, dignitatis,[4] aetatis, artium

[1] an *om. BI.* [2] possem: posse *BI.*
[3] ea *ante* sumpta *add. B*: *del. Iahnius.*
[4] dignitatis: dignitas *B.*

conceived in his mind was possible of execution. He made trial by augury and replied that it was possible. "Well, but that I had thought of," replied the king, "was this, whether I could cut this whetstone with a razor." To which the augur replied, "Then you can do it"; and the king cut it. Hence augury became a sacred practice among the Romans. Tarquinius was quite as able in war as in peace; for he subdued the twelve peoples of Etruria by frequent attacks. It was from them that were derived the fasces, robes of State, official chairs, rings, horse-trappings, military cloaks, purple-bordered togas, the practice of riding in triumph in a gilded car drawn by four horses, embroidered robes and tunics adorned with palms—in fact all the ornaments and insignia which serve to emphasize the dignity of office.

6. Servius Tullius next entered upon the government of the city, nor was the obscurity of his birth (for his mother was a slave) any hindrance to his advancement. For Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius, had trained his extraordinary abilities by a liberal education, and had foretold his future distinction from a flame which was seen playing round his head. And so, through the efforts made by the queen when Tarquinius was on his death-bed, he was put in the king's place on the pretence of a temporary measure, and filled the position, thus obtained by craft, with so much diligence that he seemed to have acquired it by right. It was by him that the Roman people were entered on a census-roll and arranged in classes, being distributed into divisions and corporations, and by the king's extraordinary skill the State was so organized that all distinctions of inheritance, dignity, age, employ-

officiorumque discrimina in tabulas referrentur, ac sic[1] maxima civitas minimae domus diligentia contineretur.

7 Postremus fuit omnium regum Tarquinius, cui
2 cognomen Superbo ex moribus datum. Hic regnum avitum, quod a Servio tenebatur, rapere maluit quam expectare, missisque in eum percussoribus scelere partam potestatem non melius egit quam
3 adquisiverat. Nec abhorrebat moribus uxor Tullia, quae, ut virum regem salutaret, supra cruentum patrem vecta carpento consternatos equos exegit.
4 Sed ipse in senatum caedibus, in plebem verberibus, in omnis superbia, quae crudelitate gravior est bonis, grassatus, cum saevitiam domi fatigasset, tan-
5 dem in hostes conversus est. Sic valida Latio oppida capta sunt, Ardea, Ocricolum, Gabii,[2] Suessa
6 Pometia. Tum quoque cruentus in suos. Neque enim filium verberare dubitavit, ut simulanti trans-
7 fugam apud hostis hinc fides esset. Cui Gabiis, ut voluerat, recepto et per nuntios consulenti, quid fieri vellet, eminentia forte papaverum capita virgula excutiens, cum per hoc interficiendos esse principes vellet intellegi, quasi[3] superbia sileret,[4] respondit tamen. De manubiis captarum urbium
8 templum erexit. Quod cum inauguraretur, ceden-

[1] sic: si *B*.
[2] Gabii *N*: gravii *B*.
[3] quasi *Titzius*: qua *B I*: quae *N L*.
[4] sileret *Hauptius*: sic *codd*.

ment and office were committed to registers, and thus a great State was ruled with the exactitude of a small household.

7. The last of all the kings was that Tarquinius to whom the name of Superbus was given on account of his character. He preferred to seize rather than to wait for the kingdom of his grandfather which was held by Servius, and, having sent assassins to murder him, administered the power thus won by crime no more righteously than he had acquired it. His wife Tullia was of like character, and, driving in her chariot to hail her husband as king, forced her affrighted horses over the bloodstained corpse of her father. Tarquinius himself struck at the senate with executions, at the plebs by scourging them, at all by his pride, which good men think more oppressive than cruelty. When he had exhausted his brutality at home, he at last turned his attention to his enemies. Thus the powerful cities in Latium were captured, Ardea, Ocricolum, Gabii, Suessa Pometia. At the same time he was bloodthirsty towards his own family; for he did not hesitate to scourge his son, in order that, by pretending to be a deserter, he might inspire the confidence of the enemy. When his son had been welcomed at Gabii, as he had intended, and consulted him by messengers as to what action he wished to be taken, he replied, it is true, but in such a way as to give the impression that his pride forbade him to speak, by knocking off with his staff the heads of some of the poppies which happened to be taller than the rest, thus signifying that the leading men were to be put to death. He erected from the spoils of the captured cities a temple, at the consecra-

tibus ceteris dis mira res dicitur extitisse: restitere
9 Iuventas et Terminus. Placuit vatibus contumacia[1]
numinum, si quidem firma omnia et aeterna pollicebantur. Sed illud horrentius, quod molientibus[2] aedem in fundamentis humanum repertum est caput, nec dubitavere cuncti monstrum pulcherrimum imperii sedem caputque terrarum promit-
10 tere. Tam diu superbiam regis populus Romanus perpessus est, donec aberat[3] libido; hanc ex liberis
11 eius inportunitatem tolerare non potuit. Quorum cum alter ornatissimae feminae Lucretiae stuprum intulisset, matrona dedecus ferro expiavit, imperium regibus abrogatum.

II. Anacephalaeosis de Septem Regibvs

8 Haec est prima aetas populi Romani et quasi infantia, quam habuit sub regibus septem, quadam fatorum industria tam variis ingenio, ut rei publicae
2 ratio et utilitas postulabat. Nam quid Romulo ardentius? tali opus fuit, ut invaderet regnum.
3 Quid Numa religiosius? Ita res poposcit, ut ferox
4 populus deorum metu mitigaretur. Quid? ille

[1] contumacia: contumatiam *B*.
[2] molientibus: moventibus *B*.
[3] aberat: aderat *B*.

tion of which the marvel is said to have occurred that, while the other gods permitted its erection,[1] Juventas and Terminus refused to give way. The obstinacy of these deities pleased the seers, since they gave promise that the whole building would be strong and eternal. A more alarming incident was the discovery of a human head in the foundations when they were building the temple; but no one doubted that it was a most favourable omen, portending that here would be the seat of an empire and the capital of the world. The Roman people tolerated the king's pride as long as it was not accompanied by unlawful passion; but outrage of this kind on the part of his sons they could not endure, and when, after one of them had offered violence to Lucretia, a woman of the highest rank, she atoned for her dishonour by stabbing herself, the rule of the king was abolished for ever.

II. Recapitulation of the Rule of the Seven Kings

8. The period of its rule under the Seven Kings forms the first age and, as it were, the infancy of the Roman people. These kings, by a dispensation of fate, possessed just such a variety of qualities as the circumstances and advantage of the State demanded. For where could greater boldness be found than in Romulus? Such a man was needed to seize the kingship. Who was more pious than Numa? Circumstances demanded such a man in order that the temper of a barbarous people might be tamed by the fear of the gods. Again, how

[1] cp. Liv. i, 55, *cum omnium sacellorum exauguratione admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere.*

militiae artifex Tullus bellatoribus viris quam necessarius, ut acueret ratione virtutem. Quid? aedificator Ancus, ut urbem colonia[1] extenderet, ponte
5 iungeret, muro tueretur. Iam vero ornamenta Tarquinii et insignia quantam principi populo addide-
6 runt ex ipso habitu dignitatem. Actus a Servio census quid effecit, nisi ut ipsa se nosset Romana
7 res publica? Postremo Superbi illius inportuna dominatio non nihil, immo vel plurimum profuit. Sic enim effectum est, ut agitatus iniuriis populus cupiditate libertatis incenderetur.[2]

III. De Mvtatione Rei Pvblicae

9 Igitur Bruto Collatinoque ducibus et auctoribus, quibus ultionem sui moriens matrona mandaverat, populus Romanus ad vindicandum libertatis ac pudicitiae decus quodam quasi instinctu deorum concitatus regem repente destituit, bona diripit, agrum Marti suo consecrat, imperium in eosdem libertatis suae vindices transfert, mutato tamen et
2 iure et nomine. Quippe ex perpetuo annuum[3] placuit, ex singulari duplex, ne potestas solitudine vel mora corrumperetur, consulesque appellavit pro

[1] colonia : coloniam *B*.
[2] incenderetur : incendetur *B*.
[3] annuum *L I* : annum *B*.

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[1] Ostia. [2] Lucretia.
[3] Brutus and Collatinus.

necessary to a nation of warriors was Tullus, the creator of the army, that he might temper their valour by discipline! Again, how necessary was Ancus, the builder, to give the city a colony[1] to expand it, a bridge to unite it, and a wall to protect it! Further, how much did the ornaments and insignia of Tarquinius add to the dignity of a sovereign people in its very dress! What was the effect of the census carried out by Servius but that the Roman State should be made aware of its own strength? Finally, the outrageous tyranny of Tarquinius Superbus was of some, nay, of great service; for its result was that the people, exasperated by the wrongs which he inflicted upon them, were fired with a desire for liberty.

III. On the Change of Government

9. And so under the leadership and guidance of Brutus and Collatinus, to whom the dying matron[2] had entrusted the avenging of her wrong, the Roman people, as though urged by an impulse from heaven to assert the honour of insulted liberty and chastity, suddenly deposed the king, plundered his possessions, dedicated his lands to their god Mars, and transferred the rule to these same champions of their freedom,[3] with a change, however, both of powers and title. For it was resolved that it should be an annual instead of a perpetual office, and that it should be exercised by two instead of by one, lest any abuse of power should arise through its possession by a single person or for a long period of time; and these men they called consuls instead of kings, in order that they might be mindful that they

regibus, ut consulere civibus suis se[1] debere me-
3 minissent. Tantumque libertatis[2] novae gaudium
incesserat,[3] ut vix mutati status fidem caperent[4]
alterumque ex consulibus, Lucretiae maritum, tan-
tum ob nomen et genus regium fascibus abrogatis
4 urbe[5] dimitteret. Itaque substitutus Horatius Publi-
cola summo studio adnisus est ad augendam[6] liberi
populi maiestatem. Nam et fasces ei pro contione
summisit, et ius provocationis adversus ipsos dedit,
et ne specie arcis offenderet eminentis[7] aedis suas
5 in plana[8] summisit. Brutus vero favori civium
etiam domus suae clade et parricidio velificatus est.
Quippe cum studere revocandis in urbem[9] regibus
liberos suos comperisset, protraxit in forum et
contione media virgis cecidit, securi percussit, ut
plane publicus parens in locum liberorum adoptasse
sibi populum videretur.

6 Liber iam hinc populus Romanus prima adversus
exteros arma pro libertate corripuit, mox pro finibus,
deinde pro sociis, tum gloria et imperio, lacessen-
7 tibus[10] adsidue usquequaque finitimis ; quippe cum
patrii soli glaeba nulla, sed statim hostile pomerium,
mediusque inter Latium atque Etruscos quasi in
quodam bivio conlocatus omnibus portis in hostem

[1] se *add. Halmius.* [2] libertatis : libertati *B.*
[3] incesserat : incenserat *B.* [4] caperent : caperet *B.*
[5] urbe : urbem *B I N.* [6] augendam : augendum *B.*
[7] eminentis *N* : aeminenti *B.* [8] plana : planas *B.*
[9] urbem : urbe *B.*
[10] imperio, lacessentibus : imperium lacescentibus *B.*

must consult the interests of their fellow-citizens. So great a delight in this new-found liberty had taken possession of the people that they could scarcely believe in their changed condition, and deprived one of the consuls, the husband of Lucretia, of the fasces and expelled him from the city because he bore the name of the royal house and was related to it. And so Horatius Publicola, who was chosen in his place, strove with the utmost zeal to promote the dignity of the newly-freed people; for he lowered the fasces before them in the public assembly and granted them the right of appeal against the decisions of himself and his colleague. He also removed his abode to the level part of the city, lest he should offend by appearing to occupy a commanding position. Brutus, on his part, courted the favour of the citizens even by the ruin and slaughter of his own family; for, having discovered that his own sons were eager to restore the kings to the city, he dragged them into the forum and, in the public assembly, beat them with rods and then beheaded them, so that he might appear in the guise of the father of the State who had adopted the people in place of his own children.

The Roman people, henceforward free, took up arms against other nations, first to secure their liberty, then to extend their bounds, afterwards in defence of their allies, and finally to win glory and empire; for they were continually harassed by their neighbours on every side, since they possessed not a clod of soil of their own, but the land immediately outside their walls belonged to enemies, and, being placed as it were at the meeting-place of two roads between Latium and Etruria, they met the enemy

incurreret; donec quasi contagio quodam per singulos itum est et proximis quibusque correptis totam Italiam sub se redegerunt.

IIII. Bellvm Etrvscvm Cvm Rege Porsenna

Pvlsis urbe regibus prima pro libertate arma corripuit. Nam Porsenna rex Etruscorum ingentibus copiis aderat et Tarquinios manu reducebat. Hunc tamen, quamvis et armis et fame urgueret occupatoque Ianiculo in ipsis urbis faucibus incubaret, sustinuit, reppulit, novissime etiam tanta admiratione perculit, ut superior ultro cum paene victis amicitiae foedera feriret. Tunc illa tria Romani nominis[1] prodigia atque miracula, Horatius, Mucius, Cloelia, qui nisi in annalibus forent, hodie fabulae viderentur. Quippe Horatius Cocles postquam hostes undique instantes solus summovere non poterat, ponte rescisso transnatat Tiberim nec arma dimittit. Mucius Scaevola regem per insidias in castris ipsius adgreditur, sed ubi frustrato circa purpuratum eius ictu tenetur, ardentibus focis inicit manum terroremque geminat dolo. "En, ut scias,"

[1] illa tria Romani nominis *Koehlerus*: illa in romani nominis *B*: illa romana *NL*.

[1] His mistake was due to the fact that the attendant was *pari* (*cum rege*) *fere ornatu* (Liv. II. 12, 7).

outside all their gates. Finally, spreading just as a fever spreads, they attacked their enemies one by one and, by continually fastening on the nearest of them, brought the whole of Italy under their sway.

IIII. The Etruscan War against King Porsenna

10. The first arms which the Roman people took up after the expulsion of the kings were for the defence of their liberty. For Porsenna, king of the Etruscans, arrived with a huge army and was eager to restore the Tarquinii by force. Although he pressed hard upon them both with arms and with famine and, having seized the Janiculum, held the very approach to the city, they withstood and repelled him and finally inspired him with such admiration that, in spite of his superior strength, he actually concluded a treaty of friendship with an all but conquered enemy. It was on this occasion that those three prodigies and marvels of Rome made their appearance, Horatius, Mucius and Cloelia, who, were they not recorded in our annals, would seem fabulous characters at the present day. For Horatius Cocles, finding that he could not alone drive back the enemies who threatened him on every side, after the bridge had been broken down, swam across the Tiber without abandoning his arms. Mucius Scaevola by a stratagem attempted an attack upon the king in his own camp, and when he was seized after aiming a blow by mistake at his purple-clad attendants,[1] placed his hand in a blazing fire and by a crafty device doubled the king's alarm. "Behold," he said, "and know from what sort of

inquit, "quem virum effugeris; idem trecenti iuravimus"; cum interim—inmane dictu—hic interritus,
7 ille trepidaret, tamquam manus regis arderet. Sic quidem viri; sed ne qui sexus a laude cessaret, ecce et virginum virtus. Una ex opsidibus regi datis elapsa custodiam,[1] Cloelia, per patrium flumen
8 equitabat. Et rex quidem tot tantisque virtutum territus monstris valere liberosque esse iussit. Tarquinii tamen tam diu dimicaverunt, donec Arruntem filium regis manu sua Brutus occidit superque ipsum mutuo volnere expiravit, plane quasi adulterum ad inferos usque sequeretur.

V. Bellvm Latinvm

11 Latini quoque Tarquinios adserebant aemulatione et invidia, ut populus qui foris dominabatur saltim domi serviret. Igitur omne Latium Mamilio Tusculano duce quasi in regis ultionem tollit animos.
2 Apud Regilli lacum dimicavit diu Marte vario, donec Postumius ipse dictator signum in hostis iaculatus est—novum et insigne commentum—, ut inde re-
3 peteretur.[2] Cossus equitum magister exuere frenos

[1] datis elapsa custodiam *Tollius*: data etlapsa custodiae *B*: data elapsa custodiam *L*.

[2] ut inde repeteretur *Iahnius*: ut inde ipse peteretur *B*: uti peteretur *NL*.

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[1] Florus here by mistake substitutes the name of Cossus as master of the horse on this occasion for that of Titus

a man you have escaped; three hundred of us have sworn to attempt the same deed." Meanwhile, incredible to relate, Mucius was unafraid, but the king was startled as though his own hand were burning. So much for the valour of the men; but that neither sex might lack praise, lo and behold, maidens too showed valour. Cloelia, one of the hostages handed over to the king, escaped from her guards and swam on horseback through the river of her native city. The king, indeed, alarmed at all these prodigies of valour, bade the Romans farewell and told them to keep their freedom. The Tarquinii, however, continued the struggle until Brutus with his own hand killed Arruns, the king's son, and fell dead on his body from a wound dealt him by his foe, as though he would pursue the adulterer even to the infernal regions.

V. The Latin War

11. The Latins also supported the Tarquins in a spirit of rivalry and jealousy towards the Romans, wishing that a people which was gaining dominion abroad might at any rate be slaves at home. All Latium, therefore, under the leadership of Mamilius of Tusculum, summoned up their courage under the pretence of avenging the king. A battle was fought at Lake Regillus, for a long time with shifting fortune, until Postumius, the dictator, himself adopted the new and remarkable stratagem of hurling a standard among the enemy, in order that it might be recovered. Cossus,[1] the master of the horse,

Aebutius. A. Cornelius Cossus was master of the horse to the dictator Aemilius Mamercinus in 426 B.C.

imperavit—et hoc novum—quo acrius incurrerent.
4 Ea denique atrocitas proelii fuit, ut interfuisse spectaculo deos fama tradiderit. Duo in candidis equis iuvenes more siderum praetervolaverunt; Castorem atque Pollucem nemo dubitavit. Itaque et imperator ipse veneratus est pactusque victoriam templa promisit et reddidit, plane quasi stipendium commilitonibus dis.

5 Hactenus pro libertate, mox de finibus cum isdem Latinis adsidue et sine intermissione pug-
6 natum est. Cora[1]—quis credat?—et Alsium terrori fuerunt, Satricum atque Corniculum provinciae. De
7 Verulis et Bovillis pudet, sed triumphavimus. Tibur, nunc suburbanum, et aestivae Praeneste deliciae
8 nuncupatis in Capitolio votis petebantur. Idem tunc Faesulae quod Carrhae nuper, idem nemus Aricinum quod Hercynius saltus, Fregellae quod
9 Gesoriacum,[2] Tiberis quod Euphrates. Coriolos quoque—pro pudor—victos[3] adeo gloriae fuisse, ut captum oppidum Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus quasi
10 Numantiam aut Africam nomini indueret.[4] Extant et parta de Antio spolia, quae Maenius[5] in suggestu fori capta hostium classe suffixit—si tamen illa

[1] Cora *Rehd.*: sora *B I*: Ora *L*.
[2] Gesoriacum: gesoria; cum *N*: gersoriacum *L*: caesoriacum *B I*.
[3] victos: victus *B*.
[4] indueret: induere *B*: induceret *N*.
[5] Maenius: menius *I*: menenius *B*: moenibus *N*.

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[1] See p. 211.

ordered the cavalry to discard their bits—another new device—in order that they might charge with greater vigour. So desperate was the fight at last that a tradition has been handed down that gods were present as spectators. Two young men on white horses sped over the battle-field like stars across the heavens; and no one doubted that they were Castor and Pollux. The Roman commander, therefore, himself prayed to them and, bargaining for victory, promised them a temple, and carried out his promise as though in payment to the gods who were his comrades in arms.

Hitherto they had fought for their freedom; they presently were at war with these same Latins, persistently and without intermission, in defence of their frontier. Cora (though it seems incredible) and Alsium were formidable: Satricum and Corniculum were provinces. Over Verulae and Bovillae, I am ashamed to say it—but we triumphed. Tibur, now a suburban retreat, and Praeneste, now a charming summer resort, were attacked after the offering of solemn vows in the Capitol. Faesulae meant the same to us then as Carrhae[1] lately meant; the Arician Wood corresponded to the Hercynian Forest,[2] Fregellae to Gesoriacum,[3] the Tiber to the Euphrates. The capture of Corioli—alas for the shame of it!—was regarded as so glorious an achievement that Gnaeus Marcius became Coriolanus, taking the city into his name, as though he had conquered Numantia or Africa. Spoils won from Antium still exist, which Maenius fixed up on the tribunal of the forum after the capture of the enemies' fleet—if it can be called a fleet,

[2] See p. 337. [3] See pp. 205, 337.

classis, nam sex fuere rostratae. Sed hic numerus illis initiis navale bellum fuit.

11 Pervicacissimi tamen Latinorum Aequi et Volsci
12 fuere et cotidiani, ut sic dixerim, hostes. Sed hos[1] praecipue Titus Quinctius domuit, ille dictator ab aratro, qui obsessa et paene iam capta Manili consulis
13 castra egregia victoria recuperavit. Medium erat tempus forte sementis, cum patricium virum innixum aratro suo lictor in ipso opere deprehendit. Inde in aciem profectus, victos, ne quid a rustici operis imitatione cessaret, more pecudum sub iugum misit.
14 sic expeditione finita rediit ad boves rursus triumphalis agricola—fidem numinum—qua velocitate.
15 Intra quindecim dies coeptum peractumque bellum, prorsus ut festinasse dictator ad relictum opus videretur.

VI. Bellvm cvm Etrvscis Faliscis Veientibvs Fidenatibvs

12 Adsidui vero et anniversarii hostes ab Etruria fuere Veientes, adeo ut extraordinariam manum adversus eos promiserit privatumque gesserit bellum gens una Fabiorum. Satis superque nota clades.
2 Caesi apud Cremeram trecenti, patricius exercitus;

[1] sed hos *om. B.*

for it consisted of only six beaked ships. In those primitive days, however, a fleet of that number was enough for a war at sea.

But the most persistent of the Latins were the Aequi and Volsci, who were, if I may use the phrase, the everyday enemies of Rome. These were subdued chiefly by Titus Quinctius, the dictator who was summoned from the plough and by a famous victory rescued the camp of the consul Manilius, which was beleaguered and almost captured. It happened to be the middle of the season of sowing, when the lictor found the patrician actually at work bending over his plough. Setting out thence to the battle-field, in order that he might keep up the tradition of his rustic employment, he made his conquered enemies pass like cattle under the yoke. The campaign being concluded, this farmer who had enjoyed a triumph returned to his oxen, and, ye Heavens, with what speed! For the war was begun and finished within fifteen days, so that it seemed for all the world as if the dictator had hurried back to finish the work which he had left.

VI. The War with the Etruscans, Falisci, Veientines and Fidenates

12. From the direction of Etruria the Veientines were persistent enemies who attacked each year; so much so that the single family of the Fabii undertook to form a special force and waged a private war against them. The disaster which befell them is well, all too well, known. Near Cremera three hundred of them, an army of patricians,

itaque scelerato signata[1] nomine quae proficiscentes
3 in proelium porta dimisit. Sed ea clades ingentibus
expiata victoriis, postquam per alios atque alios
robustissima capta sunt oppida, vario quidem eventu.
4 Falisci sponte se dediderunt, crematae suo igne
5 Fidenae, direpti funditus deletique Veientes. Falisci cum obsiderentur, mira est visa fides imperatoris, nec inmerito, quod ludi magistrum, urbis proditorem, cum his quos adduxerat pueris vinctum sibi ultro remi-
6 sisset. Eam namque vir sanctus et sapiens veram sciebat esse victoriam, quae salva fide et integra dignitate
7 pareretur. Fidenae quia pares non erant ferro, ad terrorem movendum facibus armatae et discoloribus serpentium in modum vittis furiali more processerant; sed habitus ille feralis eversionis omen fuit.
8 Veî quanta res fuerit, indicat decennis obsidio. Tum primum hiematum sub pellibus, taxata stipendio hiberna, adactus miles sua sponte iure iurando ne
9 nisi capta urbe remearet. Spolia de Larte Tolumnio rege ad Feretrium triumpho reportata.[2] Denique non scalis nec inruptione, sed cuniculo et subter-
10 raneis dolis peractum urbis excidium. Ea denique

[1] itaque scelerato signata *Kochlerus*: it scel. signat *B*: et scel. signata *N*.

[2] ad Feretrium triumpho reportata *Iahnius*: afferret triumphum reportaret *B*.

were slain, and so the gate which sent them forth to the battle was branded with the name of the Evil Gate. But for this disaster atonement was made by great victories, when the strongest cities were captured under different leaders and with different results. The Falisci surrendered voluntarily; Fidenae was consumed by its own flames; Veii was thoroughly plundered and destroyed. When the Falisci were being besieged, the honourable conduct of the Roman commander was a subject of admiration, and not without reason; for he actually sent back in chains a schoolmaster who offered to betray the city, together with the boys whom he had brought with him. For, being a man of integrity and wisdom, he knew that the only true victory is that which is won with untainted honour and unimpaired dignity. The people of Fidenae, not being a match for the Romans with the sword, had armed themselves with torches and had put on vari-coloured fillets resembling serpents, in order to inspire terror, and had marched forth like furies; but their funereal attire was an omen of their overthrow. The ten years' siege which Veii sustained is an indication of its strength. It was the first occasion on which a Roman army spent the winter under tents of skin, and winter service was compensated by special pay, and the soldiers at their own suggestion were bound under an oath not to return until the city had been captured. The spoils won from Lars Tolumnius, the king, were brought back in triumph and dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius. In the end the fall of the city was brought about, not by scaling-ladders or assault, but by a mine and underground

visa est praedae magnitudo, cuius decima[1] Apollini Pythio mitteretur, universusque populus Romanus
11 ad direptionem urbis vocaretur. Hoc tunc Veî fuere. Nunc fuisse quis meminit? Quae reliquiae? Quod vestigium? Laborat annalium fides, ut Veios fuisse credamus.

VII. Bellvm Gallicvm

13 Hic sive invidia deum sive fato rapidissimus procurrentis imperii cursus parumper Gallorum
2 Senonum incursione supprimitur. Quod tempus populo Romano nescio utrum clade funestius fuerit,
3 an virtutis experimentis speciosius. Ea certe fuit vis calamitatis, ut in experimentum inlatam putem divinitus, scire volentibus inmortalibus dis, an Romana virtus imperium orbis mereretur.
4 Galli Senones, gens natura ferox, moribus incondita, ad hoc ipsa corporum mole, perinde armis ingentibus, adeo omni genere terribilis fuit, ut plane nata ad hominum interitum, urbium stragem vide-
5 retur. Hi quondam ab ultimis terrarum oris et cingente omnia Oceano ingenti agmine profecti, cum iam media vastassent, positis inter Alpes et Padum sedibus, ne his quidem contenti per Italiam

[1] decima *Iahnius*: decumae *codd.*

stratagems. Lastly, the booty appeared so rich that a tithe of it was sent to Pythian Apollo, and the whole of the Roman people was summoned to plunder the city. Such was Veii in those days. Who now ever remembers its former existence? What remains or traces of it are left? Our trust in our annals has a difficult task to make us believe that Veii ever existed.

VII. The War with the Gauls

13. At this point, owing to the envy of the gods or a decree of fate, the rapid progress of the growing empire was checked for a while by the invasion of the Gallic Senones. Whether this period should rather be considered harmful to the Roman people through the disasters which it brought, or glorious owing to the tests which it gave of their valour, I cannot say. At any rate the force of calamity was such that I can only think that it was inflicted upon them by heaven as a test, because the immortal gods wished to know whether Roman valour deserved the empire of the world.

The Gallic Senones were a naturally wild race and quite uncivilized; moreover, by their vast stature and proportionately huge arms and all sorts of other circumstances, they inspired such terror that they seemed created for the destruction of human life and the ruin of cities. Having originally set out with a huge host from the remotest shores of earth and the all-encircling ocean, after they had laid waste all the intervening land, they settled between the Alps and the Po, and then, not content even with this territory, they began to wander through

6 vagabantur; tum Clusium urbem obsidebant. Pro sociis ac foederatis Romanus intervenit; missi ex more legati. Sed quod ius apud barbaros? Ferocius
7 agunt, et inde certamen. Conversis igitur a Clusio Romamque venientibus ad Aliam flumen cum exercitu Fabius consul occurrit. Non temere foedior clades; itaque hunc diem fastis Roma damnavit.
8 Fuso exercitu iam moenibus urbis propinquabant. Erant nulla praesidia. Tum igitur sic, ut numquam
9 alias, apparuit vera illa Romana virtus. Iam primum maiores natu, amplissimis usi honoribus, in forum coeunt, ibi devovente pontifice dis se[1] manibus
10 consecrant, statimque in suas quisque aedes regressi, sic ut in trabeis erant et amplissimo cultu, in curulibus sellis sese reposuerunt, ut, cum venisset hostis,
11 in sua quisque dignitate moreretur. Pontifices et flamines quidquid religiosissimi in templis erat partim in doleis defossa terra recondunt, partim inposita
12 plaustris secum Veios auferunt. Virgines simul ex sacerdotio Vestae nudo pede fugientia sacra comitantur. Tamen excepisse fugientis unus ex plebe fertur Albinius,[2] qui depositis uxore et liberis virgines in plaustrum recepit. Adeo tunc quoque in ultimis

[1] se *om. B.*
[2] Albinius *Liv.* V. 40: Atinius *B*; Albinus *L.*

Italy; finally they besieged the city of Clusium. The Romans intervened on behalf of their allies and confederates; and, according to the usual custom, ambassadors were sent to protest. But what sense of justice could be expected from barbarians? They only acted with greater ferocity, with the result that an open conflict ensued. The Senones turned away from Clusium and, as they marched upon Rome, were met by the consul Fabius with an army at the river Alia. One could not easily find a more disgraceful defeat, and so Rome has set a black mark against that day in its calendar. The Roman army having been routed, the enemy were approaching the walls of the city, and there was no garrison. It was then, as upon no other occasion, that the true Roman valour showed itself. In the first place the older men who had held the highest offices collected in the forum and there consecrated themselves to the infernal deities, the chief pontiff performing the ceremony; they then immediately returned each to his own house and, still clad in their official robes and richest attire, they seated themselves in their curule chairs, so that, when the enemy arrived, they might all die with proper dignity. The pontiffs and priests dug holes and buried some of the most sacred objects which were in the temples and carried off others with them on waggons to Veii. At the same time the virgins of the priesthood of Vesta, barefooted, accompanied the sacred objects in their flight. It is said, however, that a plebeian, Albinius, assisted the virgins in their escape, and having set down his wife and children, received them in his waggon; to such an extent, even in the utmost extremities,

religio publica privatis adfectibus antecellebat. Iu-
13 ventus vero, quam satis constat vix mille hominum fuisse, duce Manlio [1] arcem Capitolini montis insedit, obtestata ipsum quasi praesentem Iovem, ut quem ad modum ipsi ad defendendum templum concurrissent, ita ille virtutem eorum numine suo tueretur.
14 Aderant interim Galli apertamque urbem primo trepidi, ne quis subesset dolus, mox, ubi solitudinem vident, pari clamore et impetu invadunt. Patentis passim domos adeunt. Ibi sedentes in curulibus suis praetextatos senes velut deos geniosque venerati, mox eosdem, postquam esse homines liquebat, alioquin nihil respondere dignantes pari vaecordia mactant, facesque tectis iniciunt, et totam urbem
15 igni ferro manibus exaequant. Sex mensibus barbari—quis crederet?—circa montem unum pependerunt, nec diebus modo, sed noctibus quoque omnia experti; cum tamen Manlius nocte subeuntis clangore anseris excitatus a summa rupe deiecit, et ut spem hostibus demeret, quamquam in summa [2] fame, tamen ad speciem fiduciae panes ab arce iaculatus
16 est. Et stato quodam die per medias hostium custodias Fabium pontificem ab arce dimisit, qui sollemne sacrum in Quirinali monte conficeret.

[1] Manlio: Manilio *B.*
[2] rupe—summa *om. B.*

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[1] *i.e.* tutelar deities of the place.

did the respect for religion prevail over personal affection. A band of young men, whose number is generally held to have been scarcely a thousand, under the leadership of Manlius, took up a position on the citadel of the Capitoline hill, having called upon Jupiter himself, as though he were there in very presence, to defend their valour as they themselves had met to guard his temple. Meanwhile the Gauls arrived and entered the open city, at first in alarm lest some hidden stratagem was in the background, but afterwards, when they saw no one about, with equal noise and impetuosity. They approached the houses, which were everywhere open: here they were overawed by the elders in their purple-edged robes seated in their curule chairs as though they were gods and genii;[1] but presently, when it was obvious that they were mortals, and when, besides, they disdained to answer a word, they slaughtered them all, acting with the same brutality, and hurled torches into the houses and razed the whole city to the ground with fire and sword and the labour of their hands. For six months (who could credit it?) the barbarians clung round that single hill, making every kind of attempt upon it by night as well as by day. Manlius, on his part, roused by the cries of a goose, hurled them from the top of the rock as they were climbing up at night and, in order to deprive the enemy of their hopes, though he was suffering the extremities of famine, cast down loaves of bread from the citadel so as to create the impression that he was confident. Also on the appointed day he sent Fabius the pontiff through the midst of the enemy's guards to perform a solemn sacrifice on the Quirinal

Atque ille per media hostium tela incolumis religionis auxilio redivit propitiosque deos renuntiavit.
17 Novissime cum iam obsidio sua barbaros fatigasset, mille pondo auri recessum suum venditantes, idque ipsum per insolentiam, cum ad iniqua pondera addito adhuc gladio superbe "vae victis"[1] increparent, subito adgressus a tergo Camillus adeo cecidit, ut omnia incendiorum vestigia Gallici san-
18 guinis inundatione deleret. Agere gratias dis immortalibus ipso tantae cladis nomine libet. Pastorum casas ignis ille, et flamma paupertatem Romuli abscondit. Incendium illud quid egit aliud, nisi ut destinata hominum ac deorum domicilio civitas non deleta nec obruta, sed expiata potius et lustrata
19 videatur? Igitur post adsertam a Manlio,[2] restitutam a Camillo urbem acrius etiam vehementiusque in finitimos resurrexit.

VIII. Bella Gallica

Ac primum omnium illam ipsam Gallicam gentem non contentus moenibus expulisse, cum per Italiam naufragia sua latius traherent, sic persecutus est duce Camillo, ut hodie nulla Senonum vestigia
20 supersint. Semel apud Anienem trucidati, cum singulari certamine Manlius aureum torquem

[1] superbe "vae victis" *Aldus* (*cf. Liv.* V. 48): insuper victis *B*: superbe victis *NL*.
[2] a manlio *L*: amillio *B*: a manilio *N*.

Hill; he returned safely, protected by the sacred character of his mission, through the enemies' weapons, and announced that the gods were propitious. Finally, when the barbarians had been worn out by their own siege-operations and were offering to depart for a payment of 1000 pounds of gold (making their offer, moreover, in an insolent manner by throwing a sword into the scale to make the weights unfair, and uttering the proud taunt "Woe to the vanquished!"), Camillus, suddenly attacking them from the rear, made such a slaughter as to wipe out all traces of the burning of the city with the deluge of Gallic blood. We are inclined to thank the gods that the destruction of the city was so complete; for they were the huts of shepherds that the fire overwhelmed, and the flames buried Romulus' poor little settlement. What other effect then did the fire produce except that the city, destined to be the abode of men and of gods, seemed not so much to have been destroyed and overthrown as to have been sanctified and purified? Thus, when the city had been saved by Manlius and restored by Camillus, the Roman people rose up again against their neighbouring foes with increased vigour and force.

VIII. Further Wars with the Gauls

First of all, not content with having driven away this particular tribe of the Gauls from the walls, Camillus followed them so closely, as they were dragging their shattered remains across Italy, that to-day no trace is left of the Senones. On one occasion a slaughter of them took place on the River Anio, during which, in single combat, Manlius took from a barbarian, among other spoils, a torque

barbaro inter spolia detraxit, unde Torquati. Iterum Pomptino agro, cum in simili pugna Valerius, insidente galeae sacra alite adiutus, tulit spolia ; et
21 inde Corvini. Nec non tamen post aliquot annos omnis reliquias eorum in Etruria ad lacum Vadimonis Dolabella delevit, ne quis extaret ex ea gente, qui[1] incensam a se Romanam urbem gloriaretur.

VIIII. Bellvm Latinvm

14 Conversus a Gallis in Latinos Manlio Torquato Decio Mure consulibus, semper quidem aemulatione imperii infestos, tum vero contemptu urbis incensae, cum ius civitatis partem imperii[2] et magistratuum[3] poscerent, apud Capuam proeliis congredi audentes.[4]
2 Quo tempore quis cessisse hostem mirabitur ? Cum alter consulum filium suum, quia contra imperium pugnaverat, quamvis victorem occiderit ostende-
3 ritque plus esse in imperio quam in victoria ; alter quasi monitu deorum capite velato primam ante aciem dis manibus se devoverit, ut in confertissima se hostium tela iaculatus novum ad victoriam iter sanguinis sui limite aperiret.

[1] qui *L* : quae *BIN*.
[2] partem imperii *Rossbachius* : pari imperio *BI*.
[3] magistratuum *Rossbachius* : magistratum *B*.
[4] audentes *Mommsenus* : auderent *codd*.

of gold, which gave their name to the family of the Torquati. On another occasion, in the Pomptine territory, in a similar fight Valerius, aided by a sacred bird which settled on his helmet, won spoils from the foe, and from this incident the Corvini derived their name.[1] Moreover, some years later, near the Lake of Vadimo in Etruria, Dolabella destroyed all that remained of the tribe, so that none might survive of the race to boast that he had burnt the city of Rome.

VIIII. The Latin War

14. In the consulship of Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus,[2] the Romans turned their attention from the Gauls to the Latins, who, always their foes through rivalry of empire, at this time, in their contempt for the burnt city, demanded the rights of citizenship and a share in the government and public offices, and dared to meet them in battle at Capua. Who will wonder that on this occasion the enemy yielded, when one of the consuls put his own son to death, though he had been victorious, because he had fought against his order (thus showing that to enforce obedience was more important than victory), while the other consul, as though acting upon a warning from heaven, with veiled head devoted himself to the infernal gods in front of the army, in order that, by hurling himself where the enemy's weapons were thickest, he might open up a new path to victory along the track of his own life-blood?

[1] Corvinus from *corvus*, a crow.
[2] 340 B.C.

X. Bellvm Sabinvm

15 A Latinis adgressus est gentem Sabinorum, qui immemores factae sub Tito Tatio adfinitatis quodam
2 contagio bellis se Latinis adiunxerant. Sed Curio Dentato consule omnem eum tractum, qua Nar, Anio, fontes Velini, Hadriano tenus mari igni
3 ferroque vastavit. Qua victoria tantum hominum, tantum agrorum redactum est in potestatem, ut in utro plus esset nec ipse posset aestimare qui vicerat.

XI. Bellvm Samniticvm

16 Precibus deinde Campaniae motus non pro se,
2 sed eo speciosius pro sociis Samnitas invadit. Erat foedus cum utrisque percussum, sed hoc Campani sanctius et prius omnium suorum deditione fecerunt; sic ergo Romanus bellum Samniticum tamquam sibi gessit.

3 Omnium non modo Italiae, sed toto orbe terrarum pulcherrima Campaniae plaga est. Nihil mollius caelo: denique bis floribus vernat. Nihil
4 uberius solo: ideo Liberi Cererisque certamen dicitur. Nihil hospitalius mari: hic illi nobiles

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[1] See p. 13.
[2] 290 B.C.

X. The Sabine War

15. After the Latins they attacked the race of the Sabines, who, forgetful of the relationship formed under Titus Tatius,[1] had become as it were infected by the spirit of the Latins and had joined in their wars. During the consulship of Curius Dentatus,[2] the Romans laid waste with fire and sword all the tract of country which is enclosed by the Nar, the Anio and the sources of the Velinus, and bounded by the Adriatic Sea. By this conquest so large a population and so vast a territory was reduced, that even he who had won the victory could not tell which was of the greater importance.

XI. The Samnite War

16. Next, moved by the prayers of the Campanians, the Romans attacked the Samnites, not on their own behalf but, what is more honourable, on that of their allies. A treaty had been made with both nations, but that made with the Campanians was more formal and older, having been accompanied by the surrender of all their possessions. Thus the Romans entered upon war with the Samnites as though they were fighting for themselves.

The district of Campania is the fairest of all regions not only in Italy but in the whole world. Nothing can be softer than its climate: indeed it has spring and its flowers twice a year. Nowhere is the soil more fertile; for which reason it is said to have been an object of contention between Liber and Ceres. Nowhere is the coast more hospitable,

portus Caieta, Misenus, tepentes fontibus Baiae,
5 Lucrinus et Avernus, quaedam maris otia. Hic
amicti[1] vitibus montes Gaurus, Falernus, Massicus
et pulcherrimus omnium Vesuvius, Aetnaei ignis
6 imitator. Urbes ad mare Formiae, Cumae, Puteoli,
Neapolis, Herculaneum, Pompei, et ipsa caput
urbium Capua, quondam inter tres maximas[2]
7 numerata. Pro hac urbe, his regionibus populus
Romanus Samnitas invadit, gentem, si opulentiam
quaeras, aureis et argenteis armis et discolori veste
usque ad ambitum ornatam[3]; si fallaciam, saltibus
fere et montium fraude grassantem; si rabiem ac
furorem, sacratis[4] legibus humanisque hostiis in
exitium urbis agitatam; si pertinaciam, sexies rupto
8 foedere cladibusque ipsis animosiorem. Hos tamen
quinquaginta annis per Fabios ac Papirios patres
eorumque liberos ita subegit ac domuit, ita ruinas
ipsas urbium diruit, ut hodie Samnium in ipso
Samnio requiratur nec facile appareat materia
9 quattuor et viginti triumphorum. Maxime tamen
nota et inlustris apud Caudinas furculas ex hac
gente clades Veturio Postumioque consulibus
10 accepta est. Cluso per insidias intra eum saltum
exercitu, unde non posset evadere, stupens tanta

[1] amicti: amici *B*.
[2] *post* maximas *add. BINL* romam carthaginemque, *del. Hauptius*.
[3] ornatam *Iord. Cod. Bamb.*, *Heinsius*: armatam *BI*.
[4] sacratis: sacris *BI*.

[1] 321 B.C.

which contains the famous harbours of Caieta, Misenus, Baiae with its hot springs, and the Lucrine and Avernian Lakes where the sea seems to enjoy perpetual repose. Here are the vine-clad mountains of Gaurus, Falernus and Massicus, and Vesuvius, the fairest of them all, which rivals the fires of Etna. On the sea-coast lie the cities of Formiae, Cumae, Puteoli, Naples, Herculaneum and Pompeii, and Capua, queen among cities, formerly accounted among the three greatest in the world. It was on behalf of this city and these regions that the Roman people attacked the Samnites, a race which, if you would know its wealth, was clad, even to the point of ostentation, in gold and silver armour and motley-coloured raiment; if you would learn its craft, it usually attacked its foes from its defiles and the ambushes of its mountains; if you would know its rage and fury, it was hounded on by its hallowed laws and human sacrifices to destroy our city; if you would know its obstinacy, it had been exasperated by a treaty six times broken and by its very disasters. In fifty years, however, under the leadership of two generations of the Fabii and Papirii, the Romans so thoroughly subdued and conquered this people and so demolished the very ruins of their cities that to-day one looks round to see where Samnium is on Samnite territory, and it is difficult to imagine how there can have been material for twenty-four triumphs over them. Yet a most notable and signal defeat was sustained at the hands of this nation at the Caudine Forks in the consulship of Veturius and Postumius.[1] The Roman army having been entrapped by an ambush in that defile and being unable to escape, Pontius

occasione dux hostium Pontius Herennium patrem consuluit. Et ille, mitteret omnes vel occideret,
11 sapienter ut senior suaserat: hic armis exutos mittere sub iugum maluit, ut nec amici forent beneficio et post flagitium hostes magis. Itaque et consules statim magnifice voluntaria deditione turpitudinem foederis dirimunt, et ultionem flagitans miles Papirio duce—horribile dictu—strictis ensibus per ipsam viam ante pugnam furit; et in congressu arsisse omnium oculos hostis auctor fuit. Nec prius finis caedibus datus, quam iugum et hostibus et duci capto reposuerunt.

XII. Bellvm Etrvscvm Samniticvm Gallicvm

17 Hactenus populus Romanus cum singulis gentibus, mox acervatim; sic tamen quoque par omnibus fuit. Etruscorum duodecim populi, Vmbri in id tempus intacti, antiquissimus Italiae populus, Samnitium reliqui in excidium Romani nominis repente
2 coniurant. Erat terror ingens tot simul tantorumque populorum. Late per Etruriam infesta

the commander of the enemies' forces, dumbfounded at the opportunity offered to him, asked the advice of his father Herennius. The latter, with the wisdom of advanced years, had advised him either to let them all go free or else to slay them all; Pontius preferred to strip them of their arms and send them under the yoke, so that they were not made his friends by an act of kindness but rendered bitterer enemies by the affront put upon them. The result was that the consuls by a generous act of devotion immediately wiped out the disgrace of the treaty by voluntarily surrendering themselves; and the soldiers, under the leadership of Papirius, calling for vengeance, rushed furiously along (horrible to relate) with their swords drawn as they advanced before they came to blows, and, when the encounter took place, the enemy affirmed that the eyes of all the Romans blazed with fire. Nor was an end put to the slaughter until they retaliated by making the enemy and the captured general pass under the yoke.

XII. The War against the Etruscans, Samnites and Gauls

17. Hitherto the Roman people had waged war against single nations; they soon had to meet a combined attack. Yet even so they were a match for them all. Twelve tribes of the Etruscans, the Umbrians, the most ancient people in Italy and up to that time unassailed in war, and the survivors of the Samnites suddenly conspired together to destroy the very name of Rome. The simultaneous attack of so many powerful peoples caused the greatest terror. The hostile standards of four

3 quattuor agminum signa volitabant. Ciminius[1] interim saltus in medio, ante invius plane quasi Caledonius vel Hercynius, adeo tum terrori erat, ut senatus consuli denuntiaret ne tantum periculi 4 ingredi auderet. Sed nihil horum terruit ducem, quin fratre praemisso exploraret accessus. Ille per noctem pastorali habitu speculatus omnia refert 5 tutum iter. Sic Fabius Maximus periculosissimum bellum sine periculo explicuit. Nam subito inconditos atque palantis adgressus est captisque superioribus iugis in subiectos suo iure detonuit. 6 Ea namque species fuit illius belli, quasi in terri- 7 genas e caelo ac nubibus tela iacerentur. Nec incruenta tamen illa victoria. Nam oppressus in sinu vallis alter consulum Decius more patrio devotum dis manibus optulit caput, sollemnemque familiae suae consecrationem in victoriae pretium peregit.

XIII. Bellvm Tarentinvm

18 Sequitur bellum Tarentinum, unum quidem titulo et nomine, set victoria multiplex. Hoc enim Campanos, Apulos atque Lucanos et caput belli Tarentinos, id est totam Italiam, et cum iis omnibus Pyrrhum, clarissimum Graeciae regem, una

[1] Ciminius : Cyminius *Rehd. man. sec.* : geminius *BIN.*

armies fluttered far and wide through Etruria. Meanwhile the Ciminian forest, which lay between Rome and Etruria, and which was formerly as pathless as the Caledonian or the Hercynian forest, inspired such terror that the senate forbade the consul to venture to face its perils. But no such warning could frighten the general from reconnoitring a passage by sending forward his brother, who, disguised as a shepherd, by night spied out the land and brought back news of a safe route. In this way Fabius Maximus brought a most dangerous war to a close without running any danger; for he suddenly attacked the enemy as they were disordered and straggling, and having captured commanding heights, launched his thunders at his own pleasure on the enemy below—a species of warfare which resembled the hurling of weapons upon the giants from the heaven and clouds above. But it was not a bloodless victory, for one of the consuls, Decius, being surprised in the bend of a valley, following the example of his father, offered his life as a sacrifice to the gods below, and thus by performing an act of devotion, which was habitual in his family, paid the price of victory.

XIII. The Tarentine War

18. Next followed the Tarentine war, in name and title a single campaign, but manifold in its victories; for it involved as it were in a single ruin alike the Campanians, the Apulians and the Lucanians and the Tarentines, who were the original cause of it—in fact, the whole of Italy—and, besides all these, Pyrrhus, the most renowned ruler in Greece. It

veluti ruina pariter involvit, ut eodem tempore et Italiam consummaret et transmarinos triumphos
2 auspicaretur. Tarentus, Lacedaemoniorum opus, Calabriae quondam et Apuliae totiusque Lucaniae caput, cum magnitudine et muris portuque nobilis,
3 tum mirabilis[1] situ. Quippe in ipsis Hadriani maris faucibus posita in omnis terras, Histriam, Illyricum, Epiron, Achaiam, Africam, Siciliam vela dimittit. Inminet portui ad prospectum maris positum theatrum, quod quidem causa miserae
4 civitati fuit omnium calamitatium. Ludos forte celebrabat, cum adremigantes litori Romanas classes vident, atque hostem rati emicant, sine discrimine
5 insultant. Qui enim aut unde Romani? Nec satis. Aderat sine mora querellam ferens legatio. Hanc quoque foede per obscenam turpemque dictu
6 contumeliam violant; et hinc bellum. Sed apparatus horribilis, cum tot simul populi pro Tarentinis consurgerent omnibusque vehementior Pyrrhus, qui semigraecam ex Lacedaemoniis conditoribus civitatem vindicaturus cum totis viribus Epiri, Thessaliae, Macedoniae incognitisque in id tempus elephantis mari terra, viris equis armis, addito insuper ferarum terrore veniebat.

7 Apud Heracleam Campaniae fluviumque Lirim Laevino consule prima pugna, quae tam atrox fuit ut Ferentaneae turmae praefectus Obsidius, in-

[1] mirabilis *N Iahnius*: mirabili *BI*.

[1] 280 B.C.

thus at the same time completed the subjugation of Italy and inaugurated the triumphs of Rome beyond the sea. Tarentum, built by the Lacedaemonians, formerly the capital of Calabria, Apulia and all Lucania, is famous for its size, its walls and its harbour, and admired for its situation; for lying at the very exit of the Adriatic it sends forth its ships to all lands, to Istria, Illyricum, Epirus, Achaea, Africa and Sicily. The theatre lies immediately above the harbour in such a position as to command a view of the sea, and this was the cause of all the misfortunes which befell the unhappy city. They happened to be celebrating a festival when they saw the Roman fleet rowing towards the shore, and thinking that they were enemies, they rushed out and began to hurl indiscriminate insults at them, asking who the Romans where and whence they had come. Nor was this all; for when an embassy immediately came and lodged a complaint, they foully affronted them also by a shameful and indecent insult. The result was a declaration of war. The preparations inspired terror, so numerous were the peoples who rose in the defence of the Tarentines, of whom the most active was Pyrrhus, who came to protect a city which was half Greek through its Lacedaemonian founders, with all the forces of Epirus, Thessaly and Macedonia, and with elephants, till then unknown in Italy, threatening Rome by land and sea, with men, horses and arms and the added terror of wild beasts.

The first battle was fought in the consulship of Laevinus[1] at Heraclea in Campania, near the river Liris, and was so fierce that Obsidius, the commander of the Ferentanean squadron, charged the

vectus in regem, turbaverit coegeritque proiectis
8 insignibus proelio excedere. Actum erat, nisi
elephanti, converso in spectaculum bello, procu-
currissent, quorum cum magnitudine tum deformi-
tate et novo odore simul ac stridore consternati
equi, cum incognitas sibi beluas amplius quam
erant suspicarentur, fugam stragemque late de-
9 derunt. In Apulia deinde apud Asculum melius
dimicatum est Curio Fabricioque consulibus. Iam
quippe terror beluarum exoleverat, et Gaius
Numicius quartae legionis hastatus unius proboscide
10 abscisa mori posse beluas ostenderat. Itaque in
ipsas pila congesta sunt, et in turres vibratae faces
tota hostium agmina ardentibus ruinis operuerunt,
nec alias[1] cladi finis fuit quam nox dirimeret,
postremusque fugientium rex ipse a satellitibus
11 umero saucius in armis suis referretur. Lucaniae
suprema pugna fuit Arusinis quos vocant campis,
ducibus isdem quibus superius; sed tum tota
victoria. Exitum, quem datura virtus fuit, casus
12 dedit. Nam provectis in primam aciem rursus
elephantis, unum ex eis pullum adacti in caput
teli gravis ictus avertit; qui cum per stragem
suorum recurrens stridore quereretur, mater agnovit

[1] alias *Salmasius*: alius *codd.*: citius *Sauppius*: ante *Aldus*: prius *Mommsenus.*

[1] 279 B.C.

king and put him to flight, forcing him to throw away his royal insignia and leave the battle-field. All was over, had not the elephants come up and turned the battle into a wild-beast show; for the horses, frightened by their huge bulk and ugliness and also by their strange smell and trumpeting, imagining the unfamiliar monsters to be more formidable than they really were, caused panic and destruction far and wide. A second and more successful engagement took place in the consulship of Curius and Fabricius[1] at Asculum in Apulia. By this time, to be sure, the terror inspired by the monsters had passed away, and Gaius Numucius, a front-rank soldier of the fourth legion, had shown, by cutting off the trunk of one of them, that the monsters were mortal. And so javelins were concentrated against them, and torches, hurled against the towers which they carried, covered all the ranks of the enemy with flaming ruins. The slaughter was brought to an end only when night separated the armies, and the king, the last to desert the field, was himself carried away by his attendants on his own shield wounded in the shoulder. The last engagement was fought under the leaders already mentioned above on the so-called Arusine Plains in Lucania. On this occasion the Romans won a complete victory. Chance brought about a result which valour otherwise would have secured. For, when the elephants again moved forward into the front rank, a young one that happened to be among them was struck a heavy blow on the head with a spear and turned round; and when it was hurrying back through the confused mass of its fellows, trumpeting with pain, its dam recognized it and

et quasi vindicaret exiluit, tum omnia circa quasi
13 hostilia gravi mole permiscuit. Ac sic eaedem ferae, quae primam victoriam abstulerunt, secundam parem fecerunt, tertiam sine controversia tradide-
14 runt. Nec vero tantum armis et in campo, sed consiliis quoque et domi [1] cum rege Pyrrho dimicatum est. Quippe post primam victoriam intellecta vir callidus virtute Romana statim desperavit armis
15 seque ad dolos contulit. Nam interemptos cremavit, captivosque indulgenter habuit et sine pretio restituit, missisque legatis in urbem omni modo adnisus est ut facto foedere in amicitiam recipe-
16 retur. Sed et bello et pace et foris et domi omnem in partem Romana virtus tum se adprobavit, nec alia magis quam Tarentina victoria ostendit populi Romani fortitudinem, senatus sapientiam,
17 ducum magnanimitatem. Quinam illi fuerunt viri quos ab elephantis primo proelio obtritos accepimus? Omnium vulnera in pectore, quidam hostibus suis morte sua conmortui, omnium in manibus ensis, et relictae in voltibus minae, et in ipsa morte
18 ira vivebat. Quod adeo Pyrrhus miratus est ut diceret "o quam facile erat orbis imperium occupare, aut mihi Romanis militibus datis, aut me rege Romanis!" Quae autem eorum in reparando

[1] intra urbem *ante* cum *add. codd.* : *del. Iahnius.*

left her place to defend it, causing by her vast bulk as great a disturbance around her as if she were attacking the enemy. Thus the same beasts which deprived the Romans of their first victory and equalized the second battle, gave them undoubted victory in the third fight. And it was not only with arms and on the battle-field that the struggle with King Pyrrhus was carried on, but also by intrigue at home; for after his first victory the wily king, recognizing the valour of the Romans, immediately gave up hope of military success and had recourse to craft. For he burnt the bodies of the slain, treated his prisoners with indulgence and gave them back without ransom, and sending ambassadors to Rome strove by every device to obtain a treaty and be admitted to friendship. But in peace and war, at home and abroad, Roman valour proved its worth in every respect; and the victory in the Tarentine war, more than any other, showed the bravery of the Roman people, the wisdom of the senate and the magnanimity of the generals. For what kind of men were those who, we are told, were trampled underfoot by the elephants in the first battle? The wounds of all of them were upon their chests; some shared death with their foes, all had their swords still in their hands, a threatening mien still marked their features, and their anger yet lived even in death. So struck was Pyrrhus with admiration that he exclaimed, "How easy were it for me to win the empire of the world if I had an army of Romans, or for the Romans to win it if they had me as their king!" Again, how great must have been their promptitude in

19 exercitu festinatio? Cum Pyrrhus "video me"[1] inquit "plane procreatum Herculis semine, cui quasi ab angue Lernaeo tot caesa hostium capita
20 quasi de sanguine suo renascuntur." Qui autem ille senatus fuit, cum perorante Appio Caeco pulsi cum muneribus suis ab urbe legati interroganti regi suo, quid de hostium sede sentirent, urbem templum sibi visam, senatum regum esse concessum[2] confite-
21 rentur? Qui porro ipsi duces? Vel in castris, cum medicum venale regis caput offerentem Curius remisit, Fabricius oblatam sibi a rege imperii partem
22 repudiavit; vel in pace, cum Curius fictilia sua Samnitico praeferret auro, Fabricius decem pondo argenti circa Rufinum consularem virum quasi
23 luxuriam censoria gravitate damnaret. Quis ergo miretur his moribus ea virtute militum victorem[3] populum Romanum[4] fuisse, unoque bello Tarentino intra quadriennium maximam partem Italiae, fortissimas gentes, opulentissimas urbes uberrimasque
24 regiones subegisse? Aut quid adeo fidem superet, quam si principia belli cum exitu conferantur? Victor primo proelio Pyrrhus, tota tremente Campania Lirim Fregellasque populatus, prope captam urbem a Praenestina arce prospexit et a vicensimo

[1] video me *L Voss. Rehd. Palat.*: idem omne *BN*.
[2] concessum *add. Aldus, cf. Plut. Pyrrh.* 19, *Liv.* ix, 17, 14.
[3] victorem *NL*: exercitum *B*.
[4] populum romanum *NL*: populi romani *B*.

replacing their losses! For Pyrrhus said, "I plainly see that I am sprung of the seed of Hercules, when I see all these heads of foes cut off springing up again from their blood as they sprang from the Lernaean hydra." Again, what was the character of the senate? When, on the proposal of Appius Caecus, the ambassadors of Pyrrhus had been expelled from the city with their presents and the king asked them what they thought of the abode of their enemies, they confessed that the city seemed to them to be a temple and the senate an assembly of kings. Again, what kind of men were their generals? Even in the field, Curius sent back the physician who offered the head of Pyrrhus for sale, and Fabricius refused a share in his kingdom offered to him by the king; in peace, Curius preferred his earthenware vessels to Samnite gold, and Fabricius, with all the authority of the censorial office, stigmatized as a luxury the possession of Rufinus, a man of consular rank, of ten pounds of silver. Who then can wonder that with such moral principles and such military valour the Roman people were victorious, and that, in their single war against the Tarentines, they subdued, within the space of four years, the greater part of Italy, the bravest nations, the richest cities and the most fertile regions? Or what can be more incredible than the contrast presented by the beginning of the war and its conclusion? Pyrrhus victorious in the first battle, while all Campania trembled, laid waste the banks of the Liris and Fragellae, looked forth from the city of Praeneste upon a Rome which he had all but captured, and, at a distance of only about twenty miles, filled the eyes

lapide oculos trepidae civitatis fumo ac pulvere
25 inplevit. Eodem postea bis exuto castris, bis saucio
et in Graeciam suam trans mare ac terras fugato,
pax et quies et tanta de opulentissimis tot gentibus
26 spolia, ut victoriam suam Roma non caperet. Nec
enim temere ullus pulchrior in urbem aut speciosior
27 triumphus intravit. Ante hunc diem nihil praeter
pecora Vulscorum, greges Sabinorum, carpenta
Gallorum, fracta Samnitium arma vidisses: tum si
captivos aspiceres, Molossi, Thessali, Macedones,
Brittius, Apulus atque Lucanus; si pompam, aurum,
purpura, signa, tabulae Tarentinaeque deliciae.
28 Sed nihil libentius populus Romanus aspexit quam
illas, quas ita timuerat, cum turribus suis beluas,
quae non sine sensu captivitatis summissis cervicibus
victores equos sequebantur.

XIIII. Bellvm Picens[1]

19 Omnis mox Italia pacem habuit—quid enim post
Tarentum auderent?—nisi quod ultro persequi
2 socios hostium placuit. domiti ergo Picentes et
caput gentis Asculum Sempronio duce, qui tremente
inter proelium campo Tellurem deam promissa aede
placavit.

[1] Picens *N*: Pycense *B*.

of the trembling citizens with his smoke and dust. Yet afterwards, when this same king had twice had his camp captured and had been twice wounded and had been driven as a fugitive over sea and land back to his own land of Greece, peace and tranquillity ensued, and so rich a spoil was gathered from so many wealthy races that Rome could not contain the fruits of her victory. Scarcely ever did a fairer or more glorious triumph enter the city. Up to that time the only spoils which you could have seen were the cattle of the Volscians, the flocks of the Sabines, the waggons of the Gauls, the broken arms of the Samnites; now if you looked at captives, they were Molossians, Thessalians, Macedonians, Bruttians, Apulians and Lucanians; if you looked upon the procession, you saw gold, purple statues, pictures and all the luxury of Tarentum. But upon nothing did the Roman people look with greater pleasure than upon those huge beasts, which they had feared so much, with towers upon their backs, now following the horses which had vanquished them, with heads bowed low not wholly unconscious that they were prisoners.

XIIII. The Picenian War

19. Then all Italy enjoyed peace—for who could venture upon resistance after the defeat of Tarentum?—except that the Romans thought fit themselves to punish those who had been the allies of their enemies. The people of Picenum were therefore subdued and their capital Asculum was taken under the leadership of Sempronius, who, when an earthquake occurred in the midst of the battle, appeased the goddess of the earth by the promise of a temple.

XV. Bellvm Sallentinvm

20 Sallentini Picentibus additi caputque regionis Brundisium inclito portu M. Atilio duce. In hoc certamine victoriae pretium templum sibi pastoria Pales ultro poposcit.

XVI. Bellvm Volsiniense

21 Postremi Italicorum in fidem venere Volsinii, opulentissimi Etruscorum, inplorantes opem adversus servos quondam suos, qui libertatem a dominis datam in ipsos erexerant translataque in se re publica dominabantur. Sed hi quoque duce Fabio Gurgite poenas dederunt.

XVII. De Seditionibvs

22 Haec est secunda aetas populi Romani et quasi adulescentia, qua maxime viruit et quodam flore virtutis exarsit ac ferbuit. Itaque inerat quaedam adhuc ex pastoribus feritas, quiddam adhuc spirabat
2 indomitum. Inde est, quod exercitus Postumium imperatorem, infitiantem quas promiserat praedas, facta in castris seditione lapidavit; quod sub Appio Claudio noluit vincere hostem, cum posset; quod

XV. The Sallentine War

20. The Sallentines and Brundusium, the capital of their country, with its famous harbour, shared the fate of the people of Picenum at the hands of the Romans under the leadership of Marcus Atilius. During this struggle Pales, the goddess of shepherds, demanded for herself a temple as the price of victory.

XVI. The Volsinian War

21. The last of the Italians who came under the protection of Rome were the Volsinians, the richest of all the Etruscans, who asked for help against those who had formerly been their slaves and had used against their masters the liberty which the latter had granted to them, and, having shifted the power to themselves, were playing the tyrants in the State; they too were punished by the Romans under the leadership of Fabius Gurges.

XVII. Of Civil Discords

22. This period forms the second age, which may be called the youth, of the Roman people, during which it was most vigorous, and showed fire and heat in the flower of its strength. Hence there was still in it a certain spirit of ferocity inherited from shepherd ancestors, and an untamed spirit yet breathed. Hence it was that the army mutinied in camp and stoned the general Postumius, when he denied them the spoils which he had promised; that under Appius Claudius they refused to defeat the enemy when it was in their power to

duce Volerone detrectantibus plerisque militiam,
3 fracti consulis fasces. Inde clarissimos principes, quod adversarentur voluntati suae, exulatione multavit, ut Coriolanum colere agros iubentem— nec minus ille ferociter iniuriam armis vindicasset, nisi quod iam inferentem signa filium mater Veturia
4 lacrimis suis exarmavit;—ut ipsum Camillum, quod inique inter plebem et exercitum divisisse Veientem praedam videretur. Sed hic melior Veis [1] in capta urbe consenuit et mox supplices de hoste Gallo
5 vindicavit. Cum senatu quoque vehementius aequo bonoque certatum est, adeo ut relictis sedibus solitudinem et interitum patriae suae minaretur.

23 Prima discordia ob inpotentiam feneratorum. Quibus in terga quoque serviliter saevientibus, in sacrum montem plebs armata secessit aegreque, nec nisi tribunos impetrasset, Meneni Agrippae, facundi
2 et sapientis viri, auctoritate revocata est. Extat orationis antiquae satis efficax ad concordiam fabula, qua dissedisse quondam humanos dixit artus, quod omnibus opere fungentibus solus venter inmunis

[1] Veis *Seebodius*: vis *B*.

do so; that when under the leadership of Volero many refused to serve, the consul's fasces were broken. Hence it was that they punished with exile their most illustrious chiefs, because they opposed their will; Coriolanus, for example, when he ordered them to till their fields (and he would have avenged his wrongs by force of arms with even greater severity, if his mother Veturia had not disarmed him by her tears when he was already advancing), and Camillus himself, because he was thought to have divided the spoils of Veii unfairly between the people and the army. Camillus, however, a truer patriot, lived to grow old in the city of Veii which he had captured, and afterwards took vengeance on behalf of those who implored his aid against the Gaulish foe. With the senate, too, there were struggles which went beyond all justice and right, since the people even left their homes and threatened their country with desolation and ruin.

23. The first dispute was due to the tyranny of the usurers. When these actually vented their fury upon their persons as though they were slaves, the common people took up arms and seceded to the Sacred Mount, and were with difficulty induced to return (and then only after their demand for a tribune had been granted) at the instance of the eloquent and wise Menenius Agrippa. The fable, quite in the old style of oratory, which was most efficacious in promoting concord, is still remembered, in which he said that the members of the human body once revolted, on the ground that, while they all performed their functions, the stomach alone lived without doing any duty, but afterwards, when they

ageret; deinde moribundos ea seiunctione redisse in gratiam, quando sensissent quod eius opera redactis in sanguinem cibis inrigarentur.

24 Secundam in urbe media decemviratus libido conflavit. Allatas a Graecia leges decem principes lecti iubente populo conscripserant, ordinataque erat in duodecim tabulis tota iustitia, cum tamen traditos
2 fasces regio quodam furore retinebant. Ante ceteros Appius eo insolentiae elatus est, ut ingenuam virginem stupro destinaret, oblitus et Lucretiae et
3 regum et iuris quod ipse conposuerat. Itaque cum oppressam iudicio filiam trahi in servitutem videret Virginius pater, nihil cunctatus in medio foro manu sua interfecit, admotisque signis commilitonum totam eam dominationem obsessam armis in carcerem et catenas ab Aventino monte detraxit.

25 Tertiam seditionem excitavit matrimoniorum dignitas, ut plebei cum patriciis iungerentur; qui tumultus in monte Ianiculo duce Canuleio tribuno plebis exarsit. 26. Quartam honorum cupido, ut
2 plebei quoque magistratus crearentur. Fabius Ambustus duarum pater alteram Sulpicio patricii

found themselves dying, owing to their separation from it, they returned to a good understanding with it, because they found that its service was to convert food into the blood which flows in them.

24. The second disagreement occurred in the very centre of the city and was caused by the lust of the Decemvirate. Ten eminent citizens had been chosen by order of the people, and had jointly drawn up a code of laws derived from Greece, and the whole system of justice had been arranged upon twelve tables; but they afterwards still retained, in the lawless spirit of the kings, the fasces which had been entrusted to them. Appius attained such a spirit of insolence beyond all the rest that he destined a free-born maiden for dishonour, forgetful of Lucretia and the kings and the code which he had himself helped to draw up. And so when Virginius, the maiden's father, saw his daughter being dragged away to slavery after an unjust sentence, without a moment's delay he slew her in the midst of the forum with his own hand and, moving up companies of his fellow-soldiers, surrounded the whole band of tyrants with an armed force and dragged them from the Aventine Hill to prison and chains.

25. The third insurrection was caused by the question of marriage-dignity, arising from the demand that plebeians should intermarry with patricians. This disturbance burst into flames on the Hill of Janiculum at the instigation of Canuleius, the tribune of the people. 26. The fourth insurrection was due to the desire for office and the demand that magistrates should be elected from among the plebeians also. Fabius Ambustus was the father of

3 sanguinis dederat, alteram plebeius Stolo sibi iunxit Qua[1] quodam tempore, quod lictoriae virgae sonum ignotum penatibus suis expaverat, a sorore satis
4 insolenter inrisa, iniuriam non tulit. Itaque nanctus tribunatum honorum et magistratuum consortium quamvis invito senatui extorsit.

5 Verum in ipsis seditionibus principem populum non inmerito suspexeris. Si quidem nunc libertatem, nunc pudicitiam, tum natalium dignitatem, tum honorum decora et insignia vindicavit, interque haec omnia nullius acrior custos quam libertatis fuit,
6 nullaque in pretium eius potuit largitione corrumpi, cum ut in magno et in dies maiore populo interim
7 perniciosi cives existerent. Spurium[2] largitione, Cassium agraria lege suspectum regiae dominationis praesenti morte multavit. Ac de Spurio quidem supplicium pater ipsius sumpsit, hunc Quinctii dictatoris imperio in medio foro magister equitum
8 Servilius Ahala confodit. Manlium vero Capitolii vindicem, quia plerosque debitorum liberaverat altius et incivilius se efferentem, ab illa ipsa quam defenderat arce deiecit.

[1] qua *add. Halmius.*
[2] Spurium *inseruit Salmasius.*

two daughters, one of whom he had given in marriage to Sulpicius, a man of patrician blood, while Stolo, a plebeian, had wedded the other. The wife of the latter having been the object of somewhat insolent laughter on the part of her sister because she had been alarmed by the sound of the lictor's staff (a sound which was unfamiliar to her in her own home), Stolo could not endure the affront. And so, when he obtained the tribunate, he extorted from the senate, against their will, a share in public offices and magistracies.

Even in these insurrections one may admire, not without good reason, this sovereign people, since at one time it championed liberty, at another chastity, at another the dignity of birth, at another the right to distinctions and insignia of office, and among all these things was a zealous upholder of nothing so much as of liberty, and could not be corrupted by any kind of bribery to put it up for sale, although, as was to be expected in a large and daily increasing community, dangerous citizens arose from time to time. The people punished by immediate execution Spurius and Cassius, who were suspected of aiming at the royal power, the former through his excessive largesses, the latter by his agrarian law. The punishment of Spurius was undertaken by his own father, while Cassius was stabbed in the middle of the forum at the order of Quinctius, the dictator, by Servilius Ahala, the master of the horse. Manlius too, the saviour of the Capitol, they hurled from the very citadel which he had himself defended, when he began to behave in a manner too arrogant and ill-fitting a private citizen on the strength of having set free a number of debtors.

9 Talis domi ac foris, talis pace belloque populus Romanus fretum illud adulescentiae, id est secundam imperii aetatem habuit, in qua totam inter Alpes fretumque Italiam armis subegit.

XVIII. Bellvm Pvnicvm Primvm

II, 1 Domita subactaque Italia populus Romanus prope quingentensimum annum agens, cum bona fide adolevisset, si quod est robur, si qua iuventas, tum ille vere robustus et iuvenis par[1] orbi terrarum esse
2 coepit. Ita—mirum et incredibile dictu—qui prope quingentis annis domi luctatus est—adeo difficile fuerat dare Italiae caput—his ducentis annis qui secuntur Africam, Europam, Asiam, totum denique orbem terrarum bellis victoriisque peragravit.

II, 2 Igitur victor Italiae populus Romanus cum ad fretum usque venisset, more ignis, qui obvias[2] populatus incendio silvas interveniente flumine ab-
2 rumpitur, paulisper substitit. Mox cum videret opulentissimam in proximo praedam quodam modo Italiae suae abscissam[3] et quasi revolsam, adeo cupiditate eius exarsit, ut, quatenus nec mole iungi nec pontibus posset, armis belloque iungenda et ad
3 continentem suam revocanda bello videretur. Sed

[1] et iuvenis par *Halmius* : iuvenis et par *B*.
[2] obvias *NL* : cunctas *B*.
[3] abscissam *L Halmius* : abscisam *BN*.

[1] The Straits of Messina.

Such were the Roman people at home and abroad, in peace and in war, as it passed through the stormy waters of its youth, that is to say, the second age of its empire, during which it subdued by force of arms all Italy between the Alps and the Straits.[1]

XVIII. The First Punic War

1. Italy having been subdued and conquered, the Roman people, having almost reached its five hundredth year, since it can truly be said to have reached maturity, was now robust and vigorous—if ever there is robustness, if ever vigour, in a State—and became a match for the whole world. Thus arose the wonderful and incredible phenomenon that a people, which had struggled in its own country for five hundred years (so difficult had it been to establish supremacy in Italy), during the next two hundred years overspread Africa, Europe and Asia and, finally, the whole world with its wars and victories.

2. The Romans, then, victorious over Italy, having now extended their bounds to the Straits, halted for a space, like a fire, which, having laid waste the woods that lie in its course, is held up by an intervening river. But soon, seeing in their neighbourhood a most wealthy prey which seemed somehow to have been rent away and as it were torn from their own land of Italy, they were kindled with so strong a desire for its possession that, since it could not be attached to by a mole or a bridge, they resolved that it should be reunited by arms and warfare, and thus restored to the continent to which it belonged. But lo! the fates

ecce, ultro ipsis viam pandentibus fatis, nec occasio defuit, cum de Poenorum inpotentia foederata Siciliae civitas Messana quereretur. Adfectabat autem ut Romanus ita Poenus Siciliam, et eodem tempore paribus uterque votis ac viribus imperium
4 orbis agitabat. Igitur specie quidem socios iuvandi, re autem sollicitante praeda, quamquam territaret novitas rei, tamen—tanta[1] in virtute fiducia est—ille rudis, ille pastorius populus vereque terrester ostendit nihil interesse virtutis, equis an navibus, terra an mari dimicaretur.

5 Appio Claudio consule primum fretum ingressus est fabulosis infame monstris aestuque violentum; sed adeo non est exterritus, ut illam ipsam ruentis aestus violentiam pro munere amplecteretur,[2] sta-
6 timque ac sine mora Hieronem Syracusanum tanta celeritate devicit, ut ille ipse prius se victum quam hostem videret fateretur.

7 Duillio[3] Cornelioque consulibus etiam mari congredi ausus est. Tum quidem ipsa velocitas classis conparatae victoriae auspicium fuit. Intra enim sexagesimum diem quam caesa silva fuerat centum sexaginta navium classis in anchoris stetit, ut non arte factae, sed quodam munere deorum conversae
8 in naves atque mutatae arbores viderentur. Proelii vero forma mirabilis, cum illas celeris volucrisque

[1] tamen tanta *Voss.*: tanta tamen *BNL*.

[2] quod velocitas navium mari iuvaretur *post* amplectitur *add. BI*.

[3] Duillio: ad uilio *B*: diullio *L*: duellio *I*.

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[1] 264 B.C. [2] 260 B.C.

themselves opened a way and an opportunity was offered by the complaints which Messana, a Sicilian State allied by treaty to Rome, made about the tyrannical behaviour of the Carthaginians. This people, like the Romans, coveted Sicily, and both nations at the same time with equally strong desires and equal forces were aiming at the empire of the world. On the pretext, therefore, of aiding their allies, but really stimulated by the desire for spoil, this rude, pastoral people, whose proper element was the land, although the strangeness of the undertaking alarmed them, yet (so great is the confidence inspired by courage) showed that for the brave it is a matter of indifference whether the fight is waged on horseback or on shipboard, on land or on sea.

In the consulship of Appius Claudius[1] they first launched the ships across that strait, so ill-famed for fabulous monsters and swept by so violent a current. Yet so little were they alarmed that they welcomed the violence of the rushing tide as a godsend, and immediately without delay defeated Hiero of Syracuse with a suddenness that made him confess that he was defeated before he set eyes upon the enemy.

In the consulship of Duillius and Cornelius[2] they ventured to meet the enemy at sea also. On this occasion the very speed with which they had constructed their fleet was an omen of victory; for within sixty days of the felling of the timber, a fleet of a hundred and sixty vessels rode at anchor, so that it seemed as if the trees had not been made into ships by the art of man, but changed and altered thereto by a dispensation of heaven. The ordering of the battle too was wonderful, since

hostium navis hae graves tardaeque conprehenderent. Longe illis nauticae artes, detorquere remos
9 et ludificari fuga rostra. Iniectae enim ferreae manus machinaeque validae, ante certamen multum ab hoste derisae, coactique hostes quasi in solido decernere. Victor ergo apud Liparas mersa aut fugata hostium classe primum illum maritimum egit
10 triumphum. Cuius quod gaudium fuit, cum Duillius imperator, non contentus unius diei triumpho, per vitam omnem, ubi a cena rediret, praelucere funalia et praecinere sibi tibias iussit, quasi cotidie
11 triumpharet. Prae tanta huius victoria leve damnum[1] fuit alter consulum interceptus Asina Cornelius, qui simulato colloquio evocatus atque ita oppressus, fuit perfidiae Punicae documentum.
12 Calatino dictatore fere omnia praesidia Poenorum Agrigento, Drepanis, Panhormo, Eryce Lilybaeoque
13 detraxit. Trepidatum est semel circa Camerinensium saltum, sed eximia virtute Calpurni Flammae tribuni militum evasimus. Qui lecta trecentorum manu insessum ab hostibus tumulum occupavit atque moratus hostes est,[2] dum exercitus omnis evaderet.
14 Ac sic pulcherrimo exitu Thermopylarum et Leonidae famam adaequavit, hoc inlustrior noster, quod

[1] leve damnum : leve huius proelii damnum *codd.*
[2] est *add. Iahnius.*

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[1] *remos retorquere* is the manœuvre of sweeping away the oars by brushing against the enemy's ship; cp. Polyb. xvi. 4, 14, ταρσοὺς παρασύρειν.

the heavy, slow Roman vessels came to grips with the swift and active craft of the enemy. Nought availed their usual manœuvres of sweeping away the enemy's oars[1] or frustrating their charge by flight; for grappling-irons and strong appliances, which before the battle had caused much derision on the part of the enemy, fastened upon their ships and obliged them to fight as it were upon dry land. Thus victorious off the Liparae Islands, after sinking or routing the enemy's fleet, they celebrated their first naval triumph. And how great was their joy! Duillius, who had been in command, not content with a single day's triumph, throughout his life, when he returned from supper, ordered torches to be lighted and pipes to play before him by way of celebrating a daily triumph. In comparison with Duillius' great victory, the death of the other consul, Cornelius Asina, in an ambush was a trifling loss; but his invitation to a pretended conference and consequent seizure was a good example of Carthaginian treachery.

In the dictatorship of Calatinus the Romans expelled almost all the Carthaginian garrisons—from Agrigentum, Drepanum, Panormus, Eryx and Lilybaeum. On one occasion there was a panic in the forest of Camerina, but by the extraordinary bravery of Calpurnius Flamma, a military tribune, we extricated ourselves. He, with a chosen band of three hundred men, seized a knoll, which was beset by the enemy, and so delayed them long enough to give the whole army time to escape. By the glorious result of his action he equalled the fame of Leonidas at Thermopylae, the Roman hero being more illustrious in that he survived his great

expeditioni tantae superfuit,[1] licet nihil inscripserit sanguine.

15 Lucio Cornelio Scipione consule,[2] cum iam Sicilia suburbana esset populi Romani provincia, serpente latius bello Sardiniam adnexamque Corsicam transiit.

16 Olbiae hic, ibi Aleriae[3] urbis excidio incolas terruit, adeoque omni terra et mari Poenos purgavit, ut iam victoriae nihil nisi Africa ipsa restaret.

17 Marco Atilio Regulo duce iam in Africam navigabat bellum. Nec defuerant qui ipso Punici maris nomine ac terrore deficerent, insuper augente Nautio tribuno metum, in quem, nisi paruisset, securi destricta imperator metu mortis navigandi

18 fecit audaciam. Mox deinde ventis remisque properatum est, tantusque terror hostici adventus Poenis fuit, ut apertis paene portis Carthago

19 caperetur. Prooemium[4] belli fuit civitas Clipea; prima enim a Punico litore quasi arx et specula procurrit. Et haec et trecenta amplius castella

20 vastata sunt. Nec cum hominibus, sed cum monstris quoque dimicatum est, cum quasi in vindictam Africae nata mirae magnitudinis serpens posita apud

21 Bagradam castra vexaverit. Sed omnium victor

[1] ut supervixit *add. B*, et supervixit *add. NL post* superfuit.

[2] consule *add. Iahnius.*

[3] ibi Aleriae *Salmasius*: ibi alte *B*: baleriae *NL*: ibi ateriae *I.*

[4] prooemium belli *Iahnius*: prima premium (proemium *I*) belli *B*: prima belli praemium *NL.*

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[1] Florus here confuses Leonidas with another Spartan hero, Othryades, who, being the sole survivor of the three hundred Spartans who fought against the Argives for the possession of Thyrea, slew himself on the battle-field after

exploit, though he did not write anything in his own blood.[1]

In the consulship of Lucius Cornelius Scipio,[2] when Sicily was already a suburban province of the Roman people, the war spread further, and they crossed over to Sardinia and the adjoining island of Corsica. They terrified the inhabitants by the destruction of Olbia in the former island and Aleria in the latter, and so completely cleared land and sea of the Carthaginians that only Africa itself still remained to be conquered.

Under the leadership of Marcus Atilius Regulus the war was now transferred to Africa. There had been some, however, who quailed at the very mention of the Punic sea and the terror which it inspired, their alarm being further increased by the tribune Nautius; but the general, by threatening him with the axe if he refused to obey, inspired them with courage for the journey through the fear of death. All haste was then made with sails and oars, and the approach of the enemy so alarmed the Carthaginians that the gates of Carthage were almost opened and the city captured. The war began with the taking of Clipea, which projects as a citadel or watch-tower from the Carthaginian coast. This and three hundred other fortresses were destroyed. But the Romans had to contend not only with human beings, but also with monsters; for a serpent of wondrous size, which seemed to have been created for the defence of Africa, harassed their camp on the Bagradas. But Regulus, everywhere

writing in blood on his shield that Thyrea belonged to the Spartans (Herod. I. 827).

[2] 259 B.C.

Regulus cum terrorem nominis sui late circumtulisset cumque magnam vim iuventutis ducesque ipsos aut cecidisset[1] aut haberet in vinculis, classemque ingenti praeda onustam et triumpho gravem in urbem praemisisset, iam ipsam, caput belli, Carthaginem urguebat obsidio ipsisque portis inhaerebat.
22 Hic paululum circumacta fortuna est, tantum ut plura essent Romanae virtutis insignia, cuius fere
23 magnitudo calamitatibus adprobatur. Nam conversis ad externa auxilia hostibus, cum Xanthippum illis ducem Lacedaemon misisset, a viro militiae peritissimo vincimur—foeda clades Romanisque usu incognita—vivus in manus hostium venit fortissimus imperator. Sed ille quidem par tantae calamitati fuit; nam nec Punico carcere infractus est nec
24 legatione suscepta. Quippe diversa quam hostis mandaverat censuit, ne pax fieret, ne commutatio
25 captivorum reciperetur. Sed nec illo voluntario ad hostis suos reditu nec ultimo sive carceris seu crucis supplicio deformata maiestas; immo his omnibus admirabilior quid aliud quam victor de victoribus atque etiam, quia Carthago non cesserat, de fortuna
26 triumphavit? Populus autem Romanus multo acrior intentiorque pro ultione Reguli quam pro victoria fuit.
27 Metello igitur consule spirantibus altius Poenis et

[1] cecidisset *Iordanis cod. Polling.*: coepisset *B*: cepisset *NI.*

[1] 250 B.C.

victorious, having spread far and wide the terror of his name and having slain or holding as prisoners a large number of the enemy's troops and even of their generals, and having sent in advance to Rome a fleet laden with immense spoils and full of material for a triumph, was already threatening Carthage itself, the author of the war, with blockade and pressing hard upon its very gates. At this point the breeze of fortune veered somewhat, but only in order to provide more evidence of the Roman valour, the greatness of which is more often put to the proof by misfortunes. For when the enemy had resorted to foreign aid and Lacedaemon had sent Xanthippus to be their general, we were defeated by a very skilful leader—a disgraceful disaster such as the Romans had never before experienced—and the brave commander-in-chief fell alive into the enemies' hands. But he proved himself able to face such a calamity; his spirit was not broken either by a Carthaginian prison or by the mission to Rome which he undertook. For, contrary to the instructions of the enemy, he expressed an opinion against making peace or consenting to an exchange of prisoners. His voluntary return to his enemies and his final sufferings, whether in prison or on the cross, in no way sullied his dignity; nay, rendered by all this only the more worthy of admiration, what did he do but triumph victorious over his victors and, since Carthage had not yielded, over Fortune herself? The Roman people, on their part, were even more eager and intent on avenging Regulus than on obtaining a victory.

In the consulship, therefore, of Metellus,[1] when

reverso in Siciliam bello, apud Panhormum sic hostes cecidit, ut nec[1] amplius eam insulam adgredi
28 cogitarent. Argumentum ingentis victoriae centum circiter elephantorum captivitas, sic quoque magna praeda, si gregem illum non bello, sed venatione cepisset.

29 Appio Claudio consule non ab hostibus, sed a dis ipsis superatus est, quorum auspicia contempserat, ibi[2] statim classe demersa, ubi ille praecipitari pullos iusserat, quod pugnare ab iis vetaretur.

30 Marco Fabio Buteone consule hostium[3] classem iam in Africo mari apud Aegimurum in Italiam ultro
31 navigantem cecidit. Quantus, o, tum triumphus tempestate intercidit, cum opulenta praeda classis adversis acta ventis naufragio suo Africam et Syrtis
32 et[4] omnium interiacentium[5] insularum litora implevit! Magna clades, sed non sine aliqua principis populi dignitate, interceptam tempestate victoriam et triumphum perisse[6] naufragio. Et tamen cum Punicae praedae omnibus promontoriis insulisque fluitarent, populus Romanus et sic triumphavit.

33 Lutatio Catulo consule tandem bello finis inpositus apud insulas, quibus nomen Aegatae, nec maior
34 alias in mari pugna. Aderat quippe commeatibus, exercitu, propugnaculis, armis gravis classis et in

[1] ut nec *L*: ut ne *N*: ne *BI.*
[2] ibi *IN*: ab his *B.*
[3] hostium *post* Aegimurum *ponit BI.*
[4] et *add. Bentleius.*
[5] interiacentium *Bentleius* · imperiagentium *codd.*
[6] perisse *om. B.*

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[1] 249 B.C. His name was Publius, not Appius, Claudius.
[2] 245 B.C. [3] And not the enemy. [4] 242 B.C.

the Carthaginians became bolder and the war had been transferred back to Sicily, the Romans inflicted such a defeat upon their foes at Panormus that they gave up all thought of further attacks upon the island. The extent of their victory is proved by the capture of about a hundred elephants —a vast prey even if they had captured them not in war but in the chase.

In the consulship of Appius[1] Claudius the Romans were defeated not by the enemy but by the gods, whose auspices he had despised, their fleet being immediately sunk on the spot where Appius Claudius had ordered the sacred chickens to be thrown overboard, because he was warned by them not to fight.

In the consulship of Marcus Fabius Buteo[2] they defeated the enemy's fleet near Aegimurus in the African sea, while it was actually sailing against Italy. But what a triumph was ruined by the storm which then occurred, when the fleet, loaded with rich booty, driven by contrary winds, covered Africa, the Syrtes and the shores of all the interjacent islands with its wreckage! A great calamity indeed! but it did not fail to redound to the honour of an imperial people that it was a storm[3] which had intercepted their victory, and a shipwreck which had destroyed their triumph. And, seeing that the Carthaginian spoil floated off every promontory and island, even so the Roman people triumphed.

In the consulship of Lutatius Catuius[4] the war was at last brought to a close near the islands called the Aegatae. No greater fight was ever fought at sea. For the enemy's fleet came up loaded with supplies, troops, towers and arms; indeed you might

ea quasi tota Carthago; quod ipsum exitio fuit.
35 Romana classis prompta, levis, expedita et quodam genere castrensis ad similitudinem pugnae equestris sic remis quasi habenis agebatur, et in hos vel illos ictus mobilia rostra speciem viventium praeferebant.
36 Itaque momento temporis laceratae hostium rates totum inter Siciliam Sardiniamque pelagus naufragio
37 suo operuerunt. Tanta denique fuit illa victoria, ut de excindendis [1] hostium moenibus non quaereretur. Supervacuum visum est in arcem murosque saevire, cum iam in mari esset deleta Carthago.

XVIIII. Bellvm Ligvricvm

II, 3 Peracto Punico bello secuta est brevis sane quasi ad recuperandum spiritum requies, argumentumque pacis et bona fide cessantium armorum tum primum post Numam clausa porta Iani fuit; deinceps statim
2 ac sine mora patuit. Quippe iam Ligures, iam Insubres Galli, nec non et Illyrici lacessebant, sitae sub Alpibus, id est sub ipsis Italiae faucibus gentes, deo quodam incitante adsidue, ne rubiginem
3 ac situm scilicet arma sentirent. Denique utrique cotidiani et quasi domestici hostes tirocinia militum inbuebant, nec aliter utraque gente quam quasi cote quadam populus Romanus ferrum suae virtutis acuebat.

[1] excindendis *Halmius*; excidendis *codd.*

say that all Carthage was on board it. And it was this that caused its ruin; for the Roman fleet, easily handled, light and unencumbered and in a way resembling a land army, was guided by its oars just as horses are guided by their reins in a cavalry engagement, and the beaks of the ships, moving rapidly to ram now this foe and now that, presented the appearance of living creatures. And so in a moment of time the enemy's vessels were cut to pieces and covered the whole sea between Sicily and Sardinia with their wreckage. In a word, so great was the victory that no question was raised of demolishing the enemy's walls; it seemed superfluous to vent their fury on a citadel and walls when Carthage had already been destroyed upon the sea.

XVIIII. The Ligurian War

3. The Carthaginian war being ended, a period of rest ensued, brief, indeed, for the Roman people to recover their breath. As a proof of peace and a genuine cessation of hostilities, the door of the Temple of Janus was closed for the first time since the reign of Numa; but immediately afterwards it was quickly opened again. For first the Ligurians and then the Insubrian Gauls, and also the Illyrians, races living at the foot of the Alps, that is, at the very entrance of Italy, began to give trouble at the continual instigation of some god, who feared that Rome's arms should suffer from rust and decay. In a word, both these races, continually active and, as it were, at our very doors, provided our recruits with practice in warfare, and the Roman people sharpened the edge of their valour on these two people as on the whetstone.

4 Liguras, imis Alpium iugis adhaerentis inter Varum et Magram flumen inplicitosque dumis silvestribus, maior aliquanto labor erat invenire quam vincere. Tuti locis et fuga, durum atque velox genus, ex occasione latrocinia magis quam bella
5 faciebant. Itaque cum diu multumque eluderent[1] Saluvii,[2] Deciates,[3] Oxubii,[4] Euburiates,[5] Ingauni, tandem Fulvius latebras eorum igni saepsit, Baebius in plana deduxit, Postumius ita exarmavit, ut vix reliquerit ferrum quo terra coleretur.

XX. Bellvm Gallicvm

II, 4 Gallis Insubribus, et his accolis Alpium, animi ferarum, corpora plus quam humana erant, sed—experimento deprehensum est, quippe sicut primus impetus eis maior quam virorum est, ita sequens
2 minor quam feminarum—Alpina corpora umente caelo educata habent quiddam simile nivibus suis : quum mox[6] caluere pugna, statim in sudorem eunt
3 et levi motu quasi sole laxantur. Hi saepe et alias et Brittomaro duce non prius posituros se baltea quam Capitolium ascendissent iuraverant. Factum est ; victos enim Aemilius in Capitolio discinxit.
4 Mox Ariovisto duce vovere de nostrorum militum praeda Marti suo torquem. Intercepit Iuppiter

[1] eluderent : ludere *B* : eluderet *NL*.
[2] Saluvii : salui *B* : saltus *NL* : saltu viis *I*.
[3] Deciates : decilates *BI* : deciate *L*.
[4] Oxubii : exuuii *B*.
[5] Euburiates : et buriates *B*.
[6] quum mox *scripsi* : quam mox *B* : cum mox *I* : quae mox ut *NL* : cum vix *Bezzenbergerus*.

The Ligurians, who dwelt close to the foot of the Alps between the rivers Varus and Magra, encircled by thickly-wooded undergrowth, were rather more difficult to find than to conquer. Protected by their position and their facilities for escape, this hardy and active race carried on depredations rather than war, as occasion allowed. And so after their tribes, the Saluvii, the Deciates, the Oxubii, the Euburiates, and the Ingauni had long successfully eluded defeat, Fulvius at last surrounded their lairs with a ring of fire, Baebius brought them down into the plains, and Postumius so thoroughly disarmed them as scarcely to leave them any iron to till the soil.

XX. The Gallic War

4. The Insubrian Gauls, who also dwelt near the Alps, possessed the spirit of wild beasts and stature greater than human, but, as experience proved—for just as their first onslaught was mightier than that of men, so their subsequent attack was feebler than that of women—the bodies of the Alpine races, reared in a moist climate, have a certain similarity to their own snows, for as soon as they become heated in the fray, they immediately break into sweat and are dissolved by slight exertion, as snow is melted by the sun. As often on previous occasions, so when Brittomarus was their leader, they swore that they would not doff their belts until they had scaled the Capitol. And so it came to pass; for Aemilius defeated them and ungirt them on the Capitol. Soon afterwards, when Ariovistus was their leader, they vowed to dedicate to their War-god a necklet made from the spoils of our soldiers. Jupiter intercepted their dedication; for

votum; nam de torquibus eorum aureum tropaeum
5 Iovi Flaminius erexit. Viridomaro rege Romana arma Volcano promiserant. Aliorsum vota cecide-runt; occiso enim rege Marcellus tertia post Romulum patrem Feretrio Iovi opima suspendit.

XXI. Bellvm Illyricvm

II, 5 Illyrii seu Liburni sub extremis Alpium radicibus agunt inter Arsiam Titiumque[1] flumen, longissime
2 per totum Hadriani maris litus effusi. Hi regnante Teutana muliere populationibus non contenti licentiae
3 scelus addiderunt. Legatos quippe nostros, ob ea quae deliquerant iure agentes, ne gladio quidem, sed ut victimas securi percutiunt, praefectos navium igne comburunt; idque, quo indignius foret, mulier
4 imperavit. Itaque Gnaeo Fulvio Centimalo[2] duce late domantur. Strictae secures in principum colla legatorum manibus litavere.

XXII. Bellvm Pvnicvm Secvndvm.

II, 6 Post primum Punicum bellum vix quadriennii requies: ecce alterum bellum, minus quidem spatio —nec enim amplius decem et octo annos habet—, sed adeo cladium atrocitate terribilius, ut si quis conferat damna utriusque populi, similior victo sit

[1] Titiumque: titullumque *B*: titulumque *I*.
[2] Centimalo: gentimalo *BI*: Centumalum *appellant fast. Capit. CILI*[1], *p.* 456.

Flaminius set up in honour of Jupiter a golden trophy made from their necklets. During the reign of Viridomarus they had promised to offer up Roman armour to Vulcan; but their vows turned out otherwise, for their king was slain and Marcellus hung up in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius the *spolia opima* for the second time since father Romulus had done so.

XXI. The Illyrian War

5. The Illyrians, or Liburnians, dwelt at the very roots of the Alps between the rivers Arsia and Titius and spread widely along the coast of the Adriatic Sea. Under the rule of their queen Teutana, not content with depredations, they added crime to lawlessness. When our ambassadors came to protest against their delinquencies, they slew them, not with the sword, but like sacrificial victims, with the axe, and burnt to death the commanders of our ships. To make their action still more insulting, it was a woman that gave the order. They were, therefore, thoroughly subdued by an army under Gnaeus Fulvius Centimalus; and the axe wielded against the necks of the chiefs made atonement to the shades of our ambassadors.

XXII. The Second Punic War

6. After the First Punic War there was peace for barely four years, and then, lo, a second war broke out, less indeed in duration—for it lasted not more than eighteen years—but so much more terrible in the awfulness of the calamities which it involved, that, if one were to compare the losses on both sides, the people which conquered was more like

2 populus ille qui vicit. Urebat nobilem populum mare ablatum, raptae insulae, dare tributa, quae iubere consueverat. Hinc ultionem puer Annibal
3 ad aram patri iuraverat, nec morabatur. Igitur in causam belli Saguntos electa est, vetus Hispaniae civitas et opulenta fideique erga Romanos magnum
4 quidem sed triste monimentum, quam in libertatem communi foedere exceptam Annibal, causas novorum motuum quaerens, et suis et ipsorum manibus evertit, ut Italiam sibi rupto foedere aperiret.
5 Summa foederum Romanis religio est; itaque ad auditum sociae civitatis obsidium, memores icti cum Poenis quoque foederis, non statim ad arma procurrunt, dum prius more legitimo queri malunt.
6 Saguntini interim iam novem mensibus fessi fame machinis ferro, versa denique in rabiem fide inmanem in foro excitant rogum, tum desuper se suosque cum omnibus opibus suis ferro et igne
7 corrumpunt. Huius tantae cladis auctor Annibal poscitur. Tergiversantibus Poenis dux legationis "quae" inquit "mora est?" [Fabius][1] "in hoc ego sinu bellum pacemque porto; utrum eligitis?" Succlamantibus bellum, "bellum igitur" inquit

[1] Fabius *del. Graevius.*

one that had been defeated. A high-spirited people chafed at its exclusion from the sea, the seizure of its islands and the payment of tribute which it had been accustomed to demand from others. Hence Hannibal, while still a boy, had sworn to his father at the altar that he would exact vengeance; and he was not slow to do so. Saguntum, therefore, was chosen as a pretext for war, an ancient and wealthy Spanish city, a notable but sad example of loyalty towards the Roman people. This city, although it had been granted special immunity under a common treaty, Hannibal, seeking pretexts for fresh disturbances, destroyed, partly by his own hands and partly by those of the citizens themselves, in order that, by the violation of the treaty, he might open to himself the path to Italy. The Romans are most scrupulous in their observation of treaties; and so, on hearing of the siege of an allied city, mindful of the treaty which had also been signed by the Carthaginians, they did not immediately rush to arms, but preferred first to lodge a complaint in a legal form. Meanwhile the Saguntines, worn out by nine months of famine, the assaults of machines and the sword, their loyalty at last turning to rage, piled up a huge pyre in the middle of the market-place and, on the top of it, destroyed with fire and the sword themselves and their families together with all their possessions. The surrender of Hannibal was demanded as the author of this great calamity. When the Carthaginians prevaricated, the chief of the embassy exclaimed, "Why this delay? In the folds of this robe I bear war and peace; which do you choose?" And when they cried out "War," he answered, "Take war then," and shaking out the front of his

"accipite." Et excusso in media curia togae gremio non sine horrore, quasi plane sinu bellum ferret, effudit.

8 Similis exitus belli initiis fuit. Nam quasi has inferias sibi Saguntinorum ultimae dirae in illo publico parricidio incendioque mandassent, ita manibus eorum vastatione Italiae, captivitate Africae, ducum et regum qui id gessere bellum exitio
9 parentatum est. Igitur ubi semel se in Hispania movit illa gravis et luctuosa Punici belli vis atque tempestas destinatumque Romanis iam diu fulmen Saguntino igne conflavit, statim quodam impetu rapta medias perfregit Alpes et in Italiam ab illis fabulosae altitudinis nivibus velut caelo missa descendit.

10 Ac primi quidem impetus turbo inter Padum atque Ticinum valido statim fragore detonuit. Tum Scipione duce fusus exercitus; saucius etiam ipse venisset in hostium manus imperator, nisi protectum patrem praetextatus admodum filius ab ipsa morte
11 rapuisset. Hic erit Scipio, qui in exitium Africae crescit, nomen ex malis eius habiturus.

12 Ticino Trebia succedit. Hic secunda Punici belli procella desaevit Sempronio consule. Tum callidissimi hostes, frigidum et nivalem nancti diem, cum

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[1] 218 B.C.

toga in the midst of the senate-house, he spread it out with a gesture which did not fail to produce the alarm which might have been expected had he really carried war in its folds.

The course of the war resembled its beginning; for, as though the last curses of the Saguntines at their public self-immolation and burning had demanded such funeral rites, atonement was made to their shades by the devastation of Italy, the subjugation of Africa and the destruction of the leaders and kings who waged the war. As soon, therefore, as the dire and dismal stress and storm of the Punic War had arisen in Spain and had forged in the flames of Saguntum the thunderbolt which had long been destined to fall upon the Romans, immediately, hurried along by some compelling force, it burst its way through the midst of the Alps and swooped down upon Italy from those snows of fabulous heights like a missile hurled from the skies.

The tempest of the first assault crashed with a mighty roar between the Padus and the Ticinus. The Roman army under Scipio was scattered, and the general himself would have fallen wounded into the enemy's hands had not his son, still a mere youth, protected his father and rescued him from the very jaws of death. This youth was destined to be that Scipio who grew up to be the conqueror of Africa and was to win a title of honour from its misfortunes.

After the battle of Ticinus came that of Trebia. It was here that in the consulship of Sempronius,[1] the second storm of the Punic War wreaked its fury. On this occasion the crafty enemy, finding the day cold and snowy, after warming themselves

se ignibus prius oleoque fovissent—horribile dictu—homines a meridie et sole venientes, nostra nos hieme vicerunt.

13 Thrasymennus lacus, tertium fulmen Annibalis, imperatore Flaminio.[1] Ars nova Punicae fraudis; quippe nebula lacus palustribusque virgultis tectus
14 equitatus terga subito pugnantium invasit. Nec de dis possumus queri. Inminentem temerario duci cladem praedixerant insidentia signis examina et aquilae prodire nolentes et commissam aciem secutus ingens terrae tremor; nisi illum horrorem soli equitum virorumque discursus et mota vehementius arma fecerunt.

15 Quartum id et[2] paene ultimum volnus imperii Cannae, ignobilis Apuliae vicus; sed magnitudine cladis emersit et sexaginta milium caede parta nobilitas. Ibi in excidium infelicis exercitus dux, terra, caelum, dies, tota rerum natura consensit.
16 Si quidem non contentus simulatis transfugis Annibal, qui mox terga pugnantium ceciderunt,[3] insuper callidus imperator in patentibus campis observato loci ingenio, quod et sol ibi acerrimus et plurimus pulvis et eurus ab oriente semper quasi ex constituto, ita instruxit aciem, ut, Romanis

[1] Flaminio *N*: flamminino *BL*: flamminio *I*.
[2] et *scripsi*: est *codd*.
[3] ceciderunt *Aldus*: ceciderant *BIL*.

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[1] The standards were only with difficulty pulled out of the ground in which they were fixed (Liv. XXII, 3, 12).

at their fires and oiling themselves, defeated us (horrible to relate) though they came from the warmth of the southern sunshine, by the aid of our own winter.

Hannibal's third thunderbolt was launched at Lake Trasimene, where Flaminius commanded the Romans. Here Carthaginian craft devised a new stratagem; for their cavalry, under the cover of a mist from the lake and the undergrowth of the marshes, suddenly attacked the rear of our fighters. Nor can we blame the gods; for swarms of bees settling on our standards and the reluctance of the eagles to advance,[1] and a violent earthquake which ensued upon the beginning of the engagement—unless, indeed, it was the rush of horses and men and the unusually violent clash of arms which caused this trembling of the earth—had warned its rash commander of the impending disaster.

The fourth and almost mortal wound received by the Roman Empire was dealt at Cannae, an insignificant Apulian village, which emerged from its obscurity as the scene of a great disaster and gained fame from the slaughter of 60,000 men. There the general, the battle-field, the atmosphere and the weather—in fact, all nature—conspired to bring about the destruction of the unhappy army. For the wily Hannibal, not content with sending pretended deserters who presently fell upon the rear of the fighters, having, moreover, noticed the character of the ground in the open plains (where the sun is very hot and the dust abundant and the wind blows constantly, as though on a fixed principle, from the east) drew up his army in such a way that, while the Romans had all these factors

adversus haec omnia obversis, secundum caelum
17 tenens vento pulvere et sole pugnaret. Itaque duo
maximi exercitus caesi ad hostium satietatem, donec
Annibal diceret militi suo "parce ferro." Ducum
fugit alter, alter occisus est; dubium, uter maiore
animo: Paulum puduit, Varro non desperavit.
18 Documenta cladis cruentus aliquandiu Aufidus, pons
de cadaveribus iussu ducis factus in torrente Ver-
gello, modii duo anulorum Carthaginem missi
19 dignitasque equestris taxata mensura. Dubium
deinde non erit quin ultimum illum diem habitura
fuerit Roma quintumque intra diem epulari Annibal
in Capitolio potuerit, si, quod Poenum illum dixisse
Maharbalem Bomilcaris ferunt, Annibal quem ad
20 modum sciret vincere, sic uti victoria scisset. Sed
tum quidem illum, ut dici volgo solet, aut fatum
urbis imperaturae aut ipsius mens mala et aversi
21 a Carthagine di in diversum abstulerunt. Cum
victoria posset uti, frui maluit, relictaque Roma
Campaniam Tarentumque perrexit; ubi mox et
ipsius et exercitus[1] ardor elanguit, adeo ut vere
22 dictum sit Capuam Annibali Cannas fuisse. Si
quidem invictum Alpibus indomitumque armis Cam-
pani—quis crederet?—soles et tepentes fontibus
Baiae subegerunt.

[1] et ipsius et exercitus *Dukerus*: et ipse et ipsius exercitus *B*.

against them, he himself fought with the elements on his side, aided by the wind, the dust and the sun. Thus two great Roman armies were slaughtered till the enemy were satiated and Hannibal bade his soldiers stay their swords. One of our generals fled, the other was captured. It is difficult to decide which showed the greater courage: Paulus, who was ashamed to survive, or Varro, who refused to despair. As proofs of the vastness of the slaughter the Aufidus for a long time ran with blood; a bridge of corpses was constructed by order of the general over the torrent of Vergellus; two pecks of rings were sent to Carthage and the services of the equestrian order thus estimated by measure. After this no doubt will be entertained that Rome would have seen its last day and Hannibal might within five days have feasted on the Capitol, if (as they say Maharbal, the Carthaginian, the son of Bomilcar, observed) he had known how to use his victory as well as he knew how to obtain it. However, at the time, as is generally said, either the destiny of Rome as the future ruler of the world, or Hannibal's mistaken judgment, and the hostility of the gods to Carthage, diverted him elsewhere. When he might have exploited his victory, he preferred the enjoyments which it offered and, neglecting Rome, marched to Campania and Tarentum, where the vigour both of himself and of his army soon languished to such an extent that it has been remarked with truth that "Capua was Hannibal's Cannae." For, though it is scarcely credible, the sunshine of Campania and the hot springs of Baiae overcame him who had been undefeated by the Alps and unconquered on the battle-field.

23 Permissum est interim respirare Romanis et quasi ab inferis emergere. Arma non erant: detracta sunt templis. Deerat iuventus: in sacramentum
24 liberata servitia. Egebat aerarium: opes suas senatus in medium libens protulit, nec praeter quod in bullis singulisque anulis erat quicquam sibi auri reliquerunt. Eques secutus exemplum imitataeque
25 equitem tribus. Denique vix suffecere tabulae, vix scribarum manus Laevino Marcelloque consulibus,
26 cum privatorum opes in publicum referrentur. Quid autem? In eligendis magistratibus quae centuriarum sapientia, cum iuniores a senioribus consilium de creandis consulibus petiverunt. Quippe adversus hostem totiens victorem, tam callidum, non virtute tantum, sed suis etiam pugnare consiliis oportebat.

27 Prima redeuntis et, ut ita dixerim, revivescentis imperii spes Fabius fuit, qui novam de Annibale victoriam commentus est, non pugnare. Hinc illi cognomen novum et rei publicae salutare Cunctator; hinc illud ex populo, ut imperii scutum vocaretur.
28 Itaque per Samnium totum, per Falernos Gauranosque saltus sic maceravit Annibalem, ut, quia frangi virtute non poterat, mora comminueretur.
29 Inde Claudio Marcello duce etiam congredi ausus

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[1] Golden ornaments which free-born Roman children wore suspended round their necks.

[2] 210 B.C.

Meanwhile the Romans had the opportunity to recover their breath and rise, as it were, from the dead. They had no arms; they took down the arms fixed up in the temples. They had no men; slaves were set free and took the oath of service. The treasury was empty; the senators voluntarily offered their wealth to the State, retaining not a particle of gold except in the *bullae*[1] and in the single ring which each of them wore. The example of the senate was followed by the knights, who, in their turn, were imitated by the tribes, with the result that when, in the consulship of Laevinus and Marcellus,[2] the resources of private individuals were poured into the public treasury, the registers and the hands of the clerks scarcely sufficed to record them. Furthermore, what wisdom the centuries showed in the choice of magistrates, when the younger men sought from their seniors advice about the election of the consuls! For against a foe so often victorious and so crafty it behoved them to fight not only with courage but with stratagem also on their side.

The first hope of the Empire, as it began to recover and, so to speak, return to life, was Fabius, who devised a new method of defeating Hannibal—by not fighting him. Hence he received a new title, significant of the way in which he saved the State, namely, Cunctator ("the Delayer"); hence too the people paid him the tribute of calling him "the Shield of the Empire." And so through the whole of Samnium and the Falernian and Gauran forests he so wore Hannibal down that, since he could not be broken by valour, he was reduced by delay. Then, under the leadership of Claudius Marcellus, they at last ventured to meet

est: comminus venit et perculit[1] in Campania sua
30 et ab obsidione Nolae urbis exclusit. Ausus et Sempronio Graccho duce per Lucaniam sequi et premere terga cedentis, quamvis tum—o pudor![2]—servili pugnaret exercitu;[3] nam hucusque tot mala conpulerant. Sed libertate donati
31 fecerunt de servis se virtute[4] Romanos. O horribilem in tot adversis fiduciam! O singularem animum ac spiritum populi Romani! Tam artis adflictisque rebus, ut de Italia sua dubitare[5] debuisset, ausus tamen est in diversa respicere,
32 cumque hostis in iugulo[6] per Campaniam Apuliamque volitaret mediaque[7] de Italia Africam faceret, eodem tempore et hunc sustinebat et in Siciliam, Sardiniam, Hispaniam divisa per terrarum orbem arma mittebat.

33 Sicilia mandata Marcello. Nec diu restitit; tota enim insula in una urbe superata est. Grande illud et ante id tempus invictum caput, Syracusae, quamvis Archimedis ingenio defenderentur, ali-
34 quando cesserunt. Longe illi triplex murus totidemque arces, portus ille marmoreus et fons celebratus Arethusae; nisi quod hactenus profuere, ut pulchritudini victae urbis parceretur.

[1] perculit *Salmasius*: perpulit *BI*: pepulit *N*.
[2] o pudor *I*: pudor *B*: o pudor manu *NL*.
[3] exercitu *I*: exercitum *B*.
[4] de servis se virtute *Salmasius*: de servitute *codd*.
[5] dubitare *I*: decedere *B*.
[6] hostis in iugulo *I*: hosti singulo *B*.
[7] mediaque *Heinsius*: mediamque *codd*.

him in battle; they came to close quarters with him, smote him in his beloved Campania, and forced him to abandon the siege of Nola. They also ventured, under the leadership of Sempronius Gracchus, to pursue him through Lucania, and to press hard upon his rearguard as he retired, though on this occasion they fought him with an army of slaves—a sad disgrace; for their many misfortunes had reduced them to this expedient. But these men, presented with their liberty, made themselves, by their valour, Romans instead of slaves. How amazing was the confidence of the Roman people amid so many adversities! How extraordinary their courage and spirit! Though their fortunes were so reduced and brought low that they might well have had misgivings about their own land of Italy, they yet ventured to turn their eyes in various other directions; and while the enemy, clinging to their very throat, were rushing hither and thither through Campania and Apulia and creating another Africa in the very heart of Italy, they not only withstood them but at the same time spread their troops over the face of the earth, sending them to Sicily, Sardinia and Spain.

Sicily was the area assigned to Marcellus; and it did not long resist him; for the whole island was subjugated by the defeat of a single city. Syracuse, the mighty and hitherto unconquered capital, though it was defended by the genius of Archimedes, at length yielded. Of no avail were its triple walls, its three citadels, its harbour of marble and the celebrated Fountain of Arethusa; the only advantage which they conferred was that the beauties of the conquered city were spared.

35 Sardiniam Gracchus arripuit. Sed nihil illi gentium feritas Insanorumque—nam sic vocantur—inmanitas montium profuere. Saevitum in urbes urbemque urbium Caralim, ut gens contumax vilisque mortis saltem desiderio patrii soli domaretur.

36 In Hispaniam missi Gnaeus et Publius Scipiones paene totam Poenis eripuerant, sed insidiis Punicae fraudis oppressi rursum amiserant, magnis quidem illi proeliis cum Punicas opes cecidissent. Sed Punicae insidiae alterum ferro castra metantem, alterum, cum vix[1] evasisset in turrem, cinctum
37 facibus oppresserant. Igitur in ultionem patris ac patrui missus cum exercitu Scipio, cui iam grande
38 de Africa nomen fata decreverant, bellatricem illam, viris armisque nobilem Hispaniam, illam seminarium hostilis exercitus, pusilli illam iam[2] Annibalis eruditricem—incredibile dictu—totam a Pyrenaeis montibus in Herculis columnas et Oceanum recuperavit,
39 nescias citius an felicius. Quam velociter, quattuor anni fatentur; quam facile, vel una civitas probat. Eodem quippe quo obsessa est die capta est, omenque[3] Africanae victoriae fuit, quod tam facile
40 victa est Hispaniae Carthago. Certum est tamen ad profligandam provinciam maxime profecisse

[1] vix *Rossbachius*: vim *B*.
[2] pusilli illam iam: pusilli iam *B*: illam *NL*: illam iam *I*.
[3] omenque: nomenque *B*: omnemque *LI*.

Gracchus secured Sardinia; the savagery of the inhabitants and the vastness of the Mad Mountains —for such is their name—availed it nothing. Its cities, including Caralis, the capital, were treated with severity, that a race which was obstinate and contemptuous of life might at any rate be tamed by the loss of the soil which it cultivated.

The two Scipios, Gnaeus and Publius, were sent into Spain and had wrested practically the whole of the country from the Carthaginians; but, surprised by the wiles of Carthaginian craft, they had lost it again, although they had defeated their forces in important battles. But the stratagems of the Carthaginians had overwhelmed one of them by attacking him as he was measuring out a camp, and the other by surrounding him with flames in a tower to which he had with difficulty escaped. And so a third Scipio, for whom the fate had already destined a great name to be won in Africa, was sent with an army to avenge his father and uncle, and recovered the whole of Spain (an almost incredible feat) from the Pyrenees to the Pillars of Hercules, that land of warriors, so famous for its heroes and its warlike exploits, that nursery of the enemy's forces which had taught the youthful Hannibal the art of war. It is difficult to say which was greater, his speed or his good fortune. To his speed, the four years of his operations bear witness; the ease of his conquest is proved by the example of a single city, which was captured on the very day on which the siege began, while it was an omen of future victory in Africa that the Spanish Carthage was so easily subdued. It is certain, however, that the remarkable austerity of the general contributed greatly to the subjugation

singularem ducis sanctitatem, quippe qui captivos pueros puellasque praecipuae pulchritudinis barbaris restitueret, ne in conspectum suum quidem passus adduci, ne quid de virginitatis integritate delibasse saltem oculis videretur.

41 Haec in diversa terrarum populus Romanus, nec ideo tamen visceribus Italiae inhaerentem summovere poterat Annibalem. Pleraque ad hostem defecerant, et dux acerrimus contra Romanos Italicis
42 quoque viribus utebatur. Iam tamen eum plerisque oppidis et regionibus excusseramus, iam Tarentum ad nos redierat, iam et Capua, sedes domus et patria altera Annibalis, tenebatur, cuius amissio tantum Poeno duci dolorem dedit, ut inde totis
43 viribus Romam converteretur. O populum dignum orbis imperio dignumque omnium favore et admiratione hominum ac deorum! Conpulsus ad ultimos metus ab incepto non destitit, et de sua urbe sollicitus Capuam tamen non omisit; sed parte exercitus sub Appio consule relicta, parte Flaccum in urbem secuta, absens simul praesensque pugnabat.
44 Quid ergo miramur moventi castra a tertio lapide Annibali iterum ipsos deos—deos inquam, nec fateri
45 pudebit—restitisse?[1] Tanta enim ad singulos illius motus vis imbrium effusa est, tanta ventorum violentia coorta est, ut divinitus hostem summoveri non a caelo, sed ab urbis ipsius moenibus et Capi-

[1] restitisse *post* deos *inser. B.*

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[1] *i.e.* as after Cannae.
[2] As were the Giants in the legend.

of the province; for he restored to the barbarians some captive boys and girls of extraordinary beauty without having allowed them to be brought into his presence, lest even by a glance he should seem to have sullied their virgin purity.

Though such were their achievements in various other parts of the world, the Romans were yet unable to dislodge Hannibal, who still held his grip upon the very vitals of Italy. Many places had deserted to the enemy, whose indefatigable leader was employing Italian aid also against the Romans. We had, however, by this time driven Hannibal out of many towns and districts; Tarentum had already returned to our side, and Capua, his headquarters, his home and his second fatherland (the loss of which caused the Carthaginian leader such grief that he promptly directed his whole forces against Rome) was in our hands. How well did the Roman people deserve the empire of the world and the favour and admiration of all, both gods and men! Compelled to fear the worst, they did not abandon their purpose, and, though alarmed for their own city, did not lose their hold upon Capua; but, part of their army having been left there under the Consul Appius and the rest having followed Flaccus to the capital, they fought at home and away from home at the same time. Why then are we surprised that, when Hannibal was moving his camp forward from the third milestone, the gods, the gods, I say (and we shall feel no shame in admitting their aid), again[1] resisted his progress? For, at each advance of his, such a flood of rain fell and such violent gales arose that he seemed to be repelled by the gods not from heaven,[2] but from the walls of the city

46 tolio videretur. Fugit et cessit et in ultimum se
Italiae recepit sinum, cum urbem tantum non
47 adoratam reliquisset. Parva res dictu sed ad
magnanimitatem populi Romani probandam satis
efficax, quod illis ipsis quibus obsidebatur diebus
ager, quem Annibal castris insederat, venalis Romae
48 fuit hastaeque subiectus invenit emptorem. Voluit
Annibal contra imitari fiduciam subiecitque argenta-
rias urbis tabernas; nec sector inventus est, ut scias
etiam praesagia fatis adfuisse.

49 Nihil actum erat tanta virtute, tanto favore etiam
deorum, si quidem ab Hispania Hasdrubal frater
Annibalis cum exercitu novo, novis viribus, nova
50 belli mole veniebat. Actum erat procul dubio, si
vir ille se cum fratre iunxisset. Sed hunc quoque
iam tum quom[1] ab Alpe descenderat, apud Me-
taurum castra metantem Claudius Nero cum Livio
51 Salinatore debellat. Nero in ultimum Italiae angu-
lum[2] summoverat Annibalem, Livius in diversissi-
mam partem, id est in ipsas nascentis Italiae fauces
52 signa converterat. Tanto, id est omni, qua longissi-
ma est[3] Italia, solo interiacente, quo consilio, qua
celeritate consules castra coniunxerint, inopina-
tumque hostem conlatis signis oppresserint, neque
53 id fieri Annibal senserit, difficile dictu est. Certe
Annibal re cognita cum proiectum fratris caput ad
sua castra vidisset, "agnosco" inquit "infelicita-

[1] iam tum quom *Rossbachius*: tantum quod *codd.*
[2] in ultimum Italiae angulum *Halmius*: in ultimo Italiae angulo *codd.*
[3] est *I*: fuit *B*.

itself and the Capitol. Hannibal fled and departed, withdrawing to the furthermost corner of Italy, abandoning the city, the object almost of his worship. It is a small detail but rather a striking proof of the stout-heartedness of the Romans that, during the very days when the city was being besieged, the land upon which Hannibal had set up his camp came up for sale at Rome, and, on being put up for auction, found a purchaser. Hannibal on his part, wishing to imitate this confidence, put up for sale the banking establishments in the city; but no bidder could be found, a fact which shows that future events cast their shadow before them.

All this valour and even the powerful support of the gods had produced no result, since Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, was coming from Spain with a new army, new strength and new resources for war; the fate of Rome had certainly been sealed if he had effected a junction with his brother. However, when Hasdrubal had just descended from the Alps, as he was planning out a camp near the Metaurus, Claudius Nero, together with Livius Salinator, defeated him also. Nero had driven Hannibal into the uttermost corner of Italy, while Livius had advanced to the very opposite end of the country, the very entrance of the Italian frontier. Since so vast a space, the utmost length of Italy, lay between them, it is difficult to do justice to the skill and speed with which the consuls joined their forces and, with their combined armies, surprised their unsuspecting foe without Hannibal's knowing that they were doing so. Hannibal, at any rate, on learning what had happened by seeing his brother's head thrown into his camp, exclaimed, "I recognize the ill-luck of

tem Carthaginis." Haec fuit illius viri non sine praesagio quodam fati inminentis prima confessio.
54 Iam certum erat Annibalem etiam ipsius confessione posse vinci; sed tot rerum prosperarum fiducia plenus populus Romanus magni aestimabat
55 asperrimum hostem in sua Africa debellare. Duce igitur Scipione in ipsam Africam tota mole conversus imitari coepit Annibalem et Italiae suae
56 clades in Africa vindicare. Quas ille, dii boni, Hasdrubalis copias fudit, quos Syphacis Numidici regis equitatus! Quae quantaque utriusque[1] castra facibus inlatis una nocte delevit! Denique iam non a tertio lapide, sed ipsas Carthaginis portas obsi-
57 dione quatiebat. Sic factum ut inhaerentem atque
58 incubantem Italiae extorqueret Annibalem. Non fuit maior sub imperio Romano dies quam ille, cum duo omnium et antea et postea ducum maximi[2] duces, ille Italiae, hic Hispaniae victor, conlatis comminus signis direxere aciem. Sed et conloquium fuit inter ipsos de legibus pacis, et steterunt
59 diu mutua admiratione defixi. Ubi de pace non
60 convenit, signa cecinere. Constat utriusque confessione nec melius instrui aciem nec acrius potuisse pugnari; hoc Scipio de Annibalis, Annibal de
61 Scipionis exercitu praedicaverunt. Sed tamen Anni-

[1] *post* utriusque *add.* clasis *B*, classis *I*.
[2] maximi *I*: maxime *BN*.

Carthage." This was his first confession, fraught with foreknowledge of approaching failure.

It was now certain that Hannibal, even by his own confession, could be defeated; but the Roman people, full of the confidence inspired by so much success, set great store upon defeating their bitterest enemy on his own soil of Africa. Under the leadership, therefore, of Scipio, they directed the whole mass of their forces upon Africa itself and began to imitate the example of Hannibal and avenge upon Africa the disasters which had befallen their own land of Italy. Ye gods, what forces of Hasdrubal, what cavalry of Syphax, king of Numidia, did Scipio put to flight! What mighty camps of both these leaders did he destroy in a single night by bringing firebrands against them! At last, not at three miles distance but by a close siege, he shook the very gates of Carthage. He thus succeeded in making Hannibal release his grip upon Italy, to which he was still clinging and over which he still brooded. In the whole history of the Roman Empire there was no more notable occasion than when the two generals, greater than any before or since, the one the conqueror of Italy, the other of Spain, drew up their armies for a pitched battle. But first a conference was held between them about terms of peace, and they stood for a while motionless in mutual admiration. When, however, no agreement was reached about peace, the signal was given for battle. It is agreed from the admission of both sides that no armies could have been better arrayed and no battle more obstinately contested; Scipio acknowedged this about Hannibal's army and Hannibal about that of Scipio. But Hannibal had

bal cessit, praemiumque victoriae Africa fuit et secutus Africam statim terrarum orbis.

XXIII. Bellvm Macedonicvm Primvm

II, 7 Post Carthaginem vinci neminem puduit. Statim Africam secutae sunt gentes, Macedonia, Graecia, Syria ceteraque omnia quodam quasi aestu et
2 torrente fortunae, sed primi omnium Macedones, adfectator quondam imperii populus. Itaque quamvis tum Philippus regno praesideret, Romani tamen dimicare sibi cum rege Alexandro videbantur.
3 Macedonicum bellum nomine amplius quam specta-
4 tione gentis fuit. Causa coepit a foedere Philippi, quo rex iam pridem dominantem in Italia Annibalem sibi socium iunxerat; postea crevit inplorantibus Athenis auxilium contra regis iniurias, cum ille ultra ius victoriae in templa et aras et sepulcra
5 ipsa saeviret. Placuit senatui opem tantis ferre supplicibus. Quippe iam gentium reges, duces, populi, nationes, praesidia sibi ab hac urbe repe-
6 tebant. Primum igitur Laevino consule populus Romanus Ionium mare ingressus, tota Graeciae
7 litora velut triumphanti classe peragravit. Spolia quippe Siciliae, Sardiniae, Hispaniae, Africae prae-

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[1] 210 B.C.

to yield, and Africa became the prize of victory; and the whole world soon followed the fate of Africa.

XXIII. The First Macedonian War

7. After the conquest of Carthage, no nation felt ashamed of being conquered. The peoples of Macedonia, Greece, Syria and all the other countries immediately followed in the wake of Africa, as if borne along by the flood and torrent of fortune. Of all these the first were the Macedonians, a people who had once aimed at imperial power; and so, though at the time King Philip occupied the throne, the Romans nevertheless felt as if they were fighting against King Alexander. The Macedonian War gained importance rather from its name than from any consideration of the nation with whom it was waged. The original cause of the war was a treaty by which Philip had joined himself in alliance with Hannibal at a time when he had long been dominating Italy. Subsequently an additional pretext was afforded when the Athenians implored help against the injuries of the king, who was venting his fury, beyond any rights which victory conferred, on their temples, altars and even sepulchres. The senate resolved to grant help to such important suppliants; for by this time kings and leaders, peoples and nations of the world were beginning to seek protection from this city. In the consulship of Laevinus,[1] therefore, the Roman people first entered the Ionian Sea and coasted along all the shores of Greece with their fleet in a kind of triumphal procession; for they bore in the front of their vessels the trophies of Sicily, Sardinia, Spain and Africa, and the bay tree

ferebat, et manifestam victoriam nata in praetoria
8 puppi laurus pollicebatur. Aderat sponte in auxilium Attalus rex Pergamenorum, aderant Rhodii, nauticus populus, qui navibus a mari,[1] consul
9 a terris omnia equis virisque quatiebat. Bis victus, bis fugatus rex, bis exutus castris, cum tamen nihil terribilius Macedonibus fuit ipso volnerum aspectu, quae non spiculis nec sagittis nec ullo Graeculo ferro, sed ingentibus pilis nec minoribus
10 adacta gladiis ultra mortem patebant. Enimvero Flaminino[2] duce invios antea Chaonum montes Aoumque[3] amnem per abrupta[4] vadentem et ipsa[5]
11 Macedoniae claustra penetravimus. Introisse victoria fuit. Nam postea numquam ausus congredi rex ad tumulos, quos Cynocephalas vocant, uno ac ne
12 hoc quidem iusto proelio opprimitur. Et illi quidem consul pacem dedit regnumque concessit, mox, ne quid esset hostile, Thebas et Euboeam et grassantem sub Nabide[6] tyranno suo Lacedaemona compescuit.
13 Graeciae vero veterem statum reddidit, ut legibus
14 viveret suis et avita libertate frueretur. Quae gaudia, quae vociferationes fuerunt, cum hoc forte Nemeae in theatro quinquennalibus ludis a praecone caneretur! Quo certavere plausu! Quid
15 florum in consulem profuderunt! Et iterum ite-

[1] qui navibus a mari *Freinshemius*: quibus a mari *codd.*
[2] Flaminino: flamminio *BI*: flaminio *NL*.
[3] Aoumque *Vinetus*: savum que *B*: dumque *NL*: saumque *I*.
[4] abrupta *L*: abruta *B*.
[5] et ipsa *NL*: ad ipsa *B*: et ad ipsa *I*.
[6] sub Nabide: sub nam | bide *B*: sum mauide *N*: summa uide *L*.

which sprouted on the prow of the flagship promised certain victory. Attalus, king of Pergamon, was there of his own accord to help us; the Rhodians were there, a naval people who spread consternation everywhere at sea with their ships, as did the consul on land with his horsemen and foot-soldiers. King Philip was twice defeated, twice driven into flight, twice despoiled of his camp; but nothing caused the Macedonians greater fear than the sight of their wounds, which, having been dealt not with darts or arrows or any Greek weapon but by huge javelins and no less huge swords, gaped wider than was necessary to cause death. Indeed under the leadership of Flamininus we penetrated into the mountains of the Chaonians, hitherto impassable, and the river Aous which flows through deep gorges, the very gates of Macedonia. To have effected an entrance into this country meant victory; for afterwards the king, who had never ventured to meet us in the field, was overwhelmed, near the hills which they call Cynoscephalae, in a single engagement which could hardly be called a regular battle. To Philip, then, the consul granted peace and restored to him his kingdom, and afterwards, that no foe might remain, subdued Thebes and Euboea and Lacedaemon, which attempted resistance under its tyrant Nabis. To Greece Flamininus restored its ancient constitution, that it might live under its old laws and enjoy its ancestral liberty. What joy there was, what cries of delight there were, when this proclamation was made, as it happened, at the quinquennial games in the theatre at Nemea! How they vied with one another in their applause! What flowers they showered upon the consul! Again and again

rumque praeconem repetere vocem illam iubebant, qua libertas Achaiae pronuntiabatur, nec aliter illa consulari sententia quam modulatissimo aliquo tibiarum aut fidium cantu fruebantur.

XXIIII. Bellvm Syriacvm Regis Antiochi

II, 8 Macedoniam Asia[1] statim et regem Philippum Antiochus excepit quodam casu, quasi de industria sic adgubernante fortuna, ut quem ad modum ab Africa in Europam,[2] sic ab Europa[3] in Asiam ultro se suggerentibus causis imperium procederet, et cum terrarum orbis situ ipse ordo victoriarum
2 navigaret. Non aliud formidolosius fama bellum fuit; quippe cum Persas et orientem, Xerxen atque Darium cogitarent, quando perfossi invii montes,
3 quando velis opertum mare nuntiaretur. Ad hoc caelestes minae territabant, cum umore continuo Cumanus Apollo sudaret; sed hic faventis Asiae
4 suae numinis timor erat. Nec sane viris opibus armisque quicquam copiosius Syria; sed in manus tam ignavi regis inciderat, ut nihil fuerit in Antiocho speciosius quam quod a Romanis victus
5 est. Inpulere regem in id bellum illinc Thoas, Aetoliae princeps, inhonoratam apud Romanos querens adversus Macedonas militiae suae societa-

[1] Asia *udd. Halmius.* [2] Europam *L*: Achaiam *B*.
[3] Europa: Achaia *B*.

they bade the herald repeat the declaration by which the liberty of Achaea was proclaimed; and they took as much delight in the consul's decision as in the most harmonious concert of pipes and strings.

XXIIII. The Syrian War against King Antiochus

8. Asia then immediately took the place of Macedonia, and Antiochus that of King Philip, a mere coincidence making it seem as if fortune designedly so arranged matters that, just as the empire had advanced from Europe into Africa, so now, owing to causes which spontaneously presented themselves, it should spread from Europe into Asia, and that the series of victories might follow a geographical sequence. Report never represented any war as more formidable than this, as the Romans bethought them of the Persians and the East, of Xerxes and Darius, of the days when impassable mountains were said to have been cut through and the sea hidden with sails. Moreover, threats from heaven alarmed them; for the statue of Apollo at Cumae was in a constant sweat, though it was really due to the fear of the god in his affection for his beloved Asia. No land indeed is richer than Syria in men, resources and arms, but it had fallen into the hands of so poor-spirited a king that the most notable fact about Antiochus was his conquest by the Romans. The two persons who instigated the king to undertake this war were, on the one hand, Thoas, prince of Aetolia, who complained that he had not received due credit from the Romans for the support given by his army against the Macedonians, and, on the other

tem, hinc Annibal, qui in Africa victus, profugus et pacis inpatiens hostem populo Romano toto orbe
6 quaerebat. Et quod illud fuisset periculum, si se consiliis eius rex tradidisset, id est si Asiae viribus usus fuisset miser Annibal? Sed rex suis opibus et nomine regio fretus satis habuit bellum movere.
7 Europa iam dubio procul iure belli ad Romanos pertinebat. Hic Lysimachiam, urbem in litore Thracio positam a maioribus suis, Antiochus ut
8 hereditario iure repetebat. Hoc velut sidere Asiatici belli mota tempestas. Sed maximus regum, contentus fortiter indixisse bellum, cum ingenti strepitu ac tumultu movisset ex Asia, occupatis statim insulis Graeciaeque litoribus otia et luxus
9 quasi victor agitabat. Euboan insulam continenti adhaerentem tenui freto reciprocantibus aquis Euripus abscindit. Hic ille positis aureis sericisque tentoriis sub ipso freti murmure, cum praefluentes aquae tibiis fidibusque concinerent, conlatis undique quamvis per hiemem rosis, ne non aliquo genere ducem agere videretur,[1] virginum puerorumque
10 dilectus habebat. Talem ergo regem iam luxuria sua debellatum Acilio Glabrione consule populus Romanus in insula adgressus ipso statim adventus

[1] agere videretur *om. B.*

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[1] Cicero uses a similar figure (*pro Murena*, 17).
[2] 191 B.C.

hand, Hannibal, who, defeated in Africa, now a fugitive and unable to rest in peace, was scouring the whole world to find an enemy to fight against the Roman people. And, indeed, how great would have been the peril if King Antiochus had entrusted himself to his guidance and the unhappy Hannibal had had all the resources of Asia at his command! The king, however, confident in his own powers and royal title, thought it enough merely to set war in motion. Europe without doubt belonged to the Romans by right of conquest; yet Antiochus demanded back, as of hereditary right, a European city, Lysimachia, which had been founded by his ancestors on the coast of Thrace. This action, like the rising of some star,[1] stirred up the storm of war in Asia. This mightiest of kings, however, content with his bold declaration of war, marched out of Asia with loud noise and tumult, and immediately seizing the islands and coasts of Greece, spent his time in ease and luxury as though he had already won the day. The island of Euboea, lying close to the mainland, is separated therefrom by the narrow straits of the Euripus, whose waters continually ebb and flow. Here he set up his tents of cloth of gold and silk within the very sound of the straits, whose waters as they flowed past murmured in harmony with the music of pipes and strings, and having collected roses, although it was winter, from every quarter, that he might seem in some way at any rate to act the general, held his levies of maidens and boys. Against this king then, already defeated by his own luxury, the Roman people, in the consulship of Acilius Glabrio,[2] advanced while he was in the island, and immediately drove him into flight by the mere

11 sui nuntio coëgit ab insula fugere. Tum praecipitem apud Thermopylas adsecutus, locum trecentorum Laconum speciosa clade memorandum, ne ibi quidem fiducia loci resistentem, mari ac terra
12 cedere coëgit. Statim et e vestigio itur in Syriam. Classis regia Polyxenidae Annibalique commissa—nam rex proelium nec spectare poterat,—duce Aemilio Regillo, adremigantibus Rhodiis tota laceratur.
13 Ne sibi placeant Athenae; in Antiocho vicimus Xerxen, in Aemilio Alcibiaden aequavimus,
14 Epheso Salamina pensavimus. Tum consule Scipione, cui frater, ille modo victor Carthaginis Africanus, aderat voluntaria legatione, debellari regem placet. Et iam toto cesserat mari, sed nos
15 imus ulterius. Maeandrum ad amnem montemque Sipylum castra ponuntur. Hic rex, incredibile dictu
16 quibus auxiliis, quibus copiis consederat. Trecenta milia peditum, equitum falcatorumque curruum non minor numerus. Elephantis ad hoc inmensae magnitudinis, auro purpura argento et suo ebore
17 fulgentibus, aciem utrimque vallaverat.[1] Sed haec omnia praepedita magnitudine sua, ad hoc imbre, qui subito superfusus mira felicitate Persicos arcus corruperat.[2] Primum trepidatio, mox fuga, deinde
18 triumphus fuerunt. Victo et supplici pacem par-

[1] vallaverat: vallaverant *NL*: variaverat *B*.
[2] corruperat: perruperat *B*.

announcement of their approach. They pursued him in his headlong flight, and at Thermopylae, a spot memorable for the glorious defeat of the three hundred Spartans (even this scene did not inspire him with confidence enough to make a stand), forced him to own them victors by land and sea. Then instantly, without delay, they set out for Syria. The royal fleet entrusted to the charge of Polyxenidas and Hannibal—for the king could not even bear to look upon a battle—was completely destroyed by the Romans under Aemilius Regillus, with the aid of the Rhodian fleet. Let not Athens be over-proud: in Antiochus we defeated a Xerxes; in Aemilius we had the equal of an Alcibiades; at Ephesus we rivalled Salamis. Then, under the consul Scipio, whose brother, the great Africanus, the recent conqueror of Carthage, was serving voluntarily under him as second-in-command, it was decided utterly to defeat King Antiochus. He had entirely abandoned the sea, but we carried the war beyond it, and our camp was pitched near the river Maeander and Mount Sipylus. Here the king had taken up a position with an incredible number of auxiliaries and other troops. He had 300,000 foot-soldiers and an equal number of cavalry and chariots armed with scythes. He had also protected both his flanks with elephants of huge size, brilliant with gold, purple and silver and the sheen of their own ivory. But all this great force was embarrassed by its very size, as well as by a shower of rain, which, suddenly descending, had, by a piece of wonderful good luck, destroyed the efficiency of the Persian bows. First there was panic, then flight, and finally complete triumph. To the conquered and suppliant Antiochus

temque regni dari placuit eo libentius, quod tam facile cessisset.

XXV. Bellvm Aetolvm

II, 9 Syriaco bello successit, et debebat, Aetolum. Victo quippe Romanus Antiocho faces Asiatici belli persequebatur. Ergo Fulvio Nobiliori mandata
2 ultio est. Hic protinus caput gentis Ambraciam, regiam Pyrrhi, machinis quatit. Secuta deditio est.
3 Aderant Aetolorum precibus Attici, Rhodii, et
4 memineramus auxilii : sic placuit ignoscere. Serpsit tamen latius in proximos bellum, omnisque late Cephallenia, Zacynthos[1] et quidquid insularum in eo mari inter Ceraunios montes iugumque Maleum Aetoli belli accessio fuerunt.

XXVI. Bellvm Histricvm

II, 10 Histri secuntur Aetolos ; quippe bellantes eos
2 nuper adiuverant. Et initia pugnae hosti prospera fuerunt,[2] eademque exitii causa. Nam cum Gnaei Manlii[3] castra cepissent opimacque praedae incubarent, epulantes ac ludibundos plerosque, qui aut ubi essent prae poculis nescientes, Appius Pulcher

[1] omnisque late Cephallenia, Zacynthos *Freinshemius*: omnemque late Cephalleniam, Zacynthon *codd.*
[2] fuerunt : fuerant *B*.
[3] Manlii : manilii *B* : mali *NL*.

it was decided to grant peace and a portion of his kingdom, and this all the more willingly because he had yielded so easily.

XXV. The Aetolian War

9. The Syrian war was followed, as it was bound to happen, by an Aetolian war; for after the conquest of Antiochus, the Romans pursued those who had kindled the war in Asia. And so the task of vengeance was committed to Fulvius Nobilior. He immediately attacked Ambracia, the capital of the nation and the royal abode of Pyrrhus, with his engines of war. Its surrender quickly followed. The Athenians and Rhodians supported the supplications of the Aetolians, and we remembered their former services and decided to pardon them. Hostilities, however, spread more widely among the neighbouring peoples; and all Cephallenia and Zacynthus and all the islands in that sea between the Ceraunian mountains and Cape Malea were involved in the Aetolian war.

XXVI. The Istrian War

10. The Istrians were dealt with after the Aetolians, for they had recently assisted them in war. The beginnings of the struggle were favourable to the enemy, and this very success was the cause of their ruin. For when they had captured the camp of Gnaeus Manlius and were gloating over their rich spoil, Appius Pulcher fell upon most of them feasting and enjoying themselves and so deep in their cups that they were unconscious and did not know

3 invadit. Sic cum sanguine et spiritu male partam revomuere victoriam. Ipse rex Aepulo[1] equo inpositus, cum subinde crapula et capitis errore lapsaret, captum sese vix et aegre, postquam expergefactus est, didicit.

XXVII. Bellvm Gallograecvm

II, 11 Gallograeciam quoque Syriaci belli ruina con-
2 volvit. Fuerint inter auxilia regis Antiochi, an fuisse cupidus triumphi Manlius Vulso[2] simulaverit, du-
3 bium; at certe[3] negatus est victori triumphus, quia causam belli non adprobavit. Ceterum gens Gallograecorum, sicut ipsum nomen indicio est, mixta et adulterata est: reliquiae Gallorum, qui Brenno duce vastaverant Graeciam, orientem secuti, in
4 media Asiae parte sederunt; itaque, uti frugum semina[4] mutato solo degenerant, sic illa genuina feritas eorum Asiatica amoenitate mollita est.
5 Duobus itaque proeliis fusi fugatique sunt, quamvis sub adventu hostis relictis sedibus in altissimos se montes recepissent. Tolostobogi[5] Olympum, Tectosagi Magabam[6] insederant. Utrimque fundis sagittisque detracti in perpetuam se pacem dediderunt.
6 Sed alligati miraculo quidam[7] fuere, cum catenas

[1] Aepulo *Livius*, XLI. 11 : apulo *BNL*.
[2] Manlius Vulso *Mommsenus* : visos *B* : aneos visos *NL* : visus *I*.
[3] at certe *Iahnius* : hac | perte *B* : certe *NL*.
[4] semina : seminam *B*.
[5] Tolostobogi : colos cobegi *B* : colosobegit *I*.
[6] Magabam *H. Muellerus* : magabant *B* : magaba *I*.
[7] quidam : quodam *codd*.

where they were. Thus, as they yielded up their blood and breath, they disgorged the ill-gotten spoils of victory. Their king Aepulo himself, who had been placed upon a horse, from which he frequently fell in his intoxicated and dizzy condition, was with difficulty at last made to understand, when he woke up, that he was a prisoner.

XXVII. The Gallo-Greek War

11. The disastrous termination of the Syrian war involved Gallo-Graecia also. Whether its inhabitants had really been among the auxiliaries of King Antiochus, or whether Manlius Vulso, in his eagerness for a triumph, had pretended that they were so, is uncertain. In any case, though he was victorious, he was refused a triumph, because the Romans did not approve of the pretext under which he had gone to war. The race of the Gallo-Greeks, as their very name implies, was of mixed and confused origin; they were the remnants of those Gauls who had laid Greece waste under the leadership of Brennus, and then, taking an easterly direction, settled in the middle of Asia. And so, just as seeds of cereals degenerate in a different soil, so their natural ferocity was softened by the mild climate of Asia. They were, therefore, routed and put to flight in two engagements, although, at the approach of the enemy, they had left their homes and retired to the highest mountains. The Tolostobogi had occupied Olympus, the Tectosagi Magaba. Dislodged from both these places by slings and arrows, they surrendered under a promise of perpetual peace. Some of them, however, after they had been bound, caused astonishment by trying to sever their bonds by

morsibus et ore temptassent, cum offocandas invicem fauces praebuissent. Nam Orgiacontis regis[1] uxor a centurione stuprum passa[2] memorabili exemplo custodiam evasit, revolsumque adulteri hostis caput ad maritum reportavit.

XXVIII. Bellvm Macedonicvm Secvndvm

II, 12 1 Dum aliae aliaeque gentes Syriaci belli secuntur
2 ruinam, Macedonia rursus se erexit. Fortissimum populum memoria et recordatio suae nobilitatis agitabat, et successerat Philippo filius Perses, qui semel in perpetuum victam esse Macedoniam non
3 putabat ex gentis dignitate. Multo vehementius sub hoc Macedones quam sub patre exurgunt. Quippe Thracas in res[3] suas traxerant, atque ita industriam Macedonum viribus Thracum, ferociam
4 Thracum disciplina Macedonica temperavere. Accessit his consilium ducis, qui situm regionum suarum a summo speculatus Haemo, positis per abrupta[4] castris, ita Macedoniam suam armis ferroque vallaverat, ut non reliquisse aditum nisi a
5 caelo venturis hostibus videretur. Tamen Marcio Philippo consule eam[5] provinciam ingressus populus Romanus, exploratis diligenter accessibus per Ascurida[6] paludem Perrhaebosque tumulos illa volucribus

[1] regis *om. B.* [2] passa *om. BI.*
[3] res *Iahnius*: vires *codd.* [4] abrupta : abruta *codd.*
[5] eam *Heinsius* : nam *codd.*
[6] Ascurida *Heinsius; cf. Livius* XLIV. 2, 3: astudam *B*: astundam *NL.*

[1] 186 B.C.

biting them with their teeth and offering their throats to one another to be strangled. The wife of their king Orgiacon, who had suffered violation at the hands of a centurion, achieved the remarkable exploit of escaping from custody and carrying to her husband the head of her licentious foe which she had cut off.

XXVIII. The Second Macedonian War

12. While nation after nation was involved in the disaster of the Syrian war, Macedonia again raised her head. The memory and recollection of its former greatness spurred that valiant people to action. Also Philip had been succeeded by his son Perses, who thought that it ill accorded with the high repute of the nation that Macedonia, once conquered, should remain for ever conquered. Under his leadership, therefore, the Macedonians rose with much more vigour than under his father. They had induced the Thracians to support their efforts and had thus tempered the Macedonian persistence with Thracian energy, and Thracian savagery with Macedonian discipline. A further advantage was the skill of their leader, who, having surveyed the topography of his territory from the summit of Mount Haemus, pitched his camp in an inaccessible spot, and so fortified his realm with arms and the sword that he seemed to have left no means of access except to an enemy who should descend from the sky. But the Roman people, under the consul Marcius Philippus,[1] having entered the province and having carefully explored the approaches by the Lake of Ascuris and the Perrhaebian Mountains,

quoque, ut videbantur, invia accessit, regemque securum et nihil tale metuentem subita belli in-
6 ruptione deprehendit. Cuius tanta trepidatio fuit, ut pecuniam omnem in mare iusserit mergi ne
7 periret, et classem cremari ne incenderetur. Paulo consule, cum maiora et crebriora essent inposita praesidia, per alias vias Macedonia deprensa est, summa quidem arte et industria ducis, cum alia
8 minatus alia inrupisset. Cuius adventus ipse adeo terribilis regi fuit, ut interesse non auderet, sed
9 gerenda ducibus bella mandaverit. Absens ergo victus fugit in maria insulamque Samothracen, fretus celebri religione, quasi templa et arae possent defendere, quem nec montes sui nec arma potuissent.
10 Nemo regum diutius amissae fortunae conscientiam retinuit. Supplex cum scriberet ad imperatorem ab illo quo confugerat templo nomenque epistolae notaret suum, regem addidit. Sed nec reverentior
11 captae maiestatis alius Paulo fuit. Cum in conspectum venisset hostis, in tribunali recepit et conviviis adhibuit liberosque admonuit suos ut
12 fortunam, cui tantum liceret, revererentur. Inter pulcherrimos hunc quoque populus Romanus de Macedonia duxit ac vidit triumphum, quippe cuius
13 spectaculo triduum impleverit. Primus dies signa

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[1] For the paradox cp. Martial, II. 80:

Hostem cum fugeret, se Fannius ipse peremit.
Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriare, mori?

[2] 182 B.C.

effected an entrance over heights which seemed inaccessible even to birds, and by a sudden inroad surprised the king, who thought himself safe and feared no such attack. Such was his alarm that he ordered all his money to be thrown into the sea, lest it should be lost,[1] and his fleet to be burned, lest it should be set on fire. Under the consul Paulus,[2] after larger and more frequent garrisons had been established, other methods were used to take Macedonia by surprise through the remarkable skill and perseverance of the general, who threatened an attack at one point and broke through at another. His mere approach so alarmed the king that he did not dare to take an active part in the war, but committed the management of it to his generals. Being defeated, therefore, in his absence he fled to the sea, and to the island of Samothrace, relying on the well-known sanctity of the place, as though temples and altars could protect one whom his own mountains and arms had been unable to save. No king ever clung more tenaciously to the memory of the great position which he had lost. When he wrote to the Roman general as a suppliant from the temple in which he had taken refuge and signed the letter with his name, he added the title of king. On the other hand, no one ever showed more respect than Paulus for captured majesty. When his enemy came into his presence, he received him upon his tribunal, invited him to his own table, and warned his own children to respect Fortune whose power was so great. The triumph in honour of the conquest of Macedonia was among the most splendid which the Roman people ever held and witnessed. The spectacle occupied three days; on

tabulasque, sequens arma pecuniam transvexit, tertius captivos ipsumque regem adtonitum adhuc
14 tamquam subito malo et stupentem. Sed multo prius gaudium victoriae populus Romanus quam epistulis victoris praeceperat. Quippe eodem die, quo victus est Perses in Macedonia, Romae cogni-
15 tum est, cum duo iuvenes candidis equis apud Iuturnae lacum pulverem et cruorem abluebant. Hi nuntiavere. Castorem et Pollucem fuisse creditum volgo, quod gemini fuissent; interfuisse bello, quod sanguine maderent; a Macedonia venire, quod adhuc anhelarent.

XXVIIII. Bellvm Illyricvm Secvndvm

II, 13 Macedonici belli contagio traxit Illyrios; si quidem,[1] ut Romanum a tergo distringerent, a Perse
2 rege conducti pecunia militaverunt. Sine mora ab Anicio praetore subiguntur. Scodram,[2] caput gentis, delesse suffecit; statim secuta deditio est. Denique hoc bellum ante finitum est quam geri Romae nuntiaretur.

XXX. Bellvm Macedonicvm Tertivm

II, 14 Quodam fato, quasi ita convenisset inter Poenos et Macedonas ut tertio quoque vincerentur, eodem

[1] si quidem *Iahnius*: ipsi quidem *BN*: sed ipsi quidem *L*.
[2] Scodram: scoriadam *B*: scordam *NL*.

the first day the statues and pictures were displayed in procession, on the next day the arms and treasure, on the third day the captives, including the king himself, who seemed still to be dazed and stupefied by the suddenness of the disaster. But the Roman people had already received the glad news of the victory long before it was announced by the victorious general's despatches. For it was known in Rome on the very day on which Perses was defeated through the presence of two young men with white horses washing off dust and gore at the pool of Juturna. These brought the news, and were popularly believed to have been Castor and Pollux because they were twins, and to have taken part in battle because they were dripping with blood, and to come from Macedonia because they were still out of breath.

XXVIIII. The Second Illyrian War

13. The contagion of the Macedonian war involved the Illyrians, since they served as mercenaries in the pay of King Perses in order to cause a diversion in the rear of the Romans. They were subjugated without delay by the praetor Anicius. It sufficed to destroy Scodra, their capital, and their submission immediately followed. Indeed, the end of the war occurred before the news that it had begun could reach Rome.

XXX. The Third Macedonian War

14. By a dispensation of fate which made it seem as if the Carthaginians and Macedonians had made compact together that they should both be con-

2 tempore utrique arma moverunt. Sed prior iugum excutit Macedo, aliquanto quam ante gravior, dum
3 contemnitur. Causa belli prope erubescenda. Quippe regnum pariter et bellum vir ultimae sortis Andriscus invaserat, dubium liber an servus, mercennarius certe; sed quia vulgo Philippus ex similitudine Philippi Persae filii vocabatur,[1] regiam formam, regium nomen, animum quoque regis
4 implevit. Igitur dum haec ipsa contemnit populus Romanus, Iuventio praetore contentus, virum non Macedonicis modo sed Thraciae quoque auxiliis ingentibus validum temere temptavit, invictusque[2] a veris regibus, ab illo imaginario et scaenico rege
5 superatus est. Sed consul Metellus amissum cum legione praetorem plenissime ultus est. Nam et Macedoniam servitute multavit et ducem belli, deditum ab eo ad quem confugerat Thraciae regulo, in urbem in catenis reduxit, hoc quoque illi in malis suis indulgente fortuna, ut de eo populus Romanus quasi de rege vero triumpharet.

[1] Philippus ex similitudine Philippi Persae filii vocabatur *Sauppius*: philippus persae filius vocabatur *B*: philippus ex similitudine philippi pseudo filippus (philippus *L*) vocabatur *NL*.

quered for a third time, both nations began hostilities at the same time. The Macedonians were the first to throw off the yoke, having grown far more formidable than before, because they were treated with contempt. The cause of the war almost makes one blush for shame. Andriscus, a man of the lowest origin, had seized the throne and begun war at the same moment. It is uncertain whether he was a freeman or a slave, but he had certainly served as a hired labourer; however, being popularly called Philip from his resemblance to Philip, son of Perses, he supplied a royal presence, a royal name and a royal spirit as well. The Roman people then, despising all these pretensions and considering the praeter Juventius as a match for him, rashly engaged him when he was strongly supported not only by the Macedonians but by vast numbers of Thracian auxiliaries, and though they had never been beaten by real kings, were defeated by this pretended and stage-play monarch. However, ample vengeance was taken by the consul Metellus[1] for the loss of the praetor and his legion. For he not only punished the Macedonians by enslaving them, but also brought back in chains to the city the instigator of the war, who was surrendered to them by a Thracian prince with whom he had taken refuge. Fortune, however, thus far smiled upon him in his misfortune that the Roman people triumphed over him as though he had been a real king.

[1] 168 B.C.

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[2] invictusque a veris regibus *Freinshemius*: invictusque non a veris regibus sed *NL*: invalidus que non veris regibus sed *B*.

XXXI. Bellvm Pvnicvm Tertivm

II, 15 Tertium Punicum bellum et tempore exiguum (nam quadriennio patratum[1] est) et in comparationem priorum minimum labore (non enim tam cum viris quam cum ipsa urbe pugnatum est) sed[2] plane maximum eventu: quippe tandem Carthago finita
2 est. Atquin si quis trium temporum momenta consideret, primo commissum est Punicum bellum,
3 profligatum secundo, tertio vero confectum est. Sed huius causa belli, quod contra foederis legem adversus Numidas quidem, sed parassent classem et
4 exercitum. Frequens autem Massinissa[3] finis territabat; sed huic ut bono socioque regi favebatur. Cum de bello sederet, de belli fine tractatum est. Cato inexpiabili odio delendam esse Carthaginem,
5 et cum de alio consuleretur, pronuntiabat, Scipio Nasica servandam, ne metu ablato aemulae urbis luxuriari felicitas[4] inciperet; medium senatus
6 elegit, ut urbs tantum loco moveretur. Nihil enim speciosius videbatur quam esse Carthaginem, quae
7 non timeretur. Igitur Manilio Censorinoque consulibus populus Romanus adgressus Carthaginem spe pacis iniecta traditam a volentibus classem sub
8 ipso ore urbis incendit. Tum evocatis principibus,

[1] patratum: raptum *B*. [2] sed: et *B*.
[3] Massinissa *Iahnius*: massinissae *BNL*.
[4] urbis *post* felicitas *BNL*.

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[1] 149 B.C.

XXXI. The Third Punic War

15. The Third Punic War was brief in its duration (for it was brought to an end within four years), and much less difficult in comparison with the earlier wars (for it was fought not so much against an army in the field as against the city itself). In its results, however, it was by far the most important, for at last an end was made of Carthage. If one considers the significance of the three periods, the first saw the beginning of the war, the second saw it given a decisive turn, the third saw its final end. The pretext of the war was that, contrary to an article in the treaty, the Carthaginians had equipped a fleet and army—though it was only against the Numidians. Massinissa, it is true, caused frequent alarms on their frontier; but the Romans supported this monarch as a good friend and ally. Deciding upon war, they discussed what was to happen when it was concluded. Cato, with implacable hatred, kept declaring, even when he was consulted on other subjects, that Carthage must be destroyed. Scipio Nasica thought that it ought to be preserved, lest, if the fear of the rival city were removed, prosperity should begin to have a demoralizing effect. The senate decided upon the middle course, namely, that the city should merely be removed to another site; for they could imagine nothing which redounded more to their credit than that Carthage should still exist, but a Carthage which they need not fear. And so, in the consulship of Manilius and Censorinus,[1] the Roman people attacked Carthage and burnt within the very sight of the city the fleet which had been voluntarily surrendered because hopes of peace had been raised. They then summoned the chief citizens and ordered

si salvi esse vellent, ut migrarent finibus imperavit. Quod pro rei atrocitate adeo movit iras, ut extrema mallent. Comploratum igitur publice statim et pari
9 voce clamatum est "ad arma," seditque sententia quoquo modo rebellandum; non quia iam spes ulla superesset, sed quia patriam suam mallent hostium
10 quam suis manibus everti. Qui rebellantium fuerit furor, vel hinc intellegi potest, quod in usum novae classis tecta domuum resciderunt; in armorum officinis aurum et argentum pro aere ferroque conflatum est, in tormentorum vincula crinis suos matronae contulerunt. Mancino deinde consule
11 terra marique fervebat obsidio. Operti portus, nudatus est primus et sequens, iam et tertius murus, cum tamen Byrsa, quod nomen arci fuit, quasi
12 altera civitas resistebat. Quamvis profligato urbis excidio tamen fatale Africae nomen Scipionum videbatur. Igitur in alium Scipionem conversa res publica finem belli reposcebat. Hunc Paulo Macedonico procreatum Africani illius magni filius in[1] decus gentis adsumpserat, hoc scilicet fato, ut, quam
13 urbem concusserat avus, nepos eius everteret. Sed quem ad modum maxime mortiferi morsus solent esse morientium bestiarum, sic plus negotii fuit cum semiruta Carthagine quam cum integra. Con-
14 pulsis in unam arcem hostibus portum quoque mari

[1] in *om. B.*

[1] Cf. Liv. XXII. 53, 4, *desperata et complorata republica.*

them to leave Carthaginian territory, if they wished to save their lives. This demand, by its severity, so kindled their wrath that they preferred to suffer any extremity. And so they immediately gave up all hope of the national cause,[1] and with one voice the cry was raised, "To arms!" and it was resolved to resist by every means in their power—not that any hope remained, but because they preferred that their country should be ruined by the hands of the enemy rather than by their own. Their spirit of furious resistance may be understood from the facts that they tore off the roofs of their houses for material to construct a new fleet, and that, in the munition factories, gold and silver were melted down instead of bronze and iron, while the women contributed their hair to form cords for the engines of war. Under the consul Mancinus a hot siege was kept up by land and sea. The harbours were blocked up; the first, then the second, and finally the third wall was dismantled; but the Byrsa, as they called their citadel, held out like a second city. Though the destruction of the city was thus as good as certain, yet it seemed as if fate required a Scipio to make an end of Africa. The State, therefore, turned to another Scipio and demanded that he should complete the war. This man, the offspring of Paulus Macedonicus, had been adopted by the son of the great Africanus for the glory of the family, for the grandson was destined by fate to overthrow the city which his grandfather had shattered. But, just as the bite of a dying animal is always most deadly, even so Carthage, half destroyed, caused more trouble than when it was whole. While the enemy had been driven into the sole remaining

Romanus obstruxerat. Illi alterum[1] sibi portum ab alia urbis parte foderunt, nec ut fugerent; sed qua nemo illos nec evadere posse credebat, inde quasi nata[2]
15 subito classis erupit, cum interim iam diebus, iam noctibus nova aliqua moles, nova machina, nova perditorum hominum manus quasi ex obruto incendio subita de
16 cineribus flamma prodibat. Deploratis novissime rebus triginta sex milia virorum se dediderunt, quo
17 minus credas, duce Hasdrubale. Quanto fortius femina et uxor ducis! Quae conprehensis duobus liberis a culmine se domus in medium misit incendium, imitata reginam quae Carthaginem con-
18 didit. Quanta urbs deleta sit, ut de ceteris taceam, de ignis mora probari potest. Quippe per continuos decem et septem dies vix potuit incendium extingui quod domibus ac templis suis sponte hostes inmiserant; ut, quatenus urbs eripi Romanis non poterat, triumphus arderet.

XXXII. Bellvm Achaicvm

II, 16 Quasi saeculum illud eversionibus urbium curreret, Carthaginis ruinam statim Corinthus excepit, Achaiae caput, Graeciae decus, inter duo maria, Ionium et Aegaeum, quasi spectaculo exposita. Haec—facinus

[1] alterum *NL*: autem *B*. [2] nata: nota *B*.

stronghold, the Romans had also blocked up the harbour from the sea. The Carthaginians thereupon excavated another harbour on another side of the city, though not with the object of escaping; but at a point where no one imagined that they could break out, a fleet, as it were, sprang suddenly into birth and sallied forth, while at the same time, now by day and now by night, some new structure or engine of war or some fresh band of desperate men started forth like a sudden flame from the ashes of a buried fire. When the position finally became hopeless, 36,000 men led—though it is scarcely credible—by Hasdrubal surrendered themselves. How much braver was the conduct of a woman, the wife of the commander, who, with her two children in her arms, hurled herself from the roof of her house into the midst of the flames, following the example of the queen who founded Carthage![1] How mighty was the city which was destroyed is shown, to mention only a single fact, by the long duration of the fire; for it was only after seventeen days of continual effort that the flames were with difficulty put out which the enemy had themselves kindled in their houses and temples, in order that, since the city could not be saved from the Romans, the material for a triumph might be burnt.

XXXII. The Achaean War

16. As though that age could only run its course by the destruction of cities, the ruin of Carthage was immediately followed by that of Corinth, the capital of Achaea, the glory of Greece, set for all men to behold between the Ionian and Aegean seas.

[1] *i.e.* Dido.

indignum—ante oppressa est quam in numero certo-
2 rum hostium referretur. Critolaus causa belli, qui
libertate a Romanis data adversus ipsos usus est
3 legatosque Romanos, dubium an et manu, certe
oratione violavit. Igitur Metello ordinanti tum [1]
maxime Macedoniam [2] mandata est ultio; et hinc
Achaicum bellum. Ac primum Critolai manum
Metellus consul per patentis Elidos campos toto
4 cecidit Alphio. Et uno proelio peractum erat
bellum; iam enim urbem ipsam terrebat obsidio;
sed—fata rerum—cum Metellus dimicasset, ad
5 victoriam Mummius intervenit.[3] Hic alterius ducis
Diaei [4] late exercitum sub ipsis Isthmi faucibus fudit
geminosque portus sanguine infecit. Tum ab incolis
deserta civitas direpta primum, deinde tuba [5]
6 praecinente deleta est. Quid signorum, quid ve-
stium quidve tabularum raptum incensumque atque
proiectum est! Quantas opes et abstulerit et cre-
maverit, hinc scias, quod quidquid Corinthii aeris
toto orbe laudatur incendio superfuisse comperimus.
7 Nam et aeris notam pretiosiorem ipsa opulentissimae
urbis fecit iniuria,[6] quia incendio permixtis plurimis
statuis atque simulacris aeris auri argentique venae
in commune fluxerunt.

[1] tum: cum *codd.*
[2] Macedoniam: Macedoniae *codd.*
[3] intervenit *Woelfflinus*: inuenit *B.*
[4] Diaei *Pighius*: dinei *B*: dignitate *NL.*
[5] tuba *L. Voss. Palat.*: turba *BN.*
[6] iniuria: syniuria *B*: ruina *Hauptius.*

[1] Head of the Achaean League.

This city, by an act unworthy of the Romans, was overwhelmed before it could be accounted in the number of their declared enemies. The cause of the war was the action of Critolaus,[1] who used against the Romans the liberty which they themselves had granted, and insulted the Roman ambassadors, certainly by his words and perhaps also by personal violence. The task of vengeance was therefore entrusted to Metellus, who just at the time was settling matters in Macedonia. Thus the Achaean war began. First of all the consul Metellus[2] defeated the forces of Critolaus all along the Alpheus in the wide plains of Elis. The war was thus finished by a single battle, and a siege already threatened the city itself; but—so fate decreed—though Metellus had fought the battle, Mummius interposed to reap the fruits of the victory. He completely routed the army of the other general, Diaeus, in the very neck of the Isthmus and dyed the twin harbours with blood. The city, deserted by its inhabitants, was first plundered and then destroyed at a signal given by trumpets. What a vast quantity of statues, garments and pictures was carried off, burnt, and thrown away! How great was the wealth which was plundered or burnt may be judged from the fact that we are told that all the Corinthian bronze-work, which enjoys so high a repute throughout the world, was a survival from the conflagration. For the damage inflicted on this rich city in itself caused a higher value to be placed upon Corinthian bronze, because, by the melting together of countless statues and images by the flames, brass, gold and silver ore were fused into one common mass.

[2] Consul in 146 B.C.

XXXIII. Res in Hispania Gestae

II, 17 Vt Carthaginem Corinthus, ita Corinthum Numantia secuta est; nec deinde orbe toto quicquam
2 intactum armis fuit. Post illa duo clarissimarum[1] urbium incendia late atque passim, nec per vices, sed simul pariter quasi unum undique bellum fuit; prorsus ut illae[2] quasi agitantibus ventis diffudisse quaedam belli incendia orbe toto viderentur.
3 Hispaniae numquam animus fuit adversum nos universae consurgere, numquam conferre vires suas libuit, neque aut imperium experiri aut libertatem tueri suam publice. Alioquin ita undique mari Pyrenaeoque vallata est, ut ingenio situs ne adiri
4 quidem potuerit. Sed ante a Romanis obsessa est quam se ipsa cognosceret, et sola omnium provincia-
5 rum vires suas postquam victa est intellexit. In hac prope ducentos per annos dimicatum est a primis Scipionibus in primum Caesarem Augustum, non continuo nec cohaerenter, sed prout causae lacessierant, nec cum Hispanis initio, sed cum Poenis in Hispania; inde contagium serpens[3] causaeque bellorum.
6 Prima per Pyrenaeum iugum signa Romana Publius et Gnaeus Scipiones intulerunt proeliisque ingentibus Annonem et Hasdrubalem fratres Annibalis ceciderunt; raptaque erat impetu Hispania,

[1] clarissimarum *Freinshemius*: clarissima *codd.*
[2] illae: ille *BN*: favillae *Iahnius*: scintillae *Woelfflinus*.
[3] serpens *Mommsenus*: ad series *B*: et series *NL*.

XXXIII. Operations in Spain

17. As the fate of Corinth followed upon that of Carthage, so the fate of Numantia followed upon that of Corinth; and thereafter not a single place in the whole world was left unassailed by the arms of Rome. After the burning of these two famous cities, a single war was waged far and wide everywhere at once, and not merely against one nation after another; so that it seemed as if these two cities, as by the action of winds, had scattered the flames of war over the whole world.

Spain as a whole never had any desire to rise against us; it never thought of pitting its strength against us, and either making a bid for empire or a united defence of its liberty. Otherwise it is so well protected on all sides by the sea and the Pyrenees that, owing to its geographical conformation, it would be unassailable. But it was beset by the Romans before it recognized its own possibilities, and was the only one of the provinces that discovered its strength only after it had been defeated. Fighting continued in Spain over a period of nearly two hundred years, from the earliest of the Scipios down to the first Caesar Augustus, yet not continuously and without intermission, but at the call of circumstances; and the first hostilities were directed not against the Spanish but against the Carthaginians in Spain, from whom the contagion spread and who were the cause of all the wars.

The two Scipios, Publius and Gnaeus, bore the first Roman standards over the Pyrenees, and defeated Hanno and Hasdrubal, the brothers of Hannibal, in important encounters. Spain would

nisi fortissimi viri in ipsa victoria sua oppressi Punica fraude cecidissent, terra marique victores.
7 Igitur quasi novam integramque provinciam ultor patris et patrui Scipio ille mox Africanus invasit, isque statim capta Carthagine et aliis urbibus, non contentus Poenos expulisse, stipendiariam nobis provinciam fecit, omnes citra ultraque Hiberum subiecit imperio, primusque Romanorum ducum victor ad Gades et Oceani ora pervenit. Plus est
8 provinciam retinere quam facere. Itaque per partes iam huc, iam illuc missi duces, qui ferocissimas et in id tempus liberas gentes ideoque inpatientes iugi multo labore nec incruentis certaminibus servire
9 docuerunt. Cato ille censorius Celtiberos, id est robur Hispaniae, aliquot proeliis fregit. Gracchus, pater ille Gracchorum, eosdem centum et quinqua-
10 ginta urbium eversione multavit. Metellus ille, qui ex Macedonia cognomen meruerat, et Celtibericus fieri meruit, cum et Contrebiam [1] memorabili cepisset exemplo et Nertobrigae [2] maiore gloria
11 pepercisset. Lucullus Turdulos atque Vaccaeos, de quibus ille Scipio posterior singulari certamine,
12 cum rex fuisset provocator, opima rettulerat. Decimus Brutus aliquanto latius Celticos Lusitanosque et

[1] Contrebiam : cantabriam *B* : cum | trebiam *L*.
[2] Nertobrigae : nectobricae *B* : nersobrigis *L*.

[1] New Carthage, the modern Cartagena.

have been carried by assault had not the gallant Roman leaders, in the hour of victory, been surprised and killed by Carthaginian craft, when they had been successful by land and sea. And so, that other Scipio, afterwards to be known as Africanus, coming to avenge his father and uncle, entered as it were a new and unimpaired province. After immediately capturing Carthage[1] and other cities, not content with having expelled the Carthaginians, he made Spain into a province paying tribute to Rome, and subdued all the inhabitants on both sides of the Iberus, and was the first Roman general to reach Gades and the shores of the Ocean as a conqueror. It is easier to create than to retain a province. Generals were, therefore, sent to deal with the inhabitants in detail, now to this region and now to that, who, with much toil and after sanguinary encounters, taught submission to savage races who had hitherto been free and were, therefore, impatient of the yoke. Cato, the well-known censor, broke the resistance of the Celtiberians, the flower of Spanish manhood, in several battles. Gracchus, the famous father of the Gracchi, punished the same race by the destruction of a hundred and fifty cities. Metellus, who had won in Macedonia the title of Macedonicus, deserved also that of Celtibericus, after he had achieved a notable exploit in the capture of Contrebia and had gained still greater glory by sparing Nertobriga. Lucullus conquered the Turduli and Vaccaei, from whom the younger Scipio had won the *spolia opima* in a single combat to which their king had challenged him. Decimus Brutus conquered a much wider district, which included the Celts and Lusitanians

omnis Callaeciae populos formidatumque militibus flumen Oblivionis, peragratoque victor Oceani litore non prius signa convertit quam cadentem in maria solem obrutumque aquis ignem non sine quodam sacrilegii metu et horrore deprendit.

13 Sed tota certaminum moles cum Lusitanis fuit et Numantinis. Nec inmerito. Quippe solis gentium Hispaniae duces contigerunt. Fuisset et cum omnibus Celtiberis, nisi dux illius motus initio belli vi[1] oppressus esset, summi vir[2] astus et audaciae, si 14 processisset, Olyndicus, qui hastam argenteam quatiens quasi caelo missam vaticinanti similis omnium in se mentes converterat. Sed cum pari temeritate sub nocte castra consulis adisset, iuxta tentorium 15 ipsum pilo vigilis exceptus est. Ceterum Lusitanos Viriatus erexit, vir calliditatis acerrimae. Qui ex venatore latro, ex latrone subito dux atque imperator et, si fortuna cessisset, Hispaniae Romulus, non contentus libertatem suorum defendere, per quattuordecim[3] annos omnia citra ultraque Hiberum et 16 Tagum igni ferroque populatus, castra etiam praetorum et praesidia[4] adgressus, Claudium Vnimanum paene ad internicionem exercitus cecidit[5] et insignia trabeis et fascibus nostris quae ceperat in montibus

[1] vi *Iahnius*: ut *B*.
[2] summi vir astus et audaciae *scripsi*: summae uir audaciae *B*: summus uir astutus et audaciae *NL*.
[3] quattuordecim: quattuor *B*: XIIII *NL*.
[4] praesidia *Halmius*: praesidium *codd*.
[5] cecidit et *Freinshemius*: cecidisset *codd*.

[1] Also called the Limaea (Strabo, III, p. 153).

and all the peoples of Callaecia and the River of Oblivion,[1] much dreaded by the soldiers, and, after marching victorious along the shores of the Ocean, did not turn back until, not without a certain dread of impiety and a feeling of awe, he beheld the sun sinking into the sea and its fires quenched in the waters.

But the chief trouble in the contest lay with the Lusitanians and the Numantines, and not without reason; for they were the only Spanish tribes that possessed leaders. There would have been trouble also with all the Celtiberians had not the leader of their rising, Olyndicus—a man of great craft and daring, if only fortune had favoured him—been put out of the way early in the war. This man, brandishing a silver spear which he claimed had been sent from heaven, and behaving like a prophet, had attracted general attention; but having, with corresponding temerity, approached the consul's camp under the cover of night, he ended his career by the javelin of a sentry close to the very tent of the consul. The Lusitanians were stirred to revolt by Viriatus, a man of extreme cunning, who from being a hunter became a brigand, and from a brigand suddenly became a leader and general, and, if fortune had favoured him, would have become the Romulus of Spain. Not content with defending the liberty of his countrymen, for fourteen years he laid waste with fire and sword all the land on both sides of the Iberus and Tagus; attacked the camps of the praetors and the Roman garrisons; defeated Claudius Unimanus, almost completely exterminating his army; and fixed up in his native mountains trophies adorned with the official robes and fasces which he had

17 suis tropaea fixit.[1] Tandem et eum[2] Fabius Maximus consul oppresserat ; sed a successore Popilio violata victoria est. Quippe qui conficiendae rei cupidus, fractum ducem et extrema deditionis agitantem per fraudem et insidias et domesticos percussores adgressus, hanc hosti gloriam dedit, ut videretur aliter vinci non posse.

XXXIIII. Bellvm Nvmantinvm

II, 18 Numantia quantum Carthaginis, Capuae, Corinthi opibus inferior, ita virtutis nomine et honore par omnibus, summumque, si vero aestimes, Hispaniae
2 decus. Quippe quae sine muro, sine turribus, modice edito in tumulo apud flumen sita, quattuor milibus Celtiberorum quadraginta exercitum per annos undecim sola sustinuit, nec sustinuit modo, sed saevius aliquando[3] perculit pudendisque foederibus adfecit. Novissime, cum invictam esse constaret, opus fuit eo qui Carthaginem everterat.
3 Non temere, si fateri licet, ullius causa belli iniustior. Segidenses, socios et consanguineos suos,
4 Romanorum manibus elapsos, exceperant.[4] Habita pro his deprecatio nihil valuit. Cum se ab omni bellorum contagione removerent, in legitimi foederis pretium iussi arma deponere. Hoc sic a barbaris

[1] fixit *Freinshemius* : fixisset *codd.*
[2] et eum *scripsi* : etiam *codd.*
[3] aliquando *Lipsius* : aliquanto *codd.*
[4] exceperant : susceperant *B.*

captured from us. At last Fabius Maximus had overcome him also; but his victory was spoilt by the conduct of his successor Popilius, who, in his eagerness to finish the campaign, assailed the enemy leader, when he was already defeated and was contemplating the final step of surrender, by craft and stratagem and private assassins, and so gave him the credit of seeming to have been invincible by any other method.

XXXIIII. The Numantine War

18. Numantia, however inferior in wealth to Carthage, Capua and Corinth, in respect of valour and distinction was the equal of any of them, and, if one judges it aright, was the greatest glory of Spain. This city, without any walls or fortifications and situated on only a slight eminence on the banks of a stream, with a garrison of 4,000 Celtiberians, held out alone against an army of 40,000 men for eleven years, and not only held out but repulsed its foes with considerable vigour on several occasions and drove them to make discreditable terms. Finally, when they found that the city was undefeated, they were forced to call in the general who had overthrown Carthage.

Scarcely ever, if the truth may be confessed, was the pretext for any war more unjust. The Numantines had harboured their allies and kinsmen the Segidians who had escaped from the hands of the Romans. The intercession which they made on their behalf produced no result. When they offered to withdraw from all participation in the war, they were ordered to lay down their arms as the price of a regular treaty. This demand was interpreted

acceptum, quasi manus abscinderentur. Itaque statim Megaravico fortissimo duce ad arma conversi. Pompeium proelio adgressi, foedus tamen maluerunt, cum debellare potuissent; Hostilium deinde Manci-
5 num: hunc quoque adsiduis caedibus ita subegerunt, ut ne oculos quidem aut vocem Numantini viri
6 quisquam sustineret. Tamen cum hoc quoque foedus maluere, contenti armorum manubiis, cum
7 ad internicionem saevire potuissent. Sed non minus Numantini quam Caudini illius foederis flagrans ignominia aut pudore populus Romanus dedecus quidem praesentis flagitii deditione Mancini expiavit,
8 ceterum duce Scipione, Carthaginis incendiis ad excidium urbium inbuto, tandem etiam in ultionem excanduit. Sed tum acrius in castris quam in
9 campo, nostro cum milite quam cum Numantino
10 proeliandum fuit. Quippe adsiduis et iniustis et servilibus maxime operibus adtriti ferre plenius vallum, qui arma nescirent, luto inquinari, quia sanguine nollent, iubebantur. Ad hoc scorta, calones, sarcinae nisi ad usum necessariae ampu-
11 tantur. Tanti esse exercitum quanti imperatorem vere proditum est. Sic redacto in disciplinam

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[1] Mancinus was placed unarmed and bound before the gates of Numantia, but the Numantines refused to take him prisoner (Vell. Pater. II, 1, 5).

[2] Cp. Liv. *Epit.* 57 (where the incident is referred to): *militem triginta dierum frumenta ac septenos vallos ferre coegit.*

by the barbarians as equivalent to the cutting off of their hands; and so they immediately had recourse to arms under the leadership of the brave Megaravicus. They attacked Pompeius, but, when they might have utterly defeated him, they preferred to conclude a treaty. They next attacked Hostilius Mancinus; him too they reduced by inflicting continual losses upon him, so that no one could endure even to look in the eyes or hear the voice of a Numantine. Nevertheless, when they might have wreaked their fury in wholesale destruction, they preferred to make a treaty with him, being content to despoil his men of their arms. But the Roman people, as much incensed at the dishonour and shame of this Numantine treaty as they had been at that of the Caudine Forks, wiped out the disgrace of the disaster of the moment by surrendering Mancinus to the enemy,[1] and then, under the leadership of Scipio, who had been trained for the destruction of cities by the burning of Carthage, at last their desire for vengeance burst into flames. At first he had a harder struggle in the camp than in the field, and more with our own soldiers than with the Numantines; for, worn out with continual, excessive and, for the most part, servile tasks, on the ground that they did not know how to fight they were ordered to carry more than the usual number of stakes,[2] and because they refused to stain themselves with blood, they were bidden to befoul themselves with mud. In addition to this, the women and camp-followers and all the baggage except what was absolutely necessary were dispensed with. It is a true proverb which says that a general has the army which he deserves. The troops having been thus reduced to

milite commissa acies, quodque nemo visurum se umquam speraverat factum, ut fugientes Numantinos
12 quisquam videret. Dedere etiam se volebant, si toleranda viris imperarentur. Sed cum Scipio veram vellet et sine exceptione victoriam, eo necessitatum conpulsi primum ut destinata morte in proelium ruerent, cum se prius epulis quasi inferiis implevissent carnis semicrudae et caeliae;[1] sic vocant in-
13 digenam ex frumento potionem. Intellectum ab imperatore consilium, itaque non est permissa pugna morituris. Cum fossa atque lorica quattuorque castris circumdatos fames premeret, a duce orantes proelium, ut tamquam viros occideret, ubi non
14 impetrabant, placuit eruptio. Sic conserta manu plurimi occisi, et cum urgueret fames, aliquantisper inde vixerunt.[2] Novissime consilium fugae sedit; sed hoc quoque ruptis equorum cingulis[3] uxores
15 ademere, summo scelere per amorem. Itaque deplorato exitu in ultimam rabiem furoremque conversi, postremo Rhoecogene duce se, suos, patriam ferro veneno, subiecto igne undique pere-
16 gerunt. Macte[4] fortissimam et meo iudicio beatissimam in ipsis malis civitatem. Adseruit cum fide socios, populum orbis terrarum viribus fultum tam parva manu aetate tam longa sustinuit. Novissime

[1] caeliae *NL*: praellae *B*. [2] vixerunt: vicerunt *B*.
[3] cingulis: singuli *B*.
[4] esse *post* macte *add. codd. del. Aldus.*

[1] A kind of beer; cf. Pliny *N.H.* XXII. 25. 82.
[2] This interpretation of *inde* is confirmed by the account given by Val. Max VII. 6, 2.

discipline, a battle was fought, and the sight of the Numantines in flight, which no one had even expected to see, was actually realized. They were willing to surrender if conditions were imposed to which men of spirit could submit. But since Scipio desired a complete and unqualified victory, they were first reduced to the necessity of rushing into the fray resolved to die, after they had first gorged themselves with, as it were, a funeral banquet of half-raw flesh and *caelia*,[1] a name which they give to a local drink made from corn. Their intention was perceived by the general, and so, ready though they were to die, no opportunity was given them of fighting. When famine pressed hard upon them—for they were surrounded by a trench and breastwork and four camps—they begged the general to allow them to engage him, so that he might slay them like men, and, when their request was refused, they determined to make a sortie. This resulted in a battle in which very many of them were slain and, as hunger pressed them hard, they lived for a while on the dead bodies.[2] Finally, they made up their minds to flee, but this was prevented by their wives, who cut the girths of their horses—a grievous wrong, but due to their affection. Despairing, therefore, of escape and in a revulsion of rage and fury, they, at last, under the leadership of Rhoecogenes, made an end of themselves, their families and their native city with the sword, with poison and with a general conflagration. All glory to a brave city, a city blessed, so it seems to me, even in its misfortunes; for it loyally helped its allies and with so small a force withstood for so long a period a people which was supported by the resources of the whole world.

maximo duce oppressa civitas nullum de se gaudium
17 hosti reliquit. Unus enim vir Numantinus non fuit qui in catenis duceretur; praeda, ut de pauperrimis, nulla: arma ipsi cremaverunt. Triumphus fuit tantum[1] de nomine.

II, 19 Hactenus populus Romanus pulcher, egregius, pius, sanctus atque magnificus; reliqua saeculi, ut grandia aeque, ita vel magis turbida et foeda, crescentibus cum ipsa magnitudine imperii vitiis;
2 adeo ut, si quis hanc tertiam eius aetatem transmarinam, quam ducentorum annorum fecimus, dividat, centum hos priores, quibus Africam, Macedoniam, Siciliam,[2] Hispaniam domuit, aureos,
3 sicut poëtae canunt, iure meritoque fateatur, centum sequentes ferreos plane et cruentos et si quid immanius; quippe qui Iugurthinis, Cimbricis, Mithridaticis, Parthicis, piraticis bellis, Gallicis atque Germanicis, quibus caelum ipsum gloria ascendit, Gracchanas Drusianasque caedes, ad hoc servilia bella miscuerint et, ne quid turpitudini desit,
4 gladiatoria. Denique in se ipse conversus Marianis atque Sullanis,[3] novissime Pompei et Caesaris manibus, quasi per rabiem et furorem—nefas!—semet
5 ipse laceravit. Quae etsi[4] iuncta inter se sunt omnia atque confusa, tamen quo melius appareant,

[1] tantum : tantus *B*.
[2] Siciliam *om. B* : Syriam *Iahnius*.
[3] Sullanis : Sillanis *B*.
[4] quae etsi *L. Voss* : quasi *B* : quaesi *N*.

Having been finally overcome by the greatest of generals, it left the enemy no cause for exultation; for not a single Numantine was left to be led in triumph as a prisoner; the city, being poor, provided no spoil; their arms they themselves burned. Only the name of the city remained over which they could triumph.

19. Hitherto the Roman people had been glorious, illustrious, humane, upright and high-minded; the rest of their history during this period, though equally grand, was more disturbed and disgraced by the vices which increased with the very greatness of their empire; so much so that, if one were to subdivide this third age, which saw conquests beyond the seas and to which we have allotted two hundred years, he would reasonably and justly admit that the first hundred years, during which they subdued Africa, Macedonia, Sicily and Spain, might be named, in the language of the poets, golden, and the following hundred years an age of iron and bloodshed or whatever is still more terrible. For these years included not only the Jugurthine, Cimbrian, Mithridatic, Parthian and piratical wars, and the wars in Gaul and Germany (when the glory of Rome rose to the very heavens), but the murders of the Gracchi and Drusus, and also the wars against the slaves, and also (that nothing might be wanting to their infamy) those against the gladiators. Lastly, the Romans, turning upon themselves, as though in madness and fury, rent themselves to pieces—a crime indeed—by the hands of the Marian and Sullan parties, and finally by those of Pompeius and Caesar. These events, though they are closely connected and involved with one another, nevertheless, in order that they may be set forth more clearly, and

simul et ne scelera virtutibus obstrepant, separatim referentur,[1] priusque, ut coepimus, iusta illa et pia cum exteris gentibus bella memorabimus, ut magnitudo crescentis in dies imperii appareat; tum ad illa civium scelera turpesque et inpias pugnas revertemur.

XXXV. Bellvm Asiaticvm

II, 20 Victa ad occasum Hispania populus Romanus ad orientem pacem agebat, nec pacem modo, sed inusitata et incognita quadam felicitate relictae regiis hereditatibus opes et tota insemel regna
2 veniebant. Attalus rex Pergamenorum, regis Eumenis filius, socii quondam commilitonisque nostri, testamentum reliquit: "Populus Romanus bonorum meorum heres esto. In bonis regiis haec
3 fuerunt." Adita igitur hereditate provinciam populus Romanus non quidem bello nec armis, sed,
4 quod aequius, testamenti iure retinebat. Sed hanc difficile dictu est utrum facilius amiserit populus Romanus an recuperaverit. Aristonicus, regii sanguinis ferox iuvenis, urbis regibus parere consuetas partim facile sollicitat, paucas resistentis, Myndon,[2] Samon, Colophona vi recepit; Crassi quoque praetoris cecidit[3] exercitum ipsumque cepit.

[1] referentur *Halmius*: perferentur *codd.*
[2] Myndon: myndam *B.* [3] cecidit *Rehd.*: caede *codd.*

[1] *fuerunt* appears to be a sort of epistolary perfect: "were, when I made my will."

also that the crimes may not obscure the virtues, shall be related separately. And so, in the first place, in accordance with our original plan, we will describe the just and honourable wars waged against foreign nations, in order that the greatness of the daily increasing empire may be made manifest; and afterwards we will turn to the crimes and to the disgraceful and impious struggles of the citizens amongst themselves.

XXXV. The Asiatic War

20. When Spain had been conquered in the West, the Roman people had peace in the East; and they not only had peace, but, by an unparalleled and unheard-of dispensation of fortune, wealth was left to them by royal bequests and whole kingdoms at a time passed into their hands. Attalus, king of Pergamon, son of King Eumenes, who had been our former ally and supporter in war, left a will which said, "Let the Roman people be heir to my estate: the following possessions now constitute the royal property."[1] Entering, therefore, into this inheritance, the Roman people took possession of a province not by war or force of arms but, what is more equitable, by the right conferred by a will. It is difficult to say whether the Roman people lost or recovered this province with greater ease. Aristonicus, a high-spirited young man of the royal blood, easily won over some of the cities which had been accustomed to obey the kings, and compelled a few others—Myndos, Samos and Colophon—which refused to join him. He also defeated the army of the praetor Crassus and captured its commander.

5 Sed ille memor et familiae et Romani nominis custodem[1] barbarum virgula excaecat et in exitium
6 sui, quod volebat, ita concitat. Mox a Perperna domitus et captus et per deditionem in vinculis
7 habitus. Aquilius Asiatici belli reliquias confecit, mixtis—nefas—veneno fontibus ad deditionem quarundam urbium. Quae res ut maturam, ita infamem fecit victoriam, quippe cum contra fas deum moresque maiorum medicaminibus inpuris in id tempus sacrosancta Romana arma violasset.

XXXVI. Bellvm Ivgvrthinvm

III, 1 Haec ad orientem; sed non ad meridianam plagam eadem quies. Quis speraret post Cartha-
2 ginem aliquod in Africa bellum? Atquin non leviter se Numidia concussit, et fuit in Iugurtha quod post Annibalem timeretur. Quippe rex callidissimus populum Romanum armis invictum opibus adgressus est; citra spem omnium fortuna cessit,
3 ut rex fraude praecipuus fraude caperetur. Hic, Massinissa avo, Micipsa patre per adoptionem, cum interficere fratres statuisset agitatus regni cupiditate, nec illos magis quam senatum populumque Romanum, quorum in fide et in clientela regnum

[1] sui *post* custodem *delevi*.

The latter, however, not forgetful of the traditions of his family and of the Roman name, blinded with a stick the barbarian who was guarding him and thus provoked him, as was his purpose, to put him to death. Aristonicus was soon afterwards overcome by Perperna and taken prisoner, and was kept in chains after resigning his claims. Aquilius finally brought the Asiatic war to a close by the wicked expedient of poisoning the springs in order to procure the surrender of certain cities. This, though it hastened his victory, brought shame upon it, for he had disgraced the Roman arms, which had hitherto been unsullied, by the use of foul drugs in violation of the laws of heaven and the practice of our forefathers.

XXXVI. The Jugurthine War

1. So much for events in the East; in the South there was not the same tranquillity. Who, after the fate of Carthage, could expect another war to arise in Africa? Yet Numidia bestirred herself in a serious effort, and there was something in Jugurtha to make him an object of dread as the successor of Hannibal. This crafty king used his wealth to attack the Roman people when they were invincible with arms. Contrary to general expectation, fate decreed that a king pre-eminent in stratagem should himself be ensnared by a stratagem. Jugurtha, the grandson of Massinissa and the adopted son of Micipsa, having, in his hurry to possess kingly power, determined to put his brothers to death, was less afraid of them than of the Roman senate and people, in whose allegiance and under whose protection the kingdom then was; he, therefore, relied

erat, metueret, primum scelus mandat insidiis.
4 Potitus Hiempsalis capite cum se in Adherbalem convertisset isque Romam profugisset, missa per legatos pecunia traxit in sententiam suam senatum.
5 Et haec eius fuit de nobis prima victoria. Missos deinde, qui regnum inter illum Adherbalemque dividerent, similiter adgressus, cum in Scauro ipsos Romani imperii mores expugnasset, inchoatum nefas
6 perfecit audacia. Sed non diu latent scelera. Corruptae nefas legationis erupit, placuitque persequi
7 bello parricidam. Primus in Numidiam Calpurnius Bestia consul inmittitur; sed rex, peritus fortius adversus Romanos aurum esse quam ferrum, pacem
8 emit. Cuius flagitii reus cum interveniente publica fide a senatu arcesseretur, pari audacia et venit et conpetitorem imperii Massivam inmisso percussore
9 confecit. Haec altera contra regem causa belli fuit. Igitur sequens ultio mandatur Albino. Sed huis quoque—pro dedecus—frater ita corrupit exercitum, ut voluntaria nostrorum fuga vinceret Numida castrisque poteretur, addito etiam turpi foedere in pretium salutis, quo[1] quos emerat dimisit exercitus.
10 Tandem in ultionem non tam imperii Romani

[1] quo *Perizonius*: quod *codd.*

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[1] Consul in 111 B.C.

[2] Aulus Albinus, who was left in Africa, as pro-praetor (Sall., *Jug.* 38).

on treachery in the commission of his first crime. Having possessed himself of the head of Hiempsal, he had turned his attention to Adherbal, who had fled to Rome, and sending ambassadors with money he won over the senate to his side. This was his first victory over us. Adopting similar methods with the commissioners who had been sent to partition the kingdom between him and Adherbal, and having carried by assault the very embodiment of the character of the Roman Empire by bribing Scaurus, he trusted to audacity to complete the evil with which he had begun. But crimes do not long remain undetected. The scandal of the bribed commission came to light, and it was resolved to begin hostilities against the murderer of his own kinsman. The consul Calpurnius Bestia [1] was the first general to be sent against Numidia; but the king, who knew by experience that gold was more efficacious against the Romans than steel, purchased peace from him. Jugurtha, being accused of this criminal action and having been summoned to appear before the senate under promise of safe-conduct, showed equal effrontery in coming to Rome and sending an assassin and murdering Massiva, his rival for the throne. This act was an additional pretext for war against the king. The vengeance that was to follow was entrusted to Albinus. But his brother [2] too (shameful to relate) so corrupted the army that, through the spontaneous flight of our troops, the Numidian was victorious and gained possession of our camp. This was followed by a disgraceful treaty fixing the terms of their safety, under which he allowed the armies which he had brought to depart. At last Metellus arose

quam pudoris Metellus adsurgit, qui callidissime hostem nunc precibus nunc minis, iam simulata iam vera fuga eludentem artibus suis adgressus est.
11 Agrorum atque vicorum populatione non[1] contentus[2] in ipsa Numidiae capita impetum fecit; et Zamam quidem frustra adsiluit,[3] ceterum Thalam, gravem
12 armis thensaurisque regiis,[4] diripuit. Tunc urbibus exutum regem et iam finium suorum regnique fugitivum per Mauros atque Gaetuliam sequebatur.
13 Postremo Marius auctis admodum copiis, cum pro obscuritate generis sui capite censos sacramento adegisset, iam fusum et saucium regem adortus, non facilius tamen vicit quam si integrum ac recentem.
14 Hic et urbem ab Hercule conditam Capsam, in media Africa siti anguibus harenisque vallatam, mira quadam felicitate superavit, et saxeo inditam monti Molucham[5] urbem per Ligurem aditu arduo
15 inaccessoque penetravit. Mox non ipsum modo, sed Bocchum quoque Mauretaniae regem, iure sanguinis Numidas vindicantem, apud oppidum
16 Cirtam graviter cecidit. Qui ubi diffisus rebus suis alienae cladis accessio fieri timet, pretium foederis
17 atque amicitiae regem facit. Sic fraudulentissimus regum fraude gener soceri sui in insidias deductus

[1] non *add. Aldus.* [2] contentus: contemptus *codd.*
[3] adsiluit *Freudenbergius*: diuoluit *B*: diu uoluit *NL.*
[4] regiis *Halmius*: regii *B*: regi *NL.*
[5] Molucham *Aldus*: molucam *B.*

[1] The incident is described by Sallust (*Jug.* 93, 2).

to defend not so much the might as the honour of the Roman Empire. With great skill he used their own wiles against the enemy, who sought to delude him now with entreaties and now with threats, at one moment by pretended and at another by actual flight. Not content with laying waste the fields and villages, he attacked the principal cities of Numidia. He was unsuccessful indeed in his assault upon Zama, but plundered Thala, a storehouse of arms and royal treasures. He then pursued the king, stripped of his cities and now a fugitive from his country and kingdom, through Mauretania and Gaetulia. Finally, Marius with considerably increased forces (for, acting as one would expect a low-born man to act, he had forced the lowest class of citizens to enlist), though he attacked the king when he was already routed and wounded, did not, however, defeat him any more easily than if his strength had been fresh and unimpaired. Marius not only captured, by a wonderful stroke of good fortune, the city of Capsa founded by Hercules in the middle of Africa, defended by waterless tracts, snakes and sand, but he also penetrated, thanks to a Ligurian soldier,[1] to Molucha, a city built on a rocky height, the approach to which was steep and inaccessible. Presently he defeated not only Jugurtha himself but also Bocchus, king of Mauretania, who from ties of kinship was supporting the Numidians, near the city of Cirta. Bocchus, apprehensive about his own interests and afraid of being involved in another's ruin, offered the person of Jugurtha as the price of a treaty and friendship. Thus the most treacherous of kings was entrapped by the treachery of his own father-in-law

Sullae[1] in manum traditur, tandemque opertum catenis Iugurtham in triumpho populus Romanus
18 aspexit. Sed ille quoque, quamvis victus ac vinctus, vidit urbem, quam venalem et quandoque perituram, si habuisset emptorem, frustra cecinerat. Iam, ut venalis fuisset, habuit emptorem; cum illum evaserat, certum erat non esse perituram.

XXXVII. Bellvm Allobrogvm

III, 2 Sic ad meridiem populus Romanus. Multo atrocius et multipliciter magis a septentrione venientem * * *.[2]
2 Nihil hac plaga infestius. Atrox caelum, perinde ingenia. Omni igitur tractu violentus hostis, a dextris atque laevis et a medio septentrionis erupit.
3 Prima trans Alpes arma nostra sensere Saluvii, cum de eis fidissima atque amicissima civitas Mas-
4 silia quereretur; Allobroges deinde et Arveni, cum adversus eos[3] similes Haeduorum querellae opem et auxilium nostrum flagitarent: utriusque[4] victoriae testes[5] Isara et Vindelicus amnes et inpiger flumi-
5 num Rhodanus. Maximus barbaris terror elephanti[6] fuere, inmanitati gentium pares. Nihil tam conspicuum in triumpho quam rex ipse Bituitus[7] dis-

[1] sullae *N*: sillae *B*.
[2] *lacunam post* venientem *indicavit Mommsenus*: saevitum *vel* saeviente *Aldus*: venit malum *vel* exitium *Rossbachius*.
[3] eos *add. Voss. Rehd. Monac. Palat.*
[4] utriusque *Iahnius*: variusque *codd.*
[5] testes *Dukerus*: testis *codd.*
[6] elephanti *N L*: elephantis *B*.
[7] Bituitus: vituitus *B*: bis visus *N L*.

and handed over to Sulla, and at last the Roman people saw Jugurtha led in triumph loaded with chains; and he himself, too, conquered and in chains, saw the city of which he had vainly prophesied that it could be bought and would one day perish if it could find a purchaser. In Jugurtha it had a purchaser—if it had been for sale; but once it had escaped his hands, it was certain that it was not doomed to perish.

XXXVII. The War with the Allobroges

2. So much for the activities of the Roman people in the South. A much more formidable and widespread danger threatened them from the North.[1] Nothing is more inclement than this region. The climate is harsh, and the disposition of the inhabitants resembles it. Along the whole extent, on the right and left and in the centre of the country to the north, violent foes broke forth.

The Saluvii felt the first shock of our arms on the other side of the Alps, when the loyal and friendly city of Marseilles complained of their behaviour. The Allobroges and Arveni were next attacked, when similar complaints against them on the part of the Aedui demanded our help and assistance. The rivers Isara and Vindelicus and the Rhone, swiftest of streams, can bear witness to the victories which we won over each of them. Our elephants, whose ferocity matched that of the barbarians, caused great alarm amongst them. The most conspicuous figure in the triumph was King Bituitus

[1] The reading here is uncertain (see critical note), but the general sense is clear.

coloribus in armis argenteoque carpento, qualis
6 pugnaverat. Utriusque victoriae quod quantumque gaudium fuerit, vel hinc aestimari potest, quod et Domitius Ahenobarbus et Fabius Maximus ipsis quibus dimicaverant locis saxeas erexere turres, et desuper exornata armis hostilibus tropaea fixerunt, cum hic mos inusitatus fuerit nostris. Numquam enim populus Romanus hostibus domitis victoriam exprobravit.

XXXVIII. Bellvm Cimbricvm Tevtonicvm Tigvrinvm

III, 3 Cimbri, Teutoni atque Tigurini ab extremis Galliae profugi, cum terras eorum inundasset Oceanus,
2 novas sedes toto orbe quaerebant, exclusique et Gallia et Hispania cum in Italiam demigrarent, misere legatos in castra Silani, inde ad senatum, petentes ut Martius populus aliquid sibi terrae daret quasi stipendium, ceterum ut vellet manibus
3 atque armis suis uteretur. Sed quas daret terras populus Romanus agrariis legibus inter se dimicaturus? Repulsi igitur, quod nequiverant precibus,
4 armis petere coeperunt.[1] Sed nec primum impetum barbarorum Silanus, nec secundum Manilius, nec tertium Caepio sustinere potuerunt; omnes fugati,
5 exuti castris. Actum erat, nisi Marius illi saeculo contigisset. Ille quoque non ausus congredi statim militem tenuit in castris, donec invicta illa rabies

[1] coeperunt: ceperunt *B*: constituunt *N L*.

himself, in his vari-coloured arms and silver chariot, just as he had appeared in battle. The great joy caused by both these victories may be judged from the fact that both Domitius Ahenobarbus and Fabius Maximus set up towers of stone on the actual sites of the battles which they had fought, and fixed on the top of them trophies adorned with the enemy's arms. This practice was unusual with our generals; for the Roman people never cast their defeats in the teeth of their conquered enemies.

XXXVIII. The War with the Cimbri, Teutones and Tigurini

3. The Cimbri, Teutones and Tigurini, fugitives from the extreme parts of Gaul, since the Ocean had inundated their territories, began to seek new settlements throughout the world, and excluded from Gaul and Spain, descended into Italy and sent representatives to the camp of Silanus and thence to the senate asking that "the people of Mars should give them some land by way of pay and use their hands and weapons for any purpose it wished." But what land could the Roman people give them when they were on the eve of a struggle amongst themselves about agrarian legislation? Thus repulsed they began to seek by force of arms what they had failed to obtain by entreaties. Silanus could not withstand the first attack of the barbarians, nor Manilius the second, nor Caepio the third; they were all routed and their camps captured. There would have been an end of Rome if that age had not had the good fortune to possess Marius. Even he did not dare to meet the enemy immediately, but kept his soldiers in camp until the irresistible

et impetus, quem pro virtute barbari habent, con-
6 senesceret. Recessere igitur increpantes et—tanta erat capiendae urbis fiducia—consulentes, si quid ad uxores suas mandarent. Nec segnius quam minati fuerant tripertito agmine in Alpes, id est claustra
7 Italiae, ferebantur. Marius mira statim velocitate occupatis compendiis praevenit hostem, prioresque Teutonas sub ipsis Alpium radicibus adsecutus in loco quem Aquas Sextias vocant quo—fidem[1] nu-
8 minum—proelio oppressit! Vallem fluviumque medium hostes tenebant, nostris aquarum nulla copia. Consultone id egerit imperator, an errorem in consilium verterit, dubium; certe necessitate
9 acta virtus victoriae causa fuit. Nam flagitante aquam exercitu,[2] "Si viri estis," inquit "en, illic habetis." Itaque tanto ardore pugnatum est, ea caedes hostium fuit, ut victor Romanus cruento flumine non plus aquae biberit quam sanguinis
10 barbarorum. Certe rex ipse Teutobodus,[3] quaternos senosque equos transilire solitus, vix unum, cum fugeret, ascendit, proximoque in saltu conprehensus insigne spectaculum triumphi fuit. Quippe vir proceritatis eximiae super tropaea sua eminebat.

11 Sublatis funditus Teutonis in Cimbros convertitur.

[1] quo fidem *Salmasius*: pro fide *B*: qua fide *L*.
[2] flagitante aquam exercitu: flagitantem aquam exercitum *B*.
[3] Teutobodus: teuto vocatus *B*: teutobocus *NL*.

fury and rage, which in barbarians takes the place of courage, spent itself. The barbarians, therefore, made off, jeering at our men and—such was their confidence that they would capture Rome—advising them to give them any messages which they had for their wives. With a speed which amply fulfilled their threats, they bore down towards the Alps, which form the barriers of Italy, in three detachments. Marius with wonderful celerity immediately, by taking shorter routes, outstripped the enemy, and coming upon the Teutones first at the very foot of the Alps, what a defeat he inflicted upon them, ye heavenly powers, at the place called Aquae Sextiae! The enemy held the valley and the river flowing through it, while our men had no water-supply. It is uncertain whether the general acted designedly or whether he converted a mistake into a stratagem; at any rate the valour of the Romans under the constraint of necessity gave them victory. For when the men demanded water, Marius replied, "If you are men, there it is yonder for you." With such ardour, then, did they fight and such was the slaughter of the enemy that the victorious Romans drank quite as much barbarian gore as water from the blood-stained stream. Their king, Teutobodus himself, who had been accustomed to vault over four or even six horses, could scarcely find one to mount when he fled, and having been captured in a neighbouring forest was a striking figure in the triumphal procession; for, being a man of extraordinary stature, he towered above the trophies of his defeat.

The Teutones having been thus absolutely destroyed, attention was next directed to the Cimbri.

Hi iam—quis crederet?—per hiemem, quae altius Alpes levat, Tridentinis iugis in Italiam provoluti
12 veluti[1] ruina descenderant. Atesim[2] flumen non ponte nec navibus, sed quadam stoliditate barbarica primum corporibus adgressi, postquam retinere amnem manibus et clipeis frustra temptaverant,
13 ingesta silva obrutum transiluere. Si statim infesto agmine urbem petissent, grande discrimen; sed in Venetia, quo fere tractu Italia mollissima est, ipsa soli caelique clementia robur elanguit. Ad hoc panis usu carnisque coctae et dulcedine vini miti-
14 gatos Marius in tempore adgressus est. Venere ipsi—nam metus in barbaris nulla vestigia—et[3] diem pugnae a nostro imperatore petierunt; et sic proximum dedit. In patentissimo, quem Raudium vocant, campo concurrere. Inde milia sexaginta quinque cecidere, hinc trecentis minus; per omnem
15 diem conciditur barbarus. Istic quoque imperator addiderat virtuti dolum, secutus Annibalem artemque Cannarum; primum nebulosum nanctus diem, ut hosti inopinatus occurreret, tum ventosum quoque, ut pulvis in oculos et ora ferretur, tum acie conversa in orientem, ut, quod ex captivis mox cognitum est, ex splendore galearum aere reper-
16 cusso[4] quasi ardere caelum videretur. Nec minor

[1] veluti *add. N. Heinsius.*

[2] Atesim *Salmasius*: adęsim *B*: ad hostes in *NL*.

[3] *locus valde corruptus*: est—vestigia *om. B*: venere—vestigia *om. L*: venere illi quam et in barbaris multa vestigia *ceteri*: venere ipsi—nam metus in barbaris nulla vestigia—et *etc. Halmius.*

[4] aere repercusso *Iahnius*: aere percusso *B*.

This people, though it is scarcely credible, had already descended during the winter (which increases the height of the Alps) from the Tridentine ranges like an avalanche into Italy. Attempting at first to cross the river Atesis, not by a bridge or in boats, but, with the stupidity of barbarians, by swimming, when they had vainly tried to stem the current with their hands and shields, they blocked it by hurling trees into it, and so crossed. If they had immediately marched upon Rome with hostile intent, the danger would have been great; but in Venetia, a district in which the Italian climate is almost at its softest, the very mildness of the country and of the air sapped their vigour. When they had been further demoralized by the use of bread and cooked meat and the delights of wine, Marius opportunely approached them. They came of their own accord—for the barbarians have no trace of fear[1]—and asked our general to name a day for the battle; and so he appointed the morrow. The armies met in a very wide plain which they call the Raudian Plain. On the side of the enemy 65,000 men fell, on our side less than 300; the slaughter of the barbarians continued all day. On this occasion too our general had added craft to courage, imitating Hannibal and his stratagem at Cannae. For, in the first place, the day he had chosen was misty, so that he could charge the enemy unawares, and it was also windy, so that the dust was driven into the eyes and faces of the enemy; finally, he had drawn up his line facing the west, so that, as was afterwards learned from the prisoners, the sky seemed to be on fire with the glint reflected from the bronze of the Roman helmets. There

[1] The text here is very uncertain; see critical note.

cum uxoribus eorum pugna quam cum ipsis fuit; cum obiectis undique plaustris atque carpentis altae
17 desuper securibus contisque pugnarent. Perinde speciosa mors earum fuit quam pugna. Nam cum missa ad Marium legatione libertatem ac sacerdotium non inpetrassent (nec fas erat), suffocatis elisisque passim infantibus suis aut mutuis concidere vulneribus aut vinculo e crinibus suis facto ab arboribus
18 iugisque plaustrorum pependerunt. Boiorix[1] rex in prima acie dimicans inpigre nec inultus occiditur.

Tertia Tigurinorum manus, quae quasi in subsidio Noricos insederat Alpium tumulos, in diversa
19 elapsa fuga ignobili et[2] latrociniis evanuit. Hunc tam laetum tamque felicem liberatae Italiae adsertique imperii nuntium non per homines, ut solebat, populus Romanus accepit, sed per ipsos, si credere
20 fas est,[3] deos. Quippe eodem die quo gesta res est visi pro aede Pollucis et Castoris iuvenes laureatas praetori litteras dare, frequensque in spectaculo rumor victoriae Cimbricae.[4] * * *
21 "feliciter!" dixit. Quo quid admirabilius, quid insignius fieri potest? Quippe velut elata montibus suis Roma spectaculo belli interesset, quod in

[1] Boiorix : Boleris *BL* : bo eloris *N*.
[2] et *NL* : e *B*.
[3] si credere fas est : fas est si credere *B*.
[4] *post* Cimbricae *lacunam statuit Iahnius.*

[1] They had asked to be sent as a gift to the Vestal Virgins and promised to take vows of chastity (Val. Max. VI, 1).
[2] There is a lacuna in the text at this point.

was quite as severe a struggle with the women-folk of the barbarians as with the men; for they had formed a barricade of their waggons and carts and, mounting on the top of it, fought with axes and pikes. Their death was as honourable as their resistance; for when, after sending a delegation to Marius, they had failed to secure their liberty and to be made priestesses [1]—a request which could not lawfully be granted—they strangled all their infants or dashed them to pieces, and themselves either fell by wounds inflicted by one another, or else, making ropes of their own hair, hanged themselves on trees or the yokes of their waggons. Their king Boiorix fell fighting energetically in the forefront of the battle, and not without having inflicted vengeance on his foes.

The third body, consisting of the Tigurini, who had taken up their position as a reserve force among the Norican ranges of the Alps, dispersing in different directions, resorted to ignoble flight and depredations and finally vanished away. The joyful and happy news of the deliverance of Italy and the salvation of the empire was received by the Roman people not, as usual, through human agency but from the lips of the gods themselves, if we may believe the tale. For on the same day as that on which the battle was fought, young men were seen to present to the praetor a despatch decked with laurels in front of the temple of Pollux and Castor, and the rumour of a victory over the Cimbri spread far and wide through the theatre. . . .[2] exclaimed, "May it be a good omen." What could be more wonderful or remarkable than this? For just as though Rome, raised aloft on her hills, was present watching the battle, the people in the

gladiatorio munere fieri solet, uno eodemque momento, cum in acie Cimbri succumberent, populus in urbe plaudebat.

XXXVIIII. Bellvm Thracicvm

III, 4 Post Macedonas, si dis placet, Thraces rebellant, illi quondam tributarii Macedonum; nec in proximas modo provincias contenti incurrere, Thessaliam atque Dalmatiam, in Adriaticum mare usque venerunt; eoque fine retenti,[1] quasi interveniente natura, 2 contorta in ipsas aquas tela miserunt. Nihil interim per id omne[2] tempus residuum crudelitatis fuit in captivos saevientibus: litare dis sanguine humano, bibere in ossibus capitum, cuiusque modi ludibriis foedare mortem tam igni quam fumo, partus quoque 3 gravidarum mulierum extorquere tormentis. Saevissimi omnium Thracum Scordisci fuere, sed calli- 4 ditas quoque ad robur accesserat: silvarum et montium situs cum ingenio consentiebant. Itaque non fusus modo ab his aut fugatus, sed—simile[3] prodigio—omnino totus interceptus exercitus quem 5 duxerat Cato. Didius vagos et libera populatione diffusos intra suam reppulit Thraciam. Drusus ulterius egit et vetuit transire Danuvium. Minucius toto vastavit Hebro, multis quidem amissis, dum per[4]

[1] retenti *Graevius*: contenti *codd.*
[2] per id omne: peridomne *L*: perdi omne *N*: per imperium donec *B.*
[3] simile *Aldus*: simili *BL.*
[4] per *om. B.*

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[1] Cp. Cicero, *in Verr.* II, i, 17 (45), where torture by fumigation is described.

city were raising the usual applause which is given at a gladiatorial show at the very moment when the Cimbri were falling on the field of battle.

XXXVIIII. The Thracian War

4. After the Macedonians (heaven save the mark), the Thracians, former tributaries of the Macedonians, rebelled and, not content with making incursions merely into the neighbouring provinces of Thessaly and Dalmatia, penetrated as far as the Adriatic; checked by the boundary which it formed, since nature apparently stayed their advance, they hurled their weapons against the very waters. Throughout the period of their advance they left no cruelty untried, as they vented their fury on their prisoners; they sacrificed to the gods with human blood; they drank out of human skulls; by every kind of insult inflicted by burning and fumigation[1] they made death more foul; they even forced infants from their mothers' wombs by torture. The cruellest of all the Thracians were the Scordisci, and to their strength was added cunning as well; their haunts among the woods and mountains harmonized well with their fierce temper. An army, therefore, was not only routed and put to flight by them, but—what almost seemed like a miracle—entirely cut up under the command of a Cato. Didius, finding them wandering about and dispersed in undisciplined plundering, drove them back into their own land of Thrace. Drusus forced them still further and prevented them from recrossing the Danube. Minucius laid waste all the country along the Hebrus, losing, however, many of his men as they rode across a river covered

6 perfidum glacie flumen equitatur. Volso Rhodopen Caucasumque[1] penetravit. Curio Dacia tenus venit, sed tenebras saltuum expavit. Appius in Sarmatas usque pervenit, Lucullus ad terminum gentium
7 Tanain lacumque Maeotim. Nec aliter cruentissimi hostium quam suis moribus domiti. Quippe in captivos igni ferroque saevitum est; sed nihil barbaris atrocius visum est quam quod abscisis manibus relicti vivere superstites poenae suae iubebantur.

XL. Bellvm Mithridaticvm

III, 5 Ponticae gentes a septentrione in sinistrum iacent, a Pontico cognominatae mari. Harum gentium atque regionum rex antiquissimus Aeetas,[2] post Artabazes, a septem Persis oriundus, inde Mithri-
2 dates, omnium longe maximus. Quippe cum quattuor Pyrrho, tredecim[3] anni Annibali suffecerint, ille per quadraginta annos restitit, donec tribus ingentibus bellis subactus felicitate Sullae,[4] virtute
3 Luculli, magnitudine Pompei consumeretur. Causam quidem illius belli praetenderat apud Cassium legatum, adtrectari terminos suos a Nicomede Bithyno; ceterum elatus animis ingentibus Asiae totius et,

[1] Caucasumque: cauca umque *B*: Haemumque *Iahnius*.
[2] Aeetas: œtas *N*: aetas *B*: etas *L*.
[3] tredecim *B*: quattuordecim *NL*.
[4] Sullae: syllae *NL*: sillae *B*.

[1] The mention here of the Caucasus is a good example of the gross exaggeration in which Florus sometimes indulges.
[2] The meaning apparently is that the Pontus (Black Sea) was regarded as lying to the left of ships sailing to Asia.

with treacherous ice. Volso penetrated to Rhodope and the Caucasus.[1] Curio reached Dacia, but shrank from its gloomy forests. Appius advanced as far as the Sarmatians, while Lucullus reached the Tanais, the boundary of those tribes, and Lake Maeotis. These savage enemies could only be reduced by the employment of their own methods against them; severe cruelties were inflicted upon the captives by fire and the sword, but nothing was regarded by the barbarians as more horrible than that they should be left with their hands cut off and be forced to survive their punishment.

XL. The Mithridatic War

5. The Pontic races lie to the North on the left[2] and derive their name from the sea of Pontus. The earliest king of these regions and races was Aeetas, after him came Artabazes, who was sprung from one of the seven Persians,[3] and then came Mithridates, by far the greatest of their rulers; for, while four years sufficed to defeat Pyrrhus and thirteen to defeat Hannibal, Mithridates resisted for forty years, until, defeated in three great wars, he was brought to nought by the good fortune of Sulla, the valour of Lucullus and the might of Pompeius. He had alleged to our ambassador Cassius as the cause of the war that his frontiers were being violated by Nicomedes, king of Bithynia; but, in fact, carried away by boundless ambition, he was consumed by a

[3] Polyb. v. 43, 2 says "Mithridates boasted that he was a descendant of one of the seven Persians who destroyed the Magus" (see Herod. III, 61), "and that he had received from his forefathers in direct succession the dominion along the Black Sea originally bestowed upon them by Darius."

si posset, Europae cupiditate flagrabat. Spem ac fiduciam dabant nostra vitia. Quippe cum civilibus bellis distringeremur, invitabat occasio, nudumque latus imperii ostendebant procul Marius, Sulla, Sertorius. Inter haec rei publicae vulnera et hos tumultus repente quasi captato tempore in lassos simul atque districtos subitus turbo Pontici belli ab ultima veluti specula septentrionis erupit.

Primus statim impetus belli Bithyniam rapuit, Asia inde pari terrore correpta est, nec cunctanter ad regem ab urbibus nostris populisque descitum est. Aderat, instabat, saevitia quasi virtute utebatur. Nam quid atrocius uno eius edicto, cum omnes qui in Asia forent Romanae civitatis homines interfici iussit? tum quidem domus, templa et arae, humana omnia atque divina iura violata sunt. Sed hic terror Asiae Europam quoque regi aperiebat. Itaque missis Archelao Neoptolemoque praefectis, excepta Rhodo, quae pro nobis firmius stetit, ceterae Cyclades, Delos, Euboea et ipsum Graeciae decus Athenae tenebantur. Italiam iam ipsamque urbem Romam regius terror adflabat. Itaque L. Sulla festinat, vir armis optimus, parique violentia ruentem ulterius hostem quadam quasi manu reppulit. Primumque Athenas urbem,—quis crederet?—frugum

burning desire to possess himself of all Asia and, if he could, of Europe also. Our weaknesses gave him hope and confidence; for a tempting opportunity was offered while we were preoccupied by civil wars, and the activities of Marius, Sulla and Sertorius made it known far and wide that the flank of the empire was unprotected. While the State was thus wounded and distracted, suddenly, as though it had chosen the opportune moment, the tempest of the Pontic war broke forth from the furthest outpost of the North against a people who were both weary and preoccupied.

The first assault immediately won Bithynia; whereupon Asia was seized by a general panic, and without delay our cities and peoples revolted to the king. He was on the spot, he was insistent, he practised cruelty as though it were a virtue. For what could be more outrageous than that one decree of his by which he gave orders for the murder of all those in Asia who were of Roman citizenship? At the same time the sanctity of private houses, temples and altars, and all laws, human and divine, were violated. The alarm thus inspired in Asia also opened to the king the gates of Europe. He, therefore, sent his generals, Archelaus and Neoptolemus, and (except Rhodes, which supported us more loyally than ever) all the Cyclades, Delos, Euboea and Athens itself, the glory of Greece, were occupied. The dread of the king now spread to Italy and Rome itself. Our great commander, Sulla, therefore, hastened to oppose him and, as he advanced with violence unabated, stayed his further progress by, as it were, a mere gesture of the hand. First, he compelled Athens, where corn was first discovered, by siege

parentem, obsidione ac fame ad humanos cibos conpulit; mox subrutus Piraei portus sex aut amplius muris cinctus. Postquam domuerat ingratissimos hominum, tamen, ut ipse dixit, in honorem
11 mortuorum sacris suis famaeque donavit. Mox cum Euboea atque Boeotia praesidia regis depulisset,[1] omnis copias uno apud Chaeroniam, apud Orchomenon altero bello dissipavit, statimque in Asiam transgressus ipsum opprimit. Et debellatum foret, nisi de Mithridate triumphare cito quam vere
12 maluisset. Ac tum quidem hunc Asiae statum Sulla dederat. Ictum cum Ponticis foedus, recepit Bithyniam a[2] rege Nicomedes, Ariobarzanes[3] Cappadociam, Asia rursus nostra, ut coeperat, Mithridates tantum[4] repulsus. Itaque non fregit ea res Ponticos,
13 sed incendit. Quippe rex Asia et Europa quodam modo inescatus non iam quasi alienas,[5] sed, quia
14 amiserat, quasi raptas[5] belli iure repetebat. Igitur ut extincta parum fideliter incendia maiore flamma revivescunt, ita ille de integro, auctis maiorem in modum copiis, tota denique regni sui mole in Asiam rursus mari terra fluminibusque veniebat.

15 Cyzicus,[6] nobilis civitas, arce, moenibus, portu turribusque marmoreis Asiaticae plagae litora inlustrat. Hanc ille quasi alteram Romam toto invaserat

[1] depulisset : dispulisset *BL*. [2] a : et *B*.
[3] Nicomedes, Ariobarzanes : nichomede abariobar zenae *B*.
[4] tantum : tantus *B*.
[5] alienas . . . raptas *scripsi* : alienam . . . raptam *codd*.
[6] Cyzicus : ci zicus *B* : Cyzicum *NL*.

and famine (the story is scarcely credible) to feed on human flesh; then the harbour of Piraeus, surrounded by six or more walls, was destroyed. When he had subdued the most ungrateful of men, he nevertheless (to use his own words) "spared them because of their shrines and past glory, as an act of respect towards their dead forefathers." Then, when he had driven the king's garrisons out of Euboea and Boeotia, he scattered the whole of his forces in one battle at Chaeronea and in another at Orchomenus, and then, immediately crossing over into Asia, overwhelmed the king himself. The war would have been brought to an end if Sulla had not preferred a speedy rather than a thorough triumph over Mithridates. The following was the state of affairs which Sulla had established in Asia: a treaty was made with the people of Pontus; Bithynia was handed over by Mithridates to Nicomedes, Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, Asia was again ours, as before; but Mithridates had been only repulsed. This condition of affairs, so far from breaking the spirit of the people of Pontus, only inflamed them; for the king, lured on as it were by the bait of Asia and Europe, now sought to recover them by right of arms, as though they did not belong to others but had been snatched from him, because he had failed to retain his conquests. And so, just as fire not wholly extinguished bursts forth again into greater flames, so Mithridates, with greatly increased forces and indeed with the whole weight of his kingdom, overran Asia afresh by land and sea and river.

The noble city of Cyzicus with its citadel, walls, harbour and marble towers is the glory of the coast of Asia. This he had attacked with all his forces,

16 bello. Sed fiduciam oppidanis resistendi nuntius fecit, docens adventare Lucullum, qui—horribile dictu—per medias hostium naves utre suspensus et pedibus iter gubernans, videntibus procul quasi
17 marina pristis evaserat. Mox clade conversa, cum ex mora obsidii regem fames et ex fame pestilentia urgueret, recedentem Lucullus adsequitur adeoque cecidit,[1] ut Granicus et Aesepus[2] amnes cruenti
18 redderentur. Rex callidus Romanaeque avaritiae peritus spargi aurum a fugientibus et pecuniam iussit, qua sequentes moraretur. Nec felicior in mari quam terra fuga. Quippe centum[3] amplius navium classem apparatu belli gravem Pontico[4] mari adgressa tempestas tam foeda strage laceravit,
19 ut navalis belli instar efficeret, planeque ut Lucullus quodam cum fluctibus procellisque commercio de-
20 bellandum tradidisse regem ventis videretur. Adtritae iam omnes validissimi regni vires erant, sed
21 animus malis augebatur. Itaque conversus ad proximas gentes totum paene orientem ac septentrionem ruina sua involvit. Hiberi, Caspii, Albani et utraeque sollicitantur Armeniae, per quae omnia decus et nomen et titulos gloriae Pompeio suo
22 Fortuna quaerebat. Qui ubi novis motibus ardere Asiam videt aliosque ex aliis prodire reges, nihil

[1] cecidit *L*: caedit *B*: caecidit *N*.
[2] Aesepus *Salmasius*: aesopus *codd.*
[3] centum *om. B.*
[4] Pontico: in pontico *NL*: pontu *B.*

[1] *i.e.* Greater and Lesser Armenia.

as though it were a second Rome. But a messenger who, by an extraordinary feat, had made his way through the midst of the enemy's fleet buoyed up by an inflated skin, steering with his feet and presenting to distant observers the appearance of some sea-monster, had inspired the townspeople with confidence to resist by the news of Lucullus' approach. Soon afterwards, when ill-fortune went over to the king's side and, owing to the length of the siege, famine afflicted him and pestilence as a result of famine, he retreated. Lucullus followed him and dealt him so heavy a blow that the rivers Granicus and Aesepus ran with blood. The crafty king, who had had experience of Roman avarice, ordered that gold and money should be scattered in their path by his flying troops in order to delay his pursuers. His flight by sea was no more fortunate than by land; for a tempest which arose in the Black Sea attacked his fleet of more than a hundred ships laden with material of war, and shattered them with such terrible loss as to produce the effect of a naval defeat and make it appear as if Lucullus, by some compact with the waves and storms, had handed over the king to the wind to be defeated. All the resources of his powerful kingdom were now exhausted, but his misfortunes only served to raise his spirit. Turning, therefore, to the neighbouring peoples he involved almost the whole of the East and the North in his ruin. The Iberians, the Caspians, the Albanians, and both the Armenian peoples[1] were rallied to his cause, Fortune thus seeking fresh opportunities to win honour, fame and new titles of glory for her favourite Pompeius. He, seeing that fresh flames of rebellion were being kindled in Asia

cunctandum ratus, priusquam inter se gentium robora coirent, statim ponte navibus facto omnium ante se primus transiit Euphratem regemque fugientem media nanctus Armenia—quanta felicitas
23 viri—uno proelio confecit. Nocturna ea dimicatio fuit et Luna in partibus. Quippe quasi commilitans cum[1] dea a tergo se hostibus, a facie Romanis praebuisset, Pontici per errorem longius cadentis
24 umbras suas quasi hostium corpora petebant. Et Mithridates quidem nocte illa debellatus est. Nihil enim postea valuit,[2] quamquam omnia expertus more anguium, qui optrito capite postremum cauda
25 minantur. Quippe cum effugisset hostem Colchis tenus, iungere Bosporon, inde per Thracen Macedoniamque et Graeciam transilire, sic Italiam nec
26 opinatus invadere—tantum cogitavit. Sed defectione civium Pharnacisque filii scelere praeventus male temptatum veneno spiritum ferro expulit.

27 Gnaeus interim Magnus rebellis Asiae reliquias sequens per diversa gentium terrarumque volitabat. Nam sub orientem secutus Armenios, captis, ipso capite gentis, Artaxatis, supplicem[3] iussit regnare
28 Tigranen. At in septentrione Scythicum iter tamquam in mari stellis secutus Colchos cecidit, ignovit Hiberiae, pepercit Albanis. Regem horum[4] Oroden[5]

[1] quasi *post* cum *add. B.* [2] valuit *om. B.*
[3] captis, ipso capite gentis, Artaxatis *NL* : captae gentis atrapens supplicem *ceteris omissis B.*
[4] horum *Graevius* : colchorum *codd.*
[5] Oroden : orhozen *B.*

and that one king after another was rising, considered that he ought not to delay, and before the nations could consolidate their strength, built a bridge of boats over the Euphrates, and was the first to cross that river by this means, and coming up with the king as he was fleeing through the middle of Armenia, defeated him, with his usual good luck, in a single battle. The engagement took place at night, and the moon took sides in it; for when the goddess, as if fighting on Pompeius' side, had placed herself behind the enemy and facing the Romans, the men of Pontus aimed at their own unusually long shadows, thinking that they were the bodies of their foes. That night saw the final defeat of Mithridates; for he never again effected anything, although, like a snake, which, though its head is crushed, threatens to the last with its tail, he tried every expedient. For, after escaping from the enemy to the Colchians, he formed a plan (though it remained *only* a plan) of bridging the Bosporus and then crossing through Thrace, Macedonia and Greece and making a sudden inroad in Italy; but, baulked by the desertion of his subjects and the treachery of his son Pharnaces, he ended by the sword a life which he had in vain tried to destroy with poison.

Meanwhile Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, pursuing the remnants of rebellious Asia, was hastening through nations and lands lying far apart. Following the Armenians eastward he captured Artaxata, the very capital of that race, and bade Tigranes, who implored his pardon, retain his kingdom. To the North, following the route to Scythia by the stars, as sailors steer at sea, he defeated the Colchians, pardoned the Iberians, and spared the Albanians.

positis sub ipso Caucaso castris iussit in plana descendere, at Arthocen, qui Hiberis imperabat,[1] obsides liberos dare; Oroden[2] etiam muneravit, ultro ab Albania sua lectum aureum et alia dona mittentem.
29 Nec non in meridiem verso agmine Libanum Syriae Damascumque transgressus per nemora illa odorata, per turis et balsami silvas Romana signa circumtulit.
30 Arabes, si quid imperaret, praesto fuere. Hierosolyma[3] defendere temptavere Iudaei; verum haec quoque et intravit et vidit illud grande inpiae gentis arcanum patens, sub aurea vite caelum.[4] Dissidentibusque de regno fratribus arbiter factus regnare iussit Hyrcanum; Aristobolum, quia renovabat
31 imperium, in catenas dedit. Sic Pompeio duce populus Romanus totam,[5] qua latissima est, Asiam pervagatus, quam extremam imperii habebat provinciam mediam fecit. Exceptis quippe Parthis, qui foedus maluerunt, et Indis, qui adhuc nos nec noverant, omnis Asia inter Rubrum et Caspium et Oceanum Pompeianis domita vel oppressa signis tenebatur.

[1] *post* imperabat *add.* et *codd.*, *del. Iahnius.*
[2] Oroden : horolen *B.*
[3] Hierosolyma : ierosolimam *B* : hierosolymam *N.*
[4] vite : vitae *B.*
[5] totam : tota *B* : totum (-am *man. sec.*) *N.*

Having pitched his camp at the very foot of the Caucasus, he ordered their king, Orodes, to descend into the plain, while he commanded Arthoces, who was ruler of the Iberians, to hand over his children as hostages; he even rewarded Orodes, who actually sent a golden bed and other gifts from his kingdom of Albania. Furthermore, turning his army southwards, he passed through the Lebanon in Syria and through Damascus, and bore the Roman standards through the famous scented groves and woods of frankincense and balm. He found the Arabs ready to carry out any orders which he might give. The Jews attempted to defend Jerusalem; but this also he entered and saw the great secret of that impious nation laid open to view, the heavens beneath a golden vine.[1] Being appointed arbitrator between the two brothers who were disputing the throne, he decided in favour of Hyrcanus and threw Aristobolus into prison, because he was seeking to restore his power. Thus the Roman people, under the leadership of Pompeius, traversed the whole of Asia in its widest extent and made what had been the furthest province into a central province;[2] for with the exception of the Parthians, who preferred to make a treaty, and the Indians, who as yet knew nothing of us, all Asia between the Red and Caspian Seas and the Ocean was in our power, conquered or overawed by the arms of Pompeius.

[1] That is, the image of the God of the Sky (Jehovah); cf. Juvenal, VI, 545: *interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos | arboris ac summi fida internuntia caeli*: see also Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiq.*, II, fig. 8, 235.

[2] *i.e.* brought under Roman rule territory beyond the province of Asia.

XLI. Bellvm Piraticvm

III, 6 Interim cum populus Romanus per diversa terrarum districtus est, Cilices invaserant maria sublatisque commerciis, rupto foedere generis humani, sic
2 maria bello quasi tempestate praecluserant. Audaciam perditis furiosisque latronibus dabat inquieta Mithridaticis proeliis Asia, dum sub alieni belli tumultu exterique regis invidia inpune grassantur.
3 Ac primum duce Isidoro contenti proximo mari Cretam inter atque Cyrenas et Achaiam sinumque Maleum, quod ab spoliis aureum ipsi vocavere,
4 latrocinabantur. Missusque in eos Publius Servilius, quamvis leves et fugaces myoparonas gravi et Martia
5 classe turbaret, non incruenta victoria superat. Sed nec mari summovisse contentus, validissimas urbes eorum et diutina praeda abundantes, Phaselim et Olympum evertit Isaurosque ipsam arcem Ciliciae, unde conscius sibi magni laboris Isaurici cognomen
6 adamavit. Non ideo tamen tot cladibus domiti terra se continere potuerunt; sed ut quaedam animalia, quibus aquam terramque incolendi gemina natura est, sub ipso hostis recessu inpatientes soli

XLI. The War against the Pirates

6. In the meantime, while the Roman people were preoccupied in various parts of the world, the Cilicians had invaded the seas, and, making intercourse impossible and interrupting the peace of the world, had by their warlike operations caused the same result as a tempest in closing the seas to traffic. The disturbed condition brought about in Asia by the Mithridatic wars engendered a spirit of daring in these abandoned and desperate robbers, who, under the cover of the confusion caused by a war in which they took no part and the odium against a foreign prince, ranged over the seas with impunity. At first, under their leader Isodorus, they confined their operations to the neighbouring sea and committed their depredations between Crete and Cyrenae and Achaea and the sea off Cape Malea, which, from the richness of the spoil which it yielded, they themselves named the Golden Sea. Publius Servilius was sent against them, and, although with his heavy and well-equipped ships of war he defeated their light and elusive brigantines, he won a by no means bloodless victory. Not content, however, with having driven them off the seas, he overthrew their strongest cities, full of spoil collected over a long period, Phaselis, Olympus and the city of the Isauri, the very stronghold of Cilicia, from which, conscious of the greatness of his achievement, he assumed the title of Isauricus. But the pirates, though overcome by so many disasters, would not on that account confine themselves to the land, but, like certain animals whose nature fits them equally well for living in the sea and on the earth, as soon as ever the enemy had gone away,

in aquas suas resiluerunt, et aliquanto latius quam prius Siciliae quoque litora et Campaniam nostram
7 subito adventu terrere voluerunt. Sic Cilix dignus victoria Pompei visus est et Mithridaticae provinciae factus accessio. Ille dispersam toto mari pestem semel et in perpetuum volens extinguere divino
8 quodam apparatu adgressus est. Quippe cum classibus et suis et socialibus Rhodiorum abundaret, pluribus legatis atque praefectis utraque Ponti et
9 Oceani ora conplexus est. Gellius Tusco mari inpositus, Plotius Siculo; Atilius[1] Ligusticum sinum, Pomponius[2] Gallicum obsedit, Torquatus Balearicum, Tiberius Nero Gaditanum fretum, qua primum maris nostri limen aperitur; Lentulus Marcellinus Libycum,[3] Aegyptium, Pompei iuvenes
10 Hadriaticum, Varro Terentius Aegaeum et Ionicum,[4] Pamphylium Metellus, Asiaticum Caepio; ipsas Propontidos fauces Porcius Cato sic obditis navibus
11 quasi porta[5] obseravit. Sic per omnis aequoris portus, sinus, latebras, recessus, promontoria, freta, paeninsulas quidquid piratarum fuit quadam indagine
12 inclusum est. Ipse Pompeius in originem fontemque belli Ciliciam; nec hostes detractavere certa-
13 men. Non ex fiducia, sed quia oppressi erant, ausi

[1] Atilius *Gronovius*: gratillus *B*: gratillius *NL*.
[2] Pomponius *Dukerus*: Pompeius *codd.*
[3] Marcellinus Libycum *scripsi*: Libycum Marcellinus *codd.*
[4] Ionicum *Ormerodius*: Ponticum et *codd.*
[5] porta *Lipsius*: portam *codd.*

[1] The reading and punctuation adopted in this passage are those of Professor H. A. Ormerod, who in an article published in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, Vol. X, pp. 46 ff., has cleared up the whole question of the distribution of Pompeius' forces in the campaign of 67 B.C.

impatient of remaining ashore they launched forth again upon their natural element, the sea, and, extending their operations over a far wider area than before, were eager to create a panic on the coasts of Sicily and our own Campania by a sudden attack. Cilicia was, therefore, deemed worthy of being conquered by Pompeius and was added to his sphere of operations against Mithridates. Pompeius, determining to make an end once and for all of the pest which had spread over the whole sea, approached his task with almost superhuman measures. Having at his disposal an ample force both of his own ships and of those of our allies the Rhodians, he extended his operations from the mouth of the Black Sea to that of the Ocean with the aid of numerous commanders and captains. Gellius was placed in charge of the Tuscan Sea, Plotius over the Sicilian Sea; Atilius occupied the Ligurian Gulf, Pomponius the Gallic Gulf; Torquatus commanded in the Balearic waters, Tiberius Nero in the Straits of Gades, where the threshold of our sea opens; Lentulus Marcellinus watched over the Libyan and Egyptian Seas, the young sons of Pompeius over the Adriatic, Terentius Varro over the Aegean and Ionian Seas, Metellus over the Pamphylian, and Caepio over the Asiatic Sea, while Porcius Cato sealed the very mouth of the Propontis with ships stationed so close to one another as to form, as it were, a gate.[1] Thus, in every harbour, bay, shelter, creek, promontory, strait and peninsula in the sea, every single pirate was enclosed as it were in a net. Pompeius himself proceeded against Cilicia, the origin and source of the war; nor did the enemy refuse an engagement, though their boldness seemed to be inspired not so

videbantur; sed nihil tamen amplius, quam ut ad primum ictum concurrerent. Mox ubi circumfusa undique rostra viderunt,[1] abiectis statim telis remisque plausu undique pari, quod supplicantium signum
14 fuit, vitam petiverunt. Non alia tam incruenta victoria usi umquam sumus, sed nec fidelior in posterum reperta gens ulla est;[2] idque prospectum singulari consilio ducis, qui maritimum genus a conspectu longe removit maris et mediterraneis agris quasi obligavit, eodemque tempore et usum maris navibus
15 recuperavit et terrae homines suos reddidit. Quid prius in hac mirere victoria? velocitatem? quadragensimo die parta est. An felicitatem? ne una quidem navis amissa est. An vero perpetuitatem? amplius piratae non fuerunt.

XLII. Bellvm Creticvm

III, 7 Creticum bellum, si vera volumus, [nos fecimus][3] sola vincendi nobilem insulam cupiditas fecit. Favisse Mithridati videbatur; hoc placuit armis
2 vindicare. Primus invasit insulam Marcus Antonius cum ingenti quidem victoriae spe atque fiducia, adeo ut pluris catenas in navibus quam arma por-
3 taret. Dedit itaque poenas vaecordiae. Nam plerasque naves intercepit hostis, captivaque corpora religantes velis ac funibus suspendere, ac sic velifi-

[1] viderunt: viderent *B.*
[2] reperta gens ulla est *om. B.*
[3] nos fecimus *secl. Iahnius.*

much by confidence as by the knowledge that they were hard pressed. However, they did no more than meet the first onslaught; for as soon as they saw the beaks of our ships all round them, they immediately threw down their weapons and oars, and with a general clapping of hands, which was their sign of entreaty, begged for quarter. We never gained so bloodless a victory, and no nation was afterwards found more loyal to us. This was secured by the remarkable wisdom of our commander, who removed this maritime people far from the sight of the sea and bound it down to the cultivation of the inland districts, thus at the same time recovering the use of the sea for shipping and restoring to the land its proper cultivators. In this victory what is most worthy of admiration? Its speedy accomplishment—for it was gained in forty days—or the good fortune which attended it—for not a single ship was lost—or its lasting effect—for there never were any pirates again?

XLII. The Cretan War

7. The Cretan war, if the truth is to be told, was due solely to our desire to conquer that famous island. It was thought to have supported Mithridates, an offence which we resolved to punish by force of arms. Marcus Antonius made the first attack upon the island with such expectation of victory and confidence that he carried more fetters than arms on board his ships. And so he paid the penalty of his rashness; for the enemy cut off most of his ships and hung the bodies of their prisoners from the sails and tackle; and then spreading their

cantes triumphantium in modum Cretes portibus
4 suis adremigaverunt. Metellus deinde totam insulam igni ferroque populatus intra castella et urbes redegit, Cnoson Eleuthernan[1] et, ut Graeci dicere
5 solent, urbium matrem Cydoneam ; adeoque saeve in captivos consulebatur,[2] ut veneno se plerique conficerent, alii deditionem suam ad Pompeium absen-
6 tem mitterent. Et cum ille res in Asia gerens eo quoque praefectum misisset Antonium in alienam[3] provinciam, inritus fuit, eoque infestior Metellus in hostes ius victoris exercuit, victisque Lasthene et Panare, Cydoneae ducibus, victor rediit. Nec quicquam tamen amplius de tam famosa victoria quam cognomen Creticum reportavit.

XLIII. Bellvm Balearicvm

III, 8 Quatenus Metelli Macedonici domus bellicis agnominibus[4] adsueverat, altero ex liberis eius Cretico facto mora non fuit quin alter quoque Balearicus
2 vocaretur. Baleares per id tempus insulae piratica rabie maria corruperant. Homines feros atque silvestres mireris ausos a scopulis suis saltem maria
3 prospicere. Ascendere etiam inconditas rates et praeternavigantes subinde inopinato impetu terruere.
4 Sed cum venientem ab alto Romanam classem pro-

[1] Eleuthernan : aetery threan *B* : et erythream *N*.
[2] consulebatur : consolebatur *B* : consulabatur *N*.
[3] alienam *Mommsenus* : aliam *B*.
[4] agnominibus : hacnominibus *B* : nominibus *NL*.

sails the Cretans returned in triumph to their harbours. Metellus subsequently laid waste the whole island with fire and sword and drove the inhabitants into their strongholds and cities, Cnossus, Eleutherna and Cydonia, the mother of cities, as the Greeks usually call it. So severe were the measures which he took against the prisoners that most of them put an end to themselves with poison, while others sent an offer of surrender to Pompeius across the sea. Pompeius, although while in command in Asia he had sent his officer Antonius outside his sphere of command to Crete, was powerless to act in the matter, and so Metellus exercised the rights of a conqueror with all the greater severity and, after defeating the Cydonian leaders, Lasthenes and Panares, returned victorious to Rome. However, from his remarkable victory he gained nothing but the title of Creticus.

XLIII. The Balearic War

8. Seeing that the family of Metellus Macedonicus had become accustomed to the assumption of surnames won in war, after one of his sons had become Creticus, it was not long before the other received the name of Balearicus. The Balearic islanders at this period had ravaged the seas with their piratical outrages. You may wonder that savages who dwelt in the woods should venture even to look upon the sea from their native rocks, but they actually went on board roughly constructed ships, and from time to time terrified passing ships by attacking them unexpectedly. When they had espied the Roman fleet approaching from the open sea, thinking it an

spexissent, praedam putantes, ausi etiam occurrere, et primo impetu ingenti lapidum saxorumque nimbo
5 classem operuerunt. Tribus quisque fundis proeliantur. Certos esse quis miretur ictus, cum haec sola genti arma sint, id unum ab infantia studium? cibum puer a matre non accipit,[1] nisi quem ipsa monstrante percusserit. Sed non diu lapidatione
6 Romanos terruere. Nam postquam comminus ventum est expertique rostra et pila venientia, pecudum in morem clamore sublato petiverunt fuga litora, dilapsique in proximos tumulos quaerendi fuerunt ut vincerentur.

XLIIII. Expeditio in Cyprvm

III, 9 Aderat fatum insularum. Igitur et Cypros recepta sine bello. Insulam veteribus divitiis abun-
2 dantem et ob hoc Veneri sacram Ptolemaeus regebat.
3 Sed divitiarum tanta erat fama, nec falso, ut victor gentium populus et donare regna consuetus, P. Clodio tribuno plebis duce, socii vivique regis con-
4 fiscationem mandaverit. Et ille quidem ad rei
5 famam veneno fata praecepit. Ceterum Porcius Cato Cyprias opes Liburnis per Tiberinum ostium invexit. Quae res latius aerarium populi Romani quam ullus triumphus implevit.

[1] accipit : accepit *B*.

easy prey, they actually dared to assail it, and at the first onslaught covered it with a shower of stones and rocks. They fight with three slings apiece; and who can wonder that their aim is so accurate, seeing that this is their only kind of arm and its employment their sole pursuit from infancy? A boy receives no food from his mother except what he has struck down under her instruction. But the alarm caused among the Romans by their slinging of stones did not last long; when it came to close fighting and they experienced the attack of the beaks of our ships and our javelins, they raised a bellowing like cattle and fled to the shore, and scattering among the neighbouring hills had to be hunted down before they could be conquered.

XLIIII. The Expedition to Cyprus

9. The fate of the islands was sealed; and so Cyprus too was taken over without any fighting. This island, rich in ancient wealth and therefore dedicated to Venus, was under the rule of Ptolemy. But such was the fame of its riches (and not without cause) that a people which had conquered nations and was accustomed to make gifts of kingdoms ordered, on the proposal of Publius Clodius, the tribune of the people, that the property of a king, allied to themselves and still living, should be confiscated. Ptolemy, on hearing the news of this, anticipated fate by taking poison, and Porcius Cato brought the wealth of Cyprus in Liburnian galleys to the mouth of the Tiber. This replenished the treasury of the Roman people more effectively than any triumph.

XLV. Bellvm Gallicvm

III, 10 Asia Pompei manibus subacta reliqua, quae restabant in Europa, Fortuna in Caesarem transtulit. 2 Restabant autem inmanissimi gentium Galli atque Germani et quamvis toto orbe divisi, tamen quia vincere libuit, Britanni.

Primus Galliae motus ab Helvetiis coepit, qui Rhodanum inter et Rhenum siti, non sufficientibus terris venere sedem petitum, incensis moenibus suis; 3 hoc sacramentum fuit, ne redirent. Sed petito tempore ad deliberandum, cum inter moras Caesar Rhodani ponte rescisso fugam abstulisset, statim bellicosissimam gentem sic in sedes suas, quasi 4 greges in stabulum pastor, reduxit. Sequens longe longeque cruentior pugna Belgarum, quippe pro libertate pugnantium. Hic cum multa Romanorum militum insignia, tum illud egregium ipsius ducis, quod, nutante in fugam[1] exercitu, rapto fugientis e manu scuto in primam volitans aciem manu proelium 5 restituit. Inde cum Venetis etiam navale bellum, sed maior cum Oceano quam cum ipsis navibus rixa. Quippe illae rudes et informes et statim naufragae, cum rostra sensissent; sed haerebat in vadis pugna,

[1] fugam *Rhed.* : fuga *cet.*

XLV. The Gallic War

10. Asia having been subdued by the might of Pompeius, fortune handed over to Caesar all that remained to be conquered in Europe. Those who were still left were the most formidable of all races, the Gauls and the Germans, and also the Britons; for we were minded to conquer them, although they are a whole world away.

The first disturbance began with the Helvetii, who, being settled between the Rhone and the Rhine and being possessed of insufficient territory, came to ask us for new lands after burning their cities, an act which stood for an oath that they would not return. But Caesar, after asking for time to consider their request, having during the interval prevented their escape by breaking down the bridge over the Rhone, immediately drove back this warlike nation to its former abode, as a shepherd drives his flocks into the fold. Next followed a far more sanguinary struggle with the Belgae, since they were fighting for their freedom. In this, while there were many notable exploits on the part of Roman soldiers, a remarkable feat was performed by the general himself; for when his troops were wavering and on the point of retiring, snatching a shield out of the hand of a retreating soldier, he rushed to the front line and by his own efforts restored the battle. Next came a naval war with the Veneti; but it was a struggle rather against the ocean than against the enemy's fleet. For their vessels were rude and clumsy and went to pieces as soon as they had felt the beaks of our ships; but the battle was obstructed by the shallow water, since

cum aestibus solitis in ipso certamine subductus
6 Oceanus intercedere bello videretur. Illae quoque accessere diversitates pro gentium locorumque natura. Aquitani, callidum genus, in speluncas se recipiebant: iussit includi; Morini dilabebantur in silvas:[1] iussit incendi. Nemo tantum feroces
7 dixerit Gallos: fraudibus agunt. Indutiomarus Treveros, Ambiorix concitavit Eburones. Utrique, absente Caesare coniuratione facta, invasere legatos.
8 Sed ille fortiter a Dolabella summotus est, relatumque regis caput; hic insidiis in valle dispositis dolo perculit. Itaque et castra direpta sunt et Aurunculeium[2] Cottam cum Titurio[3] Sabino legatos amisimus. Nec ulla de rege mox ultio; quippe perpetua trans Rhenum fuga latuit.

9 Nec Rhenus ergo inmunis; nec enim fas erat ut
10 liber esset receptator hostium atque defensor. Et prima contra Germanos illius pugna iustissimis quidem ex causis. Haedui de incursionibus eorum
11 querebantur. Quae Ariovisti[4] regis superbia! cui cum legati dicerent "veni ad Caesarem," et "quis est Caesar?" et "si vult, veniat" inquit, et "quid
12 ad illum, quid agat nostra Germania? num ego me interpono Romanis?" Itaque tantus gentis novae terror in castris, ut testamenta passim etiam in

[1] Morini dilabebantur in silvas *Vinetus*: morabantur in silvis *B*: nec mora dilabebantur in silvas *N*.
[2] Aurunculeium *Perizonius*: aurum ablatum *codd*.
[3] Titurio: tirio *B*.
[4] Ariovisti: tario bisti *B*: ario iusti *L*.

the ocean, retiring with usual fall of tide in the very middle of the engagement, seemed to take part in the struggle. The operations of the war varied with the nature of the people and the country. The crafty Aquitani betook themselves to caves; Caesar ordered that they should be blockaded there. The Morini scattered amongst their forests; Caesar ordered that the forests should be burnt. Let no one say that the Gauls are mere savages, for they can act with cunning. Indutiomarus stirred up the Treveri, Ambiorix the Eburones. In Caesar's absence these two tribes banded together and attacked the lieutenant-generals. Indutiomarus was bravely repulsed by Dolabella, and his head was brought back to the camp. Ambiorix, however, defeated us by the stratagem of an ambush set in a valley, with the result that our camp was plundered and we lost the lieutenant-generals Aurunculeius Cotta and Titurius Sabinus. No immediate vengeance was taken upon the king, who eluded our vigilance by perpetual flight across the Rhine.

The Rhine, therefore, was not left unattacked; for indeed it was not right that it should harbour and protect our enemies with impunity. The first battle against the Germans on this river was fought on the most just of pretexts; for the Aedui complained of their incursions. And how great was the insolence of King Ariovistus! When our ambassadors told him to come to Caesar, he replied, "Who is Caesar? Let him come to me if he likes: what does it matter to him what we in Germany do? Do I interfere with the Romans?" So great was the alarm inspired in the camp by this unknown people, that there was a general making of wills even in the

principiis scriberentur. Sed illa inmania corpora quo maiora erant, eo magis gladiis ferroque patue-
13 runt. Qui calor in proeliando militum fuerit, nullo magis exprimi potest quam quod, elatis super caput scutis cum se testudine barbarus tegeret, super ipsa Romani scuta salierunt, et inde in iugulos gladiis
14 descendebant. Iterum de Germano Tencteri[1] querebantur. Hic vero iam Caesar ultro Mosellam[2] navali ponte transgreditur ipsumque Rhenum et Hercyniis hostem quaerit in silvis ; sed in saltus ac paludes gens omnis diffugerat. Tantum pavoris
15 incussit intra ripam subito Romanus visus.[3] Nec semel Rhenus, sed iterum quoque, et quidem ponte facto penetratus est. Maior aliquanto trepidatio. Quippe cum Rhenum suum sic ponte quasi iugo captum viderent, fuga rursus in silvas et paludes, et, quod acerbissimum Caesari fuit, non fuere qui vincerentur.

16 Omnibus terra marique peragratis respexit Oceanum et, quasi hic Romanis orbis non sufficeret, alterum cogitavit. Classe igitur conparata Britanniam transit mira celeritate ; quippe qui tertia vigilia cum Morinorum solvisset[4] a portu, minus quam medio
17 die insulam ingressus est. Plena erant tumultu hostico[5] litora, et trepidantia ad conspectum rei

[1] Tencteri : genteri *B* : centeri *NL* : treviri *Aldus*.
[2] Mosellam *Monac.* : musellam *B* : massiliam *NL*.
[3] Romanus visus *Rossbachius* : romana vis *BN*.
[4] cum Morinorum solvisset *Halmius* : com morinos movisset *B* : marino solvisset (*om.* cum) *NL*.
[5] hostico : hostilico (li *in margine additum*) *B*.

camp square. But the vaster the stature of our enemies, the more were they exposed to our swords and other weapons. The ardour of our soldiers in the fray cannot be better illustrated than by the fact that, when the barbarians protected themselves by forming a "tortoise" with their shields raised over their heads, the Romans actually leaped on the top of the shields and from there fell upon their throats with their swords. Further complaints against the Germans were brought by the Tencteri. On this occasion Caesar took the initiative and crossed the Moselle by a bridge of boats and made for the Rhine itself and the enemy in the Hercynian forests; but the whole tribe had fled away to their woods and marshes, so great was the panic caused by the appearance of the Romans on the further bank of the river. Nor was this the only occasion on which the Rhine was crossed, but he penetrated across it a second time by a bridge which he had built. The alarm of the enemy was ever greater this time; for when they saw their Rhine placed as it were a prisoner under the yoke of the bridge, they fled again to their woods and marshes and, to Caesar's bitter disappointment, no enemy remained to be conquered.

Having penetrated everywhere by land and sea, he turned his gaze towards the ocean and, as if this world of ours sufficed not for the Romans, set his thoughts on another. He, therefore, collected a fleet and crossed over to Britain with wonderful speed; for starting from the harbour of the Morini at the third watch he disembarked upon the island before midday. The shores were crowded with a confused throng of the enemy, and their chariots were hurrying to and fro in panic at the strange

novae carpenta volitabant. Itaque trepidatio pro victoria fuit. Arma et obsides accepit a trepidis, et ulterius isset, nisi inprobam classem naufragio
18 castigasset Oceanus. Reversus igitur in Galliam, classe maiore auctisque copiis in eundem rursus Oceanum eosdemque rursus Britannos. Caledonas secutus in silvas unum quoque e[1] regibus Casuella-
19 num[2] in vincla dedit. Contentus his (non enim provinciae, sed nomini studebatur) cum maiore quam prius praeda revectus est, ipso quoque Oceano tranquillo magis et propitio, quasi inparem ei se fateretur.

20 Sed maxima omnium eademque novissima coniuratio fuit Galliarum, cum omnis[3] pariter Arvernos
21 atque Biturigas, Carnuntas simul Sequanosque contraxit[4] corpore armis spirituque terribilis, nomine etiam quasi ad terrorem conposito, Vercingetorix. Ille festis diebus et conciliabulis, cum frequentissimos in lucis haberet, ferocibus dictis ad ius pristi-
22 num libertatis erexit. Aberat tunc Caesar Ravennae dilectum agens, et hieme creverant Alpes: sic interclusum putabant iter. Sed ille qualis erat ad nuntium rei felicissima temeritate[5] per invios ad id tempus montium tumulos, per intactas vias et nives,

[1] e: et *B*.
[2] Casuellanum *Rossbachius* (*cf. Dio, XL.* 2, 3, *Polyaen. VIII.* 23, 5): cas | uella *B*: cavelianis *NL*.
[3] omnis *N*: omnes *L*.
[4] *post* contraxit *add.* hi *B*, ille *NL*.
[5] felicissima temeritate *Salmasius*: felicissimae temeritatis *codd.*

sight before their eyes. This panic was as good as a victory for Caesar, who received arms and hostages from his frightened foes and would have advanced further if the ocean had not taken vengeance on his presumptuous fleet by wrecking it. He, therefore, returned to Gaul and then, with a larger fleet and increased forces, made another attempt against the same ocean and the same Britons. Having pursued them into the Caledonian forests, he made one of their kings, Casuellanus, a prisoner. Content with these achievements (for he sought a reputation rather than a province) he returned with greater spoil than before, the very ocean showing itself more calm and propitious, as though it confessed itself unequal to opposing him.

The greatest, and at the same time the last, of all the risings in Gaul, took place when Vercingetorix, a chief formidable alike for his stature, his skill in arms, and his courage, endowed too with a name which seemed to be intended to inspire terror, formed a league alike of the Arverni and Bituriges, and at the same time of the Carnuntes and Sequani. He at their festivals and councils, when he found them collected in their greatest crowds in their groves, roused them by his ferocious harangues to vindicate their ancient rights of freedom. Caesar was absent at the time holding a levy at Ravenna, and the Alps had been swollen by winter snows; hence they thought that his passage was blocked. But Caesar, starting just as he was on the receipt of the news, by a most successful act of daring made his way across Gaul with a light-armed force through ranges of mountains never before crossed and over ways and snows never trodden

expedita manu emensus Galliam, et ex distantibus hibernis castra contraxit, et ante in media Gallia
23 fuit, quam ab ultima timeretur. Tum ipsa capita belli adgressus urbes, Avaricum [1] quadraginta milium propugnantium [sustulit],[2] Alesiam ducentorum quinquaginta milium iuventute subnixam
24 flammis adaequavit. Circa Gergoviam Avernorum tota belli moles fuit. Quippe cum octoginta milia muro et arce et abruptis ripis defenderent maximam
25 civitatem, vallo sudibus et fossa inductoque fossae flumine, ad hoc decem et octo castellis ingentique lorica circumdatam primum fame domuit, mox audentem eruptiones in vallo sudibusque concidit,
26 novissime in deditionem redegit. Ipse ille rex, maximum victoriae decus, supplex cum in castra venisset, equum et phaleras et sua arma ante Caesaris genua proiecit. "Habe," [3] inquit, "fortem virum, vir fortissime, vicisti."

XLVI. Bellvm Parthicvm

III, 11 Dum Gallos per Caesarem in septentrione debellat, ipse interim ad orientem grave volnus a Parthis
populus Romanus accepit. Nec de fortuna queri
2 possumus; caret solacio clades. Adversis et dis et hominibus cupiditas consulis Crassi, dum Parthico inhiat auro, undecim strage legionum et ipsius

[1] Avaricum : salaricum *B* : alvaricum *N* : aviaricum *in* alvaricum *mut. L.*
[2] sustulit *secl. Iahnius.*
[3] habe *Petrarca* : habes *codd.*

before, and collected his troops from distant winter quarters and was in the middle of Gaul before the terror of his approach had reached its borders. Attacking the cities which were the headquarters of the enemy's forces, he burnt to the ground Avaricum, which was defended by 40,000 men, and Alesia, which had a garrison of 250,000. All the most important operations were concentrated round Gergovia in the territory of the Averni. This mighty city, defended by a wall and citadel and steep river-banks, had a garrison of 80,000 men. Caesar, surrounding it with a rampart, a palisade and a trench, into which he admitted water from the river, and also eighteen towers and a huge breast-work, first reduced it by starvation; and then, when the defenders attempted to make sallies, cut them down at the ramparts and palisades, and finally reduced them to surrender. The king himself, to crown the victory, came as a suppliant to the camp, and placing before Caesar his horse and its trapping and his own arms, exclaimed, "Receive these spoils; thou thyself, bravest of men, hast conquered a brave enemy."

XLVI. The Parthian War

11. While in the north the Roman people by the hand of Caesar were conquering the Gauls, in the east they received a serious blow from the Parthians. Nor can we complain of fortune; for it was a disaster which admitted of no consolation. Both gods and men were defied by the avarice of the consul Crassus, in coveting the gold of Parthia, and its punishment was the slaughter of eleven legions

capite multata est. Et tribunus plebi Metellus exeuntem ducem hostilibus[1] diris devoverat, et cum Zeugma transisset exercitus, rapta subitis signa turbinibus hausit Euphrates, et cum apud Nicephorium castra posuisset, missi ab Orode[2] rege legati nuntiavere, percussorum cum Pompeio foederum Sullaque meminisset. Regiis inhians ille thensauris, nihil ne imaginario quidem iure, sed Seleuciae se responsurum esse respondit. Itaque dii foederum ultores nec insidiis nec virtuti hostium defuerunt. Iam primum, qui solus et subvehere commeatus et munire poterat a tergo, relictus Euphrates, dum simulato transfugae cuidam Mazarae[3] Syro creditur. Tum[4] in mediam camporum vastitatem eodem duce ductus exercitus, ut undique hosti exponeretur. Itaque vixdum venerat Carrhas, cum undique praefecti regis Silaces et Surenas[5] ostendere signa auro sericisque vexillis vibrantia. Tunc sine mora circumfusi undique equitatus in modum grandinis atque nimborum densa pariter tela fuderunt. Sic miserabili strage deletus exercitus. Ipse in conloquium sollicitatus, signo dato vivus hostium in manus incidisset, nisi tribunis reluctantibus fugam ducis barbari ferro occupassent. [Sic quoque relatum caput ludibrio hostibus fuit.][6] Filium ducis

[1] hostilibus : hostibus *B*.
[2] Orode : herode *B*.
[3] Mazarae : mazare *BL*.
[4] tum *om*. *B* : dum *L*.
[5] Surenas *Aldus* : sirenas *B* : syrenas *NL*.
[6] sic—fuit *secl*. *Iahnius*.

[1] The text adds : "Thus his head was carried back and treated with mockery by the enemy." These words are out of place here, and a similar statement occurs in its proper place a few lines further on.

and the loss of his own life. For Metellus, the tribune of the people, had called down terrible curses on the general as he was leaving Rome; and after the army had passed Zeugma, the Euphrates swallowed up the standards, which were swept away by its swirling eddies; and when Crassus had pitched his camp at Nicephorium, ambassadors arrived from King Orodes with a message bidding him remember the treaties made with Pompeius and Sulla. Crassus, who coveted the royal treasures, answered not a word that had any semblance of justice, but merely said that he would give his reply at Seleucia. The gods, therefore, who punish those who violate treaties, did not fail to support either the craft or the valour of our enemies. In the first place, Crassus deserted the Euphrates, which provided the sole means of transporting his supplies and protecting his rear, trusting to the advice of a pretended deserter, a certain Syrian named Mazaras. Next, again under the same guidance, the army was conducted into the midst of vast plains, to be exposed to enemy attacks from every side. And so he had scarcely reached Carrhae, when the king's generals, Silaces and Surenas, displayed all around him their standards fluttering with gold and silken pennons; then without delay the cavalry, pouring round on all sides, showered their weapons as thick as hail or rain upon them. Thus the army was destroyed in lamentable slaughter. The consul himself, invited to a parley, would on a given signal have fallen alive into the hands of the enemy, had not the barbarians, owing to the resistance of the tribunes, used their swords to prevent his escape.[1] The general's son they over-

paene in conspectu patris idem telis operuerunt. Reliquiae infelicis exercitus, quo[1] quemque rapuit fuga, in Armeniam, Ciliciam Syriamque distractae, vix nuntium cladis rettulerunt. Caput eius recisum cum dextera manu ad regem reportatum ludibrio fuit, neque indigno. Aurum enim liquidum in rictum oris infusum est, ut cuius animus arserat auri cupiditate, eius etiam mortuum et exsangue corpus auro ureretur.

XLVII. Anacephalaeosis

III, 12 Haec est illa tertia[2] aetas populi Romani transmarina, qua Italia progredi ausus orbe toto arma
2 circumtulit. Cuius aetatis superiores centum anni sancti, pii et, ut diximus, aurei, sine flagitio, sine scelere, dum sincera adhuc et innoxia pastoriae illius sectae integritas, dumque Poenorum hostium inminens metus disciplinam veterem continebat.
3 Posteri centum, quos a Carthaginis, Corinthi Numantiaeque excidiis et Attali regis Asiatica hereditate deduximus in Caesarem et Pompeium secutumque hos, de quo dicemus,[3] Augustum, ut claritate rerum bellicarum magnifici, ita domesticis cladibus
4 miseri et erubescendi. Quippe sicut Galliam, Thraciam, Ciliciam, Cappadociam, uberrimas vali-

[1] quo *om. B.*
[2] tertia *om. B.*
[3] dicemus *Voss. Palat.*: dicimus *cet.*

whelmed with missiles almost within his father's sight. The remnants of the unhappy army, scattered wherever their flight took them, through Armenia, Cilicia and Syria, scarcely even brought back the news of the disaster. The head of Crassus was cut off and with his right hand was taken back to the king and treated with mockery which was not undeserved; for molten gold was poured into his gaping mouth, so that the dead and bloodless flesh of one whose heart had burned with lust for gold was itself burnt with gold.

XLVII. Recapitulation

12. Such are the events overseas of the third period of the history of the Roman people, during which, having once ventured to advance outside Italy, they carried their arms over the whole world. The first hundred years of this period were pure and humane and, as we have said, a golden age, free from vice and crime, while the innocence of the old pastoral life was still untainted and uncorrupted, and the imminent threat of our Carthaginian foes kept alive the ancient discipline. The following hundred years, which we have traced from the destruction of Carthage, Corinth and Numantia and the inheritance of the Asiatic Kingdom of Attalus down to the time of Caesar and Pompeius and of their successor Augustus, with whose history we still have to deal, were as deplorable and shameful owing to internal calamities as they were illustrious for the glory of their military achievements. For, just as it was honourable and glorious to have won the rich and powerful provinces of Gaul, Thrace, Cilicia and

dissimasque provincias, Armenios etiam et Britannos, ut non in usum, ita ad imperii speciem magna
5 nomina adquisisse pulchrum ac decorum : ita eodem tempore dimicasse domi cum civibus, sociis, mancipiis, gladiatoribus totoque inter se senatu turpe atque
6 miserandum. Ac nescio an satius[1] fuerit populo Romano Sicilia et Africa contento fuisse, aut his etiam ipsis carere[2] dominanti in Italia sua, quam eo magnitudinis crescere, ut viribus suis conficeretur.
7 Quae enim res alia civiles furores peperit quam nimiae felicitates ? Syria prima nos victa corrupit,
8 mox Asiatica Pergameni regis hereditas. Illae opes atque divitiae adflixere saeculi mores, mersamque vitiis suis quasi sentina rem publicam pessum dedere. Unde enim populus Romanus a tribunis agros et cibaria flagitaret nisi per famem quam luxus fecerat ? Hinc ergo Gracchanae[3] prima et secunda
9 et illa tertia Apuleiana seditio. Unde iudiciariis legibus divulsus ab[4] senatu eques nisi ex avaritia, ut vectigalia rei publicae atque ipsa iudicia in quaestu haberentur ? Hinc Drusus et promissa
10 civitas Latio et per hoc arma sociorum. Quid autem ? Bella servilia unde nobis nisi ex abundantia familiarum ? Unde gladiatorii adversum

[1] an satius : ac satis *B*. [2] carere : parcere *B*.
[3] Gracchanae *Iahnius* : gracchana et *L* : grachana et *B*.
[4] ab : at *B*.

Cappadocia as well as the territory of the Armenians and Britons, which, though they served no practical purpose, constituted important titles to imperial greatness; so it was disgraceful and deplorable at the same time to have fought at home with fellow-citizens and allies, with slaves and gladiators, and the whole senate divided against itself. Indeed I know not whether it would not have been better for the Roman people to have been content with Sicily and Africa, or even to have been without these and to have held dominion only over their own land of Italy, than to increase to such greatness that they were ruined by their own strength. For what else produced those outbursts of domestic strife but excessive prosperity? It was the conquest of Syria which first corrupted us, followed by the Asiatic inheritance bequeathed by the king of Pergamon. The resources and wealth thus acquired spoiled the morals of the age and ruined the State, which was engulfed in its own vices as in a common sewer. For what else caused the Roman people to demand from their tribunes land and food except the scarcity which luxury had produced? Hence arose the first and second Gracchan revolutions and the third raised by Apuleius. What was the cause of the violent division between the equestrian order and the senate on the subject of the judiciary laws except avarice, in order that the revenues of the State and the law-courts themselves might be exploited for profit? Hence arose the attempt of Drusus and the promise of citizenship to the Latins, which resulted in war with our allies. Again, what brought the servile wars upon us except the excessive size of our establishments? How else could those armies

dominos suos exercitus, nisi ad conciliandum plebis favorem effusa largitio, dum spectaculis indulget,
11 supplicia quondam hostium artem faceret?[1] Iam ut speciosiora vitia tangamus, nonne ambitus honorum
12 ab isdem divitiis concitatus? Atquin inde Mariana, inde Sullana tempestas. Aut magnificus apparatus conviviorum et sumptuosa largitio non ab opulentia
13 paritura mox egestatem? Haec Catilinam patriae suae inpegit. Denique illa ipsa principatus et dominandi cupido unde nisi ex nimiis opibus venit? Atquin haec Caesarem atque Pompeium furialibus
14 in exitium rei publicae facibus armavit. Hos igitur omnis domesticos motus separatos ab externis iustisque bellis ex ordine persequemur.

[1] artem faceret *Iahnius*: arte fecere *B*: artem facit *NL*.

of gladiators have arisen against their masters, save that a profuse expenditure, which aimed at conciliating the favour of the common people by indulging their love of shows, had turned what was originally a method of punishing enemies into a competition of skill? Again, to touch upon less ugly vices, was not ambition for office also stimulated by wealth? Why, it was from this the Marian and Sullan disturbances arose. Again, were not the sumptuous extravagance of banquets and the profuse largesses due to a wealth which was bound soon to produce want? It was this too that brought Catiline into collision with his country. Finally, whence did the lust for power and domination arise save from excessive wealth? It was this which armed Caesar and Pompeius with the fatal torches which kindled the flames that destroyed the State. We will, therefore, now describe in their order all these domestic disturbances as distinct from foreign wars properly so called.

L. ANNAEI FLORI

EPITOMAE DE TITO LIVIO BELLORVM OMNIVM ANNORVM DCC

Liber II

Capita Libri II

I. De legibus Gracchanis.
II. Seditio Ti. Gracchi.[1]
III. Seditio C.[2] Gracchi.
IIII. Seditio Apuleiana.
V. Seditio Drusiana.
VI. Bellum adversus socios.
VII. Bellum servile.
VIII. Bellum Spartacium.
VIIII. Bellum civile Marianum.
X. Bellum Sertorianum.
XI. Bellum civile sub Lepido.
XII. Bellum Catilinae.
XIII. Bellum civile Caesaris et Pompei.
XIIII. Bellum Caesaris Augusti.
XV. Bellum Mutinense.
XVI. Bellum Perusinum. Triumviratus.
XVII. Bellum Cassi et Bruti.
XVIII. Bellum cum Sexto Pompeio.
XVIIII. Bellum Parthicum sub Ventidio.
XX. Bellum Parthicum sub Antonio.
XXI. Bellum cum Antonio et Cleopatra.
XXII. Bellum Noricum.
XXIII. Bellum Illyricum.
XXIIII. Bellum Pannonicum.
XXV. Bellum Delmaticum.
XXVI. Bellum Moesum.

[1] Seditio Ti. Gracchi *add. Iahnius.*
[2] C. *add. Iahnius.*

LUCIUS ANNAEUS FLORUS

THE EPITOME, EXTRACTED FROM TITUS LIVIUS, OF ALL THE WARS OF SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS

The Second Book

The Chapters of Book II

I. On the Gracchan Laws.
II. The Revolution of Tiberius Gracchus.
III. The Revolution of Gaius Gracchus.
IIII. The Revolution of Apuleius.
V. The Revolution of Drusus.
VI. The War against the Allies.
VII. The Servile War.
VIII. The War against Spartacus.
VIIII. The Civil War of Marius.
X. The War with Sertorius.
XI. The Civil War under Lepidus.
XII. The War against Catiline.
XIII. The Civil War between Caesar and Pompeius.
XIIII. The War of Caesar Augustus.[1]
XV. The War round Mutina.
XVI. The War round Perusia. The Triumvirate.
XVII. The War against Cassius and Brutus.
XVIII. The War against Sextus Pompeius.
XVIIII. The Parthian War under Ventidius.
XX. The Parthian War under Antonius.
XXI. The War against Antonius and Cleopatra.
XXII. The Norican War.
XXIII. The Illyrian War.
XXIIII. The Pannonian War.
XXV. The Dalmatian War.
XXVI. The Moesian War.

[1] Called in the text "The State under Caesar Augustus."

XXVII. Bellum Thracicum.
XXVIII. Bellum Dacicum.
XXVIIII. Bellum Sarmaticum.
XXX. Bellum Germanicum.
XXXI. Bellum Gaetulicum.
XXXII. Bellum Armenicum.
XXXIII. Bellum Cantabricum et Asturicum.
XXXIIII. Pax Parthorum et consecratio Augusti.

I. De Legibvs Gracchanis

III, 13 Seditionum omnium causas tribunicia potestas excitavit, quae specie quidem plebis tuendae, cuius in auxilium comparata est, re autem dominationem sibi adquirens, studium populi ac favorem agrariis, frumentariis, iudiciariis legibus aucupabatur. Inerat 2 omnibus species aequitatis. Quid tam iustum enim quam recipere plebem sua a patribus, ne populus gentium victor orbisque possessor extorris aris ac 3 focis ageret? Quid tam aequum quam inopem 4 populum vivere ex aerario suo? Quid ad ius[1] libertatis aequandae magis efficax quam ut senatu regente provincias ordinis equestris auctoritas 5 saltem iudiciorum regno niteretur?[2] Sed haec ipsa in perniciem redibant, et misera res publica in 6 exitium[3] sui merces erat. Nam et a senatu in equitem translata iudiciorum potestas vectigalia, id

[1] quid ad ius : quid satius *B* : quid ius *L*.
[2] niteretur : uteretur *B*.
[3] in exitium : inexilium *B*.

XXVII. The Thracian War.
XXVIII. The Dacian War.
XXVIIII. The Sarmatian War.
XXX. The German War.
XXXI. The Gaetulian War.
XXXII. The Armenian War.
XXXIII. The War with the Cantabrians and Asturians.
XXXIIII. The Peace with Parthia and the Deification of Augustus.

I. On the Gracchan Laws

13. The original cause of all the revolutions was the tribunicial power, which, under the pretence of protecting the common people, for whose aid it was originally established, but in reality aiming at domination for itself, courted popular support and favour by legislation for the distribution of lands and corn and the disposal of judicial power. All these measures had some appearance of justice. For what could be fairer than that the commons should receive from the senate what was really their own, so that a people, who had been victorious over the nations and possessed the whole world, might not live banished from their own altars and hearths? What could be juster than that a people in want should be maintained from its own treasury? What could better conduce to secure equal liberty for all than that, while the senate controlled the provinces, the authority of the equestrian order should rest at least on the possession of judicial power? Yet these very measures resulted in the ruin of Rome, and the wretched State became, to its own destruction, an object of bargaining. For the transference of the judicial power from the senate to the equestrian order reduced the revenues, the ancestral wealth of the

7 est imperii patrimonium, subprimebat, et emptio frumenti ipsos rei publicae nervos exhauriebat, aerarium; et reduci plebs in agros unde poterat sine possidentium eversione, qui ipsi pars populi erant, et iam[1] relictas sibi a maioribus sedes aetate quasi iure possidebant?

II. Seditio Tiberi Gracchi

III, 14 Primam certaminum facem Ti.[2] Gracchus accen-
2 dit, genere, forma, eloquentia facile princeps. Sed hic, sive Mancinianae deditionis, quia[3] sponsor foederis fuerat, contagium timens et inde popularis,
3 sive aequo et bono ductus, quia depulsam agris suis plebem miseratus est, [ne populus gentium victor orbisque possessor laribus ac focis suis exularet,][4]
4 quacumque mente rem ausus ingentem est. Post-quam[5] rogationis dies aderat, ingenti stipatus agmine rostra conscendit, nec deerat obvia manu
5 tota inde nobilitas; et tribuni in partibus. Sed ubi intercedentem legibus suis C. Octavium videt Gracchus, contra fas collegii, ius[6] potestatis, iniecta

[1] et iam *Iahnius*: et tam *B*: et tamen *NL*.
[2] Ti. *add. Aldus*.
[3] deditionis, quia: seditionis qua *B*.
[4] ne populus—exularet *secl. Gruterus*.
[5] est. postquam *Halmius*: sed postquam *B*.
[6] ius: iuris *B*.

[1] See p. 153.
[2] These words occur in the previous chapter and should probably be omitted here.

empire, while the purchase of corn was a drain on the treasury, the very life-blood of the State; and how could the common people be restored to the land without dispossessing those who were in occupation of it, and who were themselves a part of the people and held estates bequeathed to them by their forefathers under the quasi-legal title of prescriptive right?

II. The Revolution of Tiberius Gracchus

14. The first flame of contention was kindled by Tiberius Gracchus, whose descent, personal attractions and eloquence made him undoubtedly the leading man of his time. Either because he was afraid of being involved in Mancinus' surrender[1] (for he had been a surety for the performance of the treaty) and therefore joined the popular party, or because he acted from motives of justice and right, pitying the commons who were deprived of their own lands [so that a people who had been victorious over the nations and possessed the whole world might not be exiled from their own hearths and homes],[2] whatever his motives, he ventured to take a very serious step. When the day for bringing forward the bill was at hand, he ascended the rostra surrounded by a large following; and the nobility were all there to resist him with their supporters, and the tribunes[3] were on their side. But when Gracchus saw that Gaius[4] Octavius was going to veto his proposals, he laid hands upon him, contrary to the rights of the tribunicial college and the privileges of

[3] *i.e.* the other tribunes of the people.

[4] He is called Marcus Octavius by Livy, Appian and Plutarch.

manu depulit rostris, adeoque praesenti metu mortis
6 exterruit, ut abdicare se magistratu cogeretur. Sic
triumvir creatus dividendis agris, cum ad perpetranda
coepta die comitiorum prorogari sibi vellet im-
perium, obvia nobilitas manu eorum, quos agris
7 moverat. Caedes a foro coepit; inde cum in
Capitolium profugisset plebemque ad defensionem
salutis suae manu caput tangens hortaretur, prae-
buit speciem regnum sibi et diadema poscentis,
atque ita duce Scipione Nasica, concitato in arma
populo, quasi iure oppressus est.

III. Seditio C. Gracchi

III, 15 Statim et mortis et legum fratris sui vindex non
2 minore impetu incaluit C. Gracchus. Qui cum
pari tumultu atque terrore plebem in avitos agros
arcesseret, et recentem Attali hereditatem in ali-
3 menta populo polliceretur, iamque nimius et in-
potens [1] altero tribunatu secunda plebe volitaret,
4 obrogare [2] auso legibus suis Minucio tribuno, fretus

[1] inpotens *Heinsius*: potens *codd.*
[2] obrogare *Vinetus*: abrogare *codd.*

the office, and expelled him from the rostra, and so frightened him with the instant threat of death that he was forced to retire from his office. Having thus obtained his election as one of the three commissioners for distributing land, when, at the meeting of the comitia he demanded the prolongation of his term of office in order to carry out the work which he had begun, the nobility opposed him with the help of those whom he had expelled from their lands. The slaughter began in the forum; then when he had taken refuge in the Capitol and was urging the commons to come to the defence of his person, with the gesture of touching his head with his hand, he gave rise to the idea that he was demanding the kingship and a royal diadem. The people, therefore, under the leadership of Scipio Nasica, having been roused to take up arms, he was put to death with some show of legality.

III. The Revolution of Gaius Gracchus

15. Immediately after this Gaius Gracchus was fired with an equal zeal to avenge his brother's murder and to champion his proposals. By similar methods of disturbance and terrorism he incited the commons to seize the lands of their forefathers, and promised that the inheritance recently received from Attalus should be used to feed the people, and becoming headstrong and tyrannical on the strength of his second election to the tribunate, he was pursuing a successful course with the support of the common people. When, however, the tribune Minucius ventured to obstruct the passage of his proposals, relying on the help of his supporters he

comitum manu fatale familiae suae Capitolium
5 invasit. Inde proximorum caede depulsus cum se
in Aventinum recepisset, inde quoque obvia senatus
6 manu ab Opimio consule oppressus est. Insultatum
quoque mortis reliquiis, et illud sacrosanctum caput
tribuni plebis percussoribus auro repensatum.

IIII. Seditio Apvleiana

III, 16 Nihilo minus Apuleius Saturninus Gracchanas
adserere leges non destitit. Tantum animorum
viro Marius dabat, [qui][1] nobilitati semper inimicus,
consulatu suo praeterea confisus. Occiso palam
comitiis A. Ninnio conpetitore tribunatus, subrogare
conatus est in eius locum C. Gracchum, hominem
sine tribu, sine notore, sine nomine; sed subdito
2 titulo in familiam ipse se adoptabat. Cum tot
tantisque ludibriis exultaret inpune, rogandis
Gracchorum legibus ita vehementer incubuit, ut
senatum quoque cogeret in verba iurare, cum
abnuentibus aqua et igni interdicturum minaretur.
3 Unus tamen extitit, qui mallet exilium. Igitur post
Metelli fugam omni nobilitate perculsa cum iam
tertium annum dominaretur, eo vesaniae progressus
est, ut consularia quoque comitia nova caede tur-
4 baret. Quippe ut satellitem furoris sui Glauciam

[1] qui *seclusi.*

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[1] Consul in 121 B.C.

[2] The name is uncertain: Appian (*Bell. Civ.* 28) calls him Nonius, Valerius Maximus (IX. 7, 3) Nunnius.

[3] Of 100 B C.

seized the Capitol which had already proved so fatal to his family. Being driven thence, after the loss of his adherents, he betook himself to the Aventine, where, being assailed by a body of senators, he was put to death by the consul Opimius.[1] Insults were also offered to his remains after his death, and a price was paid to his assassins for the sacred head of a tribune of the people.

IIII. The Revolution of Apuleius

16. Apuleius Saturninus continued nevertheless to promote the Gracchan proposals; so great was the encouragement given him by Marius, always a bitter opponent of the nobility and relying, moreover, on his position as consul. Aulus Ninnius,[2] his rival for the tribunate, having been openly murdered at the elections, Apuleius attempted to introduce in his place Gaius Gracchus, a man without a tribe, without anyone to vouch for him and without a name, who by a forged title tried to foist himself upon the Gracchan family. Revelling unchecked in all these outrageous acts of violence, Apuleius devoted himself so zealousy to passing the proposals of the Gracchi that he even compelled the senate to take an oath in their support by threatening that he would obtain a sentence of banishment against those who refused. There was one, however, who preferred exile, namely, Metellus. After his departure, when all the nobility were thoroughly cowed, Apuleius, now in the third year of his tyranny, became so utterly reckless that he even disturbed the consular elections[3] by a fresh murder. For in order to obtain the election as consul of Glaucia, a supporter of his

consulem faceret, C. Memmium [1] conpetitorem interfici iussit, et in eo tumultu regem se a satellitibus [2] suis appellatum laetus accepit. Tum vero iam conspiratione senatus, ipso quoque iam Mario consule, quia tueri non poterat, adverso, directae in foro acies; pulsus inde Capitolium invasit. Sed cum abruptis fistulis obsideretur senatuique per legatos paenitentiae fidem faceret, ab arce degressus cum ducibus factionis receptus in curiam est. Ibi eum facta inruptione populus fustibus saxisque opertum in ipsa quoque morte laceravit.

V. Seditio Drvsiana

III, 17 Postremo Livius Drusus non tribunatus modo viribus, sed ipsius etiam senatus auctoritate totiusque Italiae consensu easdem leges adserere conatus, dum alium captat ex alio, tantum conflavit incendium, ut nec [3] primam illius flammam [4] posset sustinere et subita morte correptus hereditarium in posteros suos bellum propagaret. Iudiciaria lege Gracchi diviserant populum Romanum et bicipitem ex una fecerant civitatem. Equites Romani tanta potestate subnixi, ut qui fata fortunasque principum

[1] C. Memmium: publium mummium *B*: c. menmium *L*: c. memmium N^2: cf. *Liv. per.* 69, *Sall. Iug.* 27, 2.
[2] se a satellitibus *Halmius*: exatellitibus *B*.
[3] nec *Vinetus*: ne *codd.*
[4] primam illius flammam *Iahnius* prima illius flamma *codd.*

insane policy, he ordered the murder of his opponent Gaius Memmius, and in the confusion which followed, heard himself with pleasure hailed as king by his followers. Then at last the senators leagued themselves against him, and Marius himself, now consul, finding that he could no longer protect him, turned against him, and the two parties faced one another under arms in the forum. Driven from the forum Apuleius seized the Capitol. When he was besieged there and the water-supply had been cut off, he made the senate believe, through his representatives, that he repented of what he had done, and coming down from the citadel with the chief men of his party was received in the senate house. Here the people, bursting their way in, overwhelmed him with sticks and stones and tore him to pieces at the very moment of his death.

V. The Revolution of Drusus

17. Lastly, Livius Drusus, relying not only upon the powers of the tribunate but also upon the authority of the senate itself and the general agreement of all Italy, tried to carry out the same proposals, and by courting one party after another, kindled so violent a combustion that he could not withstand even its first outburst, and carried off by sudden death, left the struggle as an inheritance to his successors. The Gracchi by their judiciary law had created a cleavage in the Roman people and had destroyed the unity of the State by giving it two heads. The Roman knights, relying on the extraordinary powers,[1] which placed the fate and fortunes of the leading citizens

[1] *i.e.* the control of the law-courts.

haberent in manu, interceptis vectigalibus peculabantur suo iure rem publicam; senatus[1] exilio Metelli, damnatione Rutili debilitatus omne decus
4 maiestatis amiserat. In hoc statu rerum pares opibus animis dignitate (unde et nata Livio Druso aemulatio)[2] equitem[3] Servilius Caepio, senatum
5 Livius Drusus adserere. Signa, aquilae et vexilla deerant: ceterum sic urbe in una quasi in binis castris dissidebatur. Prior Caepio in senatum impetu facto reos ambitus Scaurum et Philippum
6 principes nobilitatis elegit. His ut motibus resisteret, Drusus plebem ad se Gracchanis legibus, isdemque[4] socios ad plebem spe civitatis erexit. Extat[5] vox ipsius, nihil se ad largitionem ulli reliquisse, nisi si quis aut caenum dividere vellet
7 aut caelum. Aderat promulgandi dies, cum subito tanta vis hominum undique apparuit, ut hostium
8 adventu obsessa civitas videretur. Ausus tamen obrogare legibus consul Philippus, sed adprehensum faucibus viator non ante dimisit quam sanguis in os
9 et oculos redundaret. Sic per vim latae iussaeque leges. Et pretium rogationis statim socii flagitare, cum inparem Drusum aegrumque rerum temere

[1] senatus *L Voss. Monac. Palat.*: pilatus *B*.
[2] unde et nata Livio Druso aemulatio *Graevius*: unde et natalium druso aemulatio accesserat *B*: unde et natalivio druso aemulatio accesserat *N*.
[3] equitem *Voss. Rehd.*: equitatem *B*: aequitum *NL*.
[4] isdemque: eisdem *NL*.
[5] extat *L*: exat *B*.

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[1] P. Rutilius Rufus, the honest legatus of A. Scaevola in Asia, was unjustly condemned and exiled in 92 B.C.
[2] It is impossible to keep up in English the play upon the words *caenum* and *caelum*.

in their hands, were plundering the State at their pleasure by embezzling the revenues; the senate, crippled by the exile of Metellus and the condemnation of Rutilius,[1] had lost every appearance of dignity. In this state of affairs Servilius Caepio and Livius Drusus, men of equal wealth, spirit and dignity—and it was this which inspired the emulation of Livius Drusus—supported, the former the knights, the latter the senate. Standards, eagles and banners were, it is true, lacking; but the citizens of one and the same city were as sharply divided as if they formed two camps. First of all Caepio, attacking the senate, singled out Scaurus and Philippus, the chief men of the nobility, and prosecuted them for bribery. In order to counteract this move, Drusus rallied the commons to his support by the bait of the Gracchan laws, and used the same means to rally the allies to the support of the commons by the hope of receiving the citizenship. A saying of his has survived, that "he had left nothing for anyone else to distribute, unless he wished to share out the mire or the air."[2] The day for the promulgation of the bills was at hand, when on a sudden so vast a multitude appeared on all sides that the city seemed to be beset by a hostile force. Philippus the consul,[3] nevertheless, ventured to oppose the bills; but the tribune's attendant seized him by the throat and did not let go until blood poured into his mouth and eyes. Thus the bills were brought forward and passed by violence. Thereupon the allies immediately demanded the price of their support; but death carried off Drusus, who was unequal to the occasion and weary of the disturbance which he

[3] Consul in 91 B.C.

motarum matura, ut in tali discrimine, mors abstulit. Nec ideo [minus][1] socii promissa Drusi a populo Romano reposcere armis desierunt.

VI. Bellvm Adversvm Socios

III, 18 Sociale bellum vocetur licet, ut extenuemus invidiam, si verum tamen volumus, illud civile bellum fuit. Quippe cum populus Romanus Etruscos, Latinos Sabinosque sibi miscuerit et unum ex omnibus sanguinem ducat, corpus fecit ex membris et ex
2 omnibus unus est; nec minore flagitio socii intra
3 Italiam quam intra urbem cives rebellabant. Itaque cum ius civitatis, quam viribus auxerant, socii iustissime postularent, quam in spem eos cupidine
4 dominationis Drusus erexerat, postquam ille domestico scelere oppressus est, eadem fax, quae illum cremavit, socios in arma et expugnationem urbis
5 accendit. Quid hac clade tristius? Quid calamitosius? Cum omne Latium atque Picenum, Etruria omnis atque Campania, postremo Italia contra
6 matrem suam ac parentem urbem consurgeret; cum omne robur fortissimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum sub suis quisque signis haberent municipalia illa prodigia, Poppaedius[2] Marsos et <Paelignos>[3], Latinos Afranius,[4] Vmbros Plotius,[5] Egnatius Etrus-
7 cos,[6] Samnium Lucaniamque Telesinus; cum regum[7]

[1] minus *seclusit Perizonius.*

[2] Poppaedius (cf. *Liv. per.* 76, *C.I.L.* x. 220, 417, *Appian, Bell. Civ.* I. 40, etc.): poppedius *BL*: poppedios *N*.

[3] Paelignos *add. Kellerbauerus.*

[4] Afranius: affranius *N*: afrienus *B*.

[5] Plotius *Tollius*: totos *B*: totus *NL*.

[6] Egnatius Etruscos *Lipsius*: senatos et consules *B*.

[7] regum: rerum *B*: regnum *L*.

had rashly aroused—a death opportune at such a crisis. But for all that the allies did not cease to demand from the Roman people by force of arms the privileges promised by Drusus.

VI. The War against the Allies

18. Though we call this war a war against allies, in order to lessen the odium of it, yet, if we are to tell the truth, it was a war against citizens. For since the Roman people united in itself the Etruscans, the Latins and the Sabines, and traces the same descent from all alike, it has formed a body made up of various members and is a single people composed of all these elements; and the allies, therefore, in raising a rebellion within the bounds of Italy, committed as great a crime as citizens who rebel within a city. So when the allies very justly demanded the rights of citizenship, for which Drusus, in his desire for power, had encouraged them to hope as members of a State which they had aggrandized by their exertions, the same brand which had consumed him kindled the allies, after he had fallen through the perfidy of his fellow-citizens, to take up arms and attack the city. What could be sadder, what more disastrous than this calamity? All Latium and Picenum, all Etruria and Campania, and finally all Italy rose against their mother and parent city. The flower of our bravest and most trusted allies were led, each under their several standards, by the most eminent leaders from the country towns, Poppaedius commanding the Marsians and Paeligni, Afranius the Latins, Plotius the Umbrians, Egnatius the Etruscans, and Telesinus the Samnites and

et gentium arbiter populus ipsum se regere non posset, et victrix Asiae et Europae a Corfinio Roma adpeteretur.

8 Primum fuit belli consilium, ut in Albano monte[1] festo die Latinarum Iulius Caesar et Marcius Philippus consules inter sacra et aras immolarentur. 9 Postquam id nefas proditione discussum est, Asculo furor omnis erupit,[2] in ipsa quidem ludorum frequentia trucidatis qui tunc aderant ab urbe legatis. 10 Hoc fuit inpii belli[3] sacramentum. Inde iam passim ab omni parte Italiae, duce et auctore belli discursante Poppaedio,[4] diversa per populos et urbes 11 signa cecinere. Nec Annibalis nec Pyrrhi fuit tanta vastatio. Ecce Ocriculum, ecce Grumentum, ecce Faesulae, ecce[5] Carseoli, Aesernia, Nuceria,[6] Picentia penitus[7] ferro et igne vastantur. Fusae Rutili 12 copiae, fusae Caepionis. Nam ipse Iulius Caesar, exercitu amisso, cum in urbem cruentus referretur, miserabili funere mediam per urbem viam fecit.[8] 13 Sed magna populi Romani fortuna, et semper in malis maior, totis denuo viribus consurrexit; adgressique singulos populos Cato discutit Etruscos, Gabinius Marsos, Carbo Lucanos, Sulla Samnites; 14 Pompeius vero Strabo[9] omnia flammis ferroque

[1] consilium, ut in Albano monte *Rossbachius*: in Albano monte consilium ut *B*.

[2] erupit: eripuit *B*. [3] inpii belli: imbellis *B*.

[4] Poppaedio: poppedio *NL*: pompeio *B*.

[5] Grumentum, ecce Faesulae, ecce: crumentum ecce pessulae et *B*.

[6] Aesernia, Nuceria *Iahnius*: reserat anuceria *B*: res erat nuceria *N*.

[7] Picentia penitus *Hauptius*: picenti moenibus *B*.

[8] mediam per urbem viam fecit *scripsi*: mediam urbem per viam fecit *codd*.

[9] Strabo *om. B*.

Lucanians. The people who had been the arbiters of the fates of kings and nations failed to rule themselves, and Rome, the conqueror of Asia and Europe, was attacked from Corfinium.

The first plan of campaign was to murder the consuls, Julius Caesar and Marcius Philippus [1] on the Alban Mount amid the sacrifices and altars at the celebration of the Latin Festival.[2] This crime having been defeated by betrayal, the full fury of the rising broke out at Asculum, where representatives who were present at the time from Rome were butchered amid the crowd which had gathered for the games. This act served as the oath which pledged them to civil war. Thereupon from all sides the various calls to arms rang out through the peoples and cities of every part of Italy, as Poppaedius, the leader and instigator of the war, hurried from place to place. The devastation wrought by Hannibal and Pyrrhus was less serious. Lo! Ocriculum, Grumentum, Faesulae, Carseoli, Aesernia, Nuceria and Picentia were utterly laid waste by fire and sword. The forces both of Rutilius and of Caepio were routed. Julius Caesar himself, after the loss of his army, being brought back still dripping with blood, was borne through the midst of the city with pitiable funeral rites. But the great good fortune of the Roman people, never so great as in the hour of misfortune, asserted itself afresh in all its vigour. Attacking the various peoples separately, Cato scattered the Etruscans, Gabinius the Marsians, Carbo the Lucanians, and Sulla the Samnites, while Pompeius Strabo wasted the whole country with

[1] Consuls in 91 B.C. [2] sc. *feriarum*.

populatus non prius finem caedium fecit, quam Asculi eversione manibus tot exercituum, consulum direptarumque urbium dis litaretur utcumque.[1]

VII. Bellvm Servile

III, 19 Etsi cum sociis—nefas—cum liberis tamen et ingenuis dimicatum est: quis aequo animo ferat in
2 principe populo bella servorum? Primum servile bellum inter initia[2] urbis Herdonio duce Sabino in ipsa urbe temptatum est, cum occupata tribuniciis seditionibus civitate Capitolium obsessum est et a consule receptum; sed hic tumultus magis fuit quam bellum. Mox imperio per diversa terrarum occupato, quis crederet Siciliam multo cruentius
3 servili quam Punico bello esse vastatam? Terra frugum ferax et quodam modo suburbana provincia latifundiis civium Romanorum tenebatur. Hic ad cultum agri frequentia ergastula catenatique cultores
4 materiam bello praebuere. Syrus[3] quidam nomine Eunus[4]—magnitudo cladium[5] facit, ut meminerimus—fanatico furore simulato, dum Syriae deae comas iactat, ad libertatem et arma servos quasi

[1] utcumque *ab initio proximi capitis huc transposuit Lipsius*: id qualitercumque *B*.
[2] inter initia: in italia *B*.
[3] Syrus: sirus *B*.
[4] Eunus: conus *B*.
[5] cladium: gladium *BN*: claudium *L*.

fire and sword and did not make an end of slaughter until, by the destruction of Asculum, he made atonement in some measure to the shades of so many armies and consuls and to the gods of the devastated cities.

VII. The Servile War

19. Although we fought with allies—in itself an impious act—yet we fought with men who enjoyed liberty and were of free birth; but who could tolerate with equanimity wars waged by a sovereign people against slaves? The first attempt at war on the part of slaves took place in the city itself in the early days of its history under the leadership of Herdonius the Sabine. On this occasion, while the State was taken up with the troubles caused by the tribunes, the Capitol was besieged and afterwards rescued by the consul; but it was a local rising rather than a war. It is difficult to believe that, at a later date, while the forces of the empire were engaged in various parts of the world, Sicily was far more cruelly laid waste in a war against slaves than during the Punic War. This land, so rich in corn, a province lying, as it were, at our very doors, was occupied by large estates in the possession of Roman citizens. The numerous prisons for slaves employed in tilling the soil and gangs of cultivators who worked in chains provided the forces for the war. A certain Syrian named Eunus (the seriousness of our defeats causes his name to be remembered), counterfeiting an inspired frenzy and waving his dishevelled hair in honour of the Syrian goddess, incited the slaves to arms and liberty on the pretence

numinum imperio concitavit; idque ut divinitus fieri probaret, in ore abdita nuce quam sulphure et igni stipaverat, leniter inspirans flammam inter
6 verba fundebat. Hoc miraculum primo duo milia ex obviis,[1] mox iure belli refractis ergastulis sexaginta amplius milium fecit exercitum; regisque, ne quid mali deesset, decoratus insignibus castella,
7 vicos, oppida miserabili direptione vastavit. Quin,[2] illud quoque ultimum dedecus[3] belli, capta sunt castra praetorum—nec nominare ipsos pudebit—castra Manlii, Lentuli, Pisonis, Hypsaei.[4] Itaque qui per fugitivarios abstrahi debuissent, praetorios duces profugos proelio ipsi sequebantur. Tandem Perperna imperatore supplicium de eis sumptum
8 est. Hic enim victos et apud Hennam[5] novissime obsessos cum fame quasi pestilentia consumpsisset, reliquias latronum compedibus, catenis crucibusque punivit; fuitque de servis ovatione contentus, ne dignitatem triumphi servili inscriptione violaret.

9 Vixdum respiraverat insula, cum statim Servilio praetore a Syro[6] reditur ad Cilicem. Athenio pastor interfecto domino familiam ergastulo liber-
10 atam sub signis ordinat. Ipse veste purpurea

[1] ex obviis *Rehd.*: exobulis *NL*, *om.* *B*.
[2] quin: quid *B*.
[3] dedecus: decus *B*.
[4] Hypsaei: hypsei *NL*: ipse *B*.
[5] Hennam: bennam *B*.
[6] Servilio praetore a Syro *Mommsenus*: servile et asyro *B*: servi. et a syro *NL*.

of a command from the gods. In order to prove that he was acting under divine inspiration, he secreted in his mouth a nut which he had filled with sulphur and fire, and, by breathing gently, sent forth a flame as he spoke. This miracle first of all collected 2,000 men from those whom he encountered, but presently, when the prisons had been broken open by force of arms, he formed an army of more than 60,000 men. Adorning himself—in order to fill up the cup of his wickedness—with the insignia of royalty, he laid waste fortresses, villages and towns with pitiable destruction. Nay, even the camps of the praetors were captured—the most disgraceful thing than can occur in war; nor will I shrink from mentioning the names of these commanders, who were Manlius, Lentulus, Piso and Hypsaeus. Thus those who ought to have been hauled away by the overseers, themselves pursued praetorian generals in flight from the battle-field. At last punishment was inflicted upon them under the leadership of Perperna, who, after defeating them and finally besieging them at Enna, reduced them by famine as effectually as by a plague and requited the surviving marauders with fetters, chains and the cross. He was content with an ovation for his victory over them, so that he might not sully the dignity of a triumph by the mention of slaves.

Scarcely had the island recovered itself, when, in the praetorship of Servilius, the command suddenly passed from the hands of a Syrian into those of a Cilician. A shepherd, Athenio, having murdered his master, released the slaves from their prison and formed them into an organized force. Himself arrayed in a purple robe, carrying a silver sceptre

argenteoque baculo et regium in morem fronte redimita non minorem quam ille fanaticus prior conflavit exercitum, acriusque multo, quasi et illum vindicaret, vicos, oppida, castella diripiens, in servos infestius quam in dominos[1] quasi in transfugas,
11 saeviebat. Ab hoc quoque praetorii exercitus fusi, capta Servili castra, capta Luculli. Sed Titus Aquilius Perpernae usus exemplo, interclusum hostem commeatibus ad extrema conpulit comminutasque copias fame armis facile delevit; dedidissentque se, nisi suppliciorum metu voluntariam
12 mortem praetulissent. Ac ne de duce quidem supplicium exigi potuit, quamvis vivus in manus venerit; quippe dum circa adprehendendum eum a multitudine contenditur, inter rixantium manus praeda lacerata est.

VIII. Bellvm Spartacivm

III, 20 Enimvero et servilium armorum dedecus feras; nam etsi per fortunam in omnia obnoxii, tamen quasi secundum hominum genus sunt et in bona libertatis nostrae adoptantur: bellum Spartaco duce
2 concitatum quo nomine appellem nescio; quippe cum servi[2] militaverint, gladiatores imperaverint, illi infimae sortis homines, hi pessumae auxere ludibriis calamitatem Romanam.
3 Spartacus, Crixus, Oenomaus effracto Lentuli

[1] in servos infestius quam in dominos *Rossbachius*: in dominos quam in servos infestius (quam *om. NL*) *codd.*
[2] servi: serviliberi *B.*

[1] Other authorities give his name as Manius Aquilius.
[2] *i.e.* by manumission.

and crowned like a king, he collected an army quite as large as that of his fanatical predecessor, and with even greater energy, on the pretext of avenging him, plundering villages, towns and fortresses, vented his fury with even greater violence upon the slaves than upon their masters, treating them as renegades. He too routed praetorian armies and captured the camps of Servilius and Lucullus. But Titus [1] Aquilius following the example of Perperna, reduced the enemy to extremities by cutting off their supplies and easily destroyed their forces in battle when they were reduced by starvation. They would have surrendered, had they not, in their fear of punishment, preferred voluntary death. The penalty could not be inflicted upon their leader, although he fell alive into their hands; for, while the crowd was quarrelling about his apprehension, the prey was torn to pieces in the hands of the disputants.

VIII. The War against Spartacus

20. One can tolerate, indeed, even the disgrace of a war against slaves; for although, by force of circumstances, they are liable to any kind of treatment, yet they form as it were a class (though an inferior class) of human beings and can be admitted [2] to the blessings of liberty which we enjoy. But I know not what name to give to the war which was stirred up at the instigation of Spartacus; for the common soldiers being slaves and their leaders being gladiators—the former men of the humblest, the latter men of the worse, class—added insult to the injury which they inflicted upon Rome.

Spartacus, Crixus and Oenomaus, breaking out of

ludo cum triginta aut amplius eiusdem fortunae viris erupere Capua;[1] servisque ad vexillum[2] vocatis cum statim decem milia amplius coissent, homines modo effugisse contenti, iam et vindicari
4 volebant. Prima sedes velut rabidis beluis mons[3] Vesuvius placuit. Ibi cum obsiderentur a Clodio Glabro, per fauces cavi montis vitineis delapsi vinculis[4] ad imas eius descendere radices et exitu inviso[5] nihil tale opinantis ducis subito impetu
5 castra rapuerunt; inde alia castra, Vareniana,[6] deinceps Thorani; totamque pervagantur Campaniam. Nec villarum atque vicorum vastatione contenti Nolam atque Nuceriam, Thurios[7] atque
6 Metapontum terribili strage populantur. Adfluentibus in diem copiis cum iam esset iustus exercitus, e viminibus pecudumque tegumentis inconditos sibi clipeos et ferro ergastulorum recocto gladios
7 ac tela fecerunt. Ac ne quod decus[8] iusto deesset exercitui, domitis obviis etiam gregibus paratur equitatus, captaque de praetoribus insignia et fasces
8 ad ducem detulere. Nec abnuit ille de stipendiario Thrace miles, de milite desertor, inde latro,[9] deinde

[1] Capua: capuam *B*.
[2] ad vexillum: ad auxilium *B*: ad vexillum ad (et *L*) auxilium *NL*.
[3] velut rapidis beluis mons *Rossbachius*: velut bellus mons *B*: velut arauiris mons *NL*.
[4] delapsi vinculis: dilapsi ungulis *B*.
[5] inviso: indiviso *B*: inuno *NL*.
[6] castra *post* Vareniana *add. B*.
[7] Thurios: thauros *B*: turios *NL*.
[8] decus: dedecus *B*.

the gladiatorial school of Lentulus with thirty or rather more men of the same occupation, escaped from Capua. When, by summoning the slaves to their standard, they had quickly collected more than 10,000 adherents, these men, who had been originally content merely to have escaped, soon began to wish to take their revenge also. The first position which attracted them (a suitable one for such ravening monsters) was Mt. Vesuvius. Being besieged here by Clodius Glabrus, they slid by means of ropes made of vine-twigs through a passage in the hollow of the mountain down into its very depths, and issuing forth by a hidden exit, seized the camp of the general by a sudden attack which he never expected. They then attacked other camps, that of Varenius and afterwards that of Thoranus; and they ranged over the whole of Campania. Not content with the plundering of country houses and villages, they laid waste Nola, Nuceria, Thurii and Metapontum with terrible destruction. Becoming a regular army by the daily arrival of fresh forces, they made themselves rude shields of wicker-work and the skins of animals, and swords and other weapons by melting down the iron in the slave-prisons. That nothing might be lacking which was proper to a regular army, cavalry was procured by breaking in herds of horses which they encountered, and his men brought to their leader the insignia and fasces captured from the praetors, nor were they refused by the man who, from being a Thracian mercenary, had become a soldier, and from a soldier a deserter, then a highwayman, and

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[9] inde latro *NL*: de latro *B*.

9 in honorem[1] virium gladiator. Quin[2] defunctorum quoque proelio ducum funera imperatoriis[3] celebravit exsequiis, captivosque circa rogum iussit armis depugnare, quasi plane expiaturus omne praeteritum dedecus, si de gladiatore munerarius
10 fuisset. Inde iam consulares[4] quoque adgressus in Appenino Lentuli exercitum cecidit, apud
11 Mutinam Publi Crassi castra delevit. Quibus elatus victoriis de invadenda urbe Romana—quod satis
12 est turpitudini nostrae—deliberavit. Tandem enim totis imperii viribus contra myrmillonem consurgitur[5] pudoremque Romanum Licinius Crassus adseruit; a quo pulsi fugatique—pudet dicere—
13 hostes in extrema Italiae refugerunt. Ibi circa Brittium angulum clusi,[6] cum fugam in Siciliam pararent neque navigia suppeterent, ratesque ex trabibus et dolia conexa virgultis rapidissimo freto frustra experirentur, tandem eruptione facta digna
14 viris obiere morte et, quod sub gladiatore duce oportuit, sine missione pugnatum est. Spartacus ipse in primo agmine fortissime dimicans quasi imperator occisus est.

[1] honorem *Rehd.*: honore *cet.*
[2] quin *Freinshemius*: quia *B*: qui *NL.*
[3] imperatoriis: imperatorum *B.*
[4] consulares *NL*: consularem *cet.*
[5] consurgitur *NL*: consurgunt *cet.*

finally, thanks to his strength, a gladiator. He also celebrated the obsequies of his officers who had fallen in battle with funerals like those of Roman generals, and ordered his captives to fight at their pyres, just as though he wished to wipe out all his past dishonour by having become, instead of a gladiator, a giver of gladiatorial shows. Next, actually attacking generals of consular rank, he inflicted defeat on the army of Lentulus in the Apennines and destroyed the camp of Publius[1] Cassius at Mutina. Elated by these victories he entertained the project—in itself a sufficient disgrace to us—of attacking the city of Rome. At last a combined effort was made, supported by all the resources of the empire, against this gladiator, and Licinius Crassus vindicated the honour of Rome. Routed and put to flight by him, our enemies—I am ashamed to give them this title—took refuge in the furthest extremities of Italy. Here, being cut off in the angle of Bruttium and preparing to escape to Sicily, but being unable to obtain ships, they tried to launch rafts of beams and casks bound together with withies on the swift waters of the straits. Failing in this attempt, they finally made a sally and met a death worthy of men, fighting to the death[2] as became those who were commanded by a gladiator. Spartacus himself fell, as became a general, fighting most bravely in the front rank.

[1] The inferior MSS. read Gaius, which is supported by other authorities.

[2] *Sine missione* is a technical term from the gladiatorial contests.

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[6] clusi: fusi *B.*

VIIII. Bellvm Civile Marianvm

III, 21 Hoc deerat unum populi Romani malis, ut iam ipse intra se parricidale telum domi stringeret, et in urbe media ac foro quasi harena cives cum
2 civibus suis gladiatorio more concurrerent. Aequiore animo utcumque ferrem, si plebei duces aut, si nobiles, mali saltem ducatum sceleri praebuissent. Tum vero—pro facinus—qui viri! qui imperatores! decora et ornamenta saeculi sui, Marius et Sulla, pessimo facinori suam etiam dignitatem praebuerunt.

3 Bellum civile Marianum sive Sullanum tribus, ut sic dixerim, sideribus agitatum est. Primum levi et modico tumultu magis [1] quam bello, intra ipsos
4 dumtaxat armorum duces subsistente saevitia; mox atrocius et cruentius, per ipsius viscera senatus
5 grassante victoria; ultimo non civicam modo, sed hostilem quoque rabiem supergressum est, cum armorum furor totius Italiae viribus niteretur, eo usque odiis saevientibus,[2] donec deessent qui occiderentur.

6 Initium et causa belli inexplebilis honorum Marii fames, dum decretam Sullae provinciam Sulpicia lege sollicitat. Sed inpatiens iniuriae statim Sulla legiones circumegit, dilatoque Mithridate Esquilina [3]

[1] magis *scripsi*: maiore *codd.*
[2] peractum est *post* saevientibus *add. B.*
[3] Mithridate Esquilina *Rehd.*: mithridates quilla *B*: mithridate escylia *N.*

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[1] *i.e.* falls into three periods of stress and storm, the rise of certain constellations, such as Arcturus and the Pleiades, being proverbial for occasioning tempests.

VIIII. The Civil War of Marius

21. The only thing still wanting to complete the misfortunes of the Roman people was that they should draw the sword upon each other at home, and that citizens should fight against citizens in the midst of the city and in the forum like gladiators in the arena. It would be possible to bear the calamity with greater equanimity, if plebeian leaders, or leaders who, if noble, were yet bad men, had taken the chief part in such wickedness. On this occasion (alas for the crime of it!) what heroes, what generals they were—Marius and Sulla, the pride and glory of their age—who even gave the support of their high position to the very worst of misdeeds!

The Marian or Sullan civil war was waged under three different constellations,[1] if I may use the expression. In the first period the conflict was of the nature of a mild and unimportant rising rather than a war, the cruelty being confined to the leaders of the two parties; then it became a more bitter and cruel struggle, in which the victory struck at the very heart of the senate; finally, all the bounds of the rage, not merely of citizen against citizen, but of enemy against enemy, were exceeded, the fury of war being supported by all the resources of Italy, and hatred venting its cruelty till none remained to be slain.

The origin and cause of the war was Marius' insatiable desire for office, which led him to seek, by means of the law of Sulpicius, the province allotted to Sulla. The latter, unable to tolerate this injury, immediately wheeled round his legions, and postponing the war against Mithridates, poured his army

Collinaque porta geminum urbi agmen infudit.
7 Inde cum consules Sulpicius et Albinovanus obiecissent catervas suas, et saxa undique a moenibus ac tela iacerentur, ipse quoque iaculatus incendia viam fecit arcemque Capitolii, quae Poenos quoque, quae[1] Gallos etiam Senonas evaserat, quasi cap-
8 tivam victor insedit. Tum[2] ex consulto senatus adversariis hostibus iudicatis in praesentem tribunum aliosque diversae factionis iure saevitum est; Marium servilis fuga exemit, immo fortuna alteri bello reservavit.

9 Cornelio Cinna Gnaeo Octavio consulibus male obrutum resurrexit incendium, et quidem ab ipsorum discordia, quom[3] de revocandis quos senatus
10 hostes iudicaverat ad populum referretur; cincta quidem gladiis contione, sed vincentibus quibus pax et quies potior, profugus patria sua Cinna confugit ad partes. Rediit ab Africa Marius clade maior; si quidem carcer catenae, fuga exilium
11 horrificaverant dignitatem. Itaque ad nomen tanti viri late concurritur, servitia—pro nefas—et ergastula armantur, et facile invenit exercitum imperator.
12 Itaque vi patriam reposcens, unde vi fuerat ex-

[1] quae *add. Halmius.*
[2] tum *L. Voss. Palat.*: cum *BN.*
[3] quom: quam *B.*

[1] Neither Sulpicius nor Albinovanus were consuls; Sulpicius was tribune in 88 B.C.
[2] 87 B.C.

in two columns through the Esquiline and Colline Gates. When the consuls Sulpicius and Albinovanus[1] had thrown their troops in his way, and stones and weapons were being hurled on all sides from the walls, Sulla himself also forced a passage by hurling burning brands and occupied the citadel of the Capitol, which had escaped capture by the Carthaginians and Gallic Senones, like a victorious general in a captive city. Then after his adversaries had been declared enemies of the State by a decree of the senate, he took violent measures, under the form prescribed by law, against the tribune who was within reach and other members of the opposing faction. Marius saved himself by flight like that of a runaway slave, or rather fate preserved him to fight another day.

In the consulship of Cornelius Cinna and Gnaeus Octavius,[2] the flames, which had been imperfectly extinguished, burst forth afresh, owing, indeed, to a difference of opinion between the consuls themselves, when the question of recalling those whom the senate had declared enemies was referred to the people. The assembly met armed with swords, but when those prevailed who preferred peace and quiet, Cinna fled from his country and joined his confederates. Marius returned from Africa, all the greater for his misfortunes, since his imprisonment and chains, his flight and exile had added a certain awe to his high reputation. So at the name of so famous a general men flocked from far and near; recourse was had to the disgraceful expedient of arming slaves and convicts; and the general had no difficulty in finding an army. In thus seeking to return by violence to the country from which he had been

pulsus, poterat videri iure agere, nisi causam suam saevitia corrumperet. Sed cum dis hominibusque infestus rediret, statim primo impetu cliens et alumna urbis Ostia[1] nefanda strage diripitur.
13 Mox in urbem quadruplici agmine intratur. Divisere copias Cinna, Marius, Carbo, Sertorius. Hic postquam manus omnis Octavi depulsa Ianiculo est, statim ad principum caedem signo dato aliquanto saevius quam vel in Punica urbe saevitur.
14 Octavi consulis caput pro rostris exponitur, Antonii consularis in Mari ipsius mensis. Caesar et[2] Fimbria in penatibus domuum[3] suarum trucidantur, Crassi pater et filius in mutuo alter alterius aspectu. Baebium atque Numitorium per medium forum
15 unci traxere carnificum. Catulus se ignis haustu
16 ludibrio hostium exemit. Merula flamen Dialis in Capitolio Iovis ipsius oculos venarum cruore respersit. Ancharius ipso vidente Mario confossus est, quia fatalem illam scilicet manum non por-
17 rexerat salutanti. Haec tot senatus funera intra kalendas et idus Ianuarii mensis septima illa Marii purpura dedit. Quid futurum fuit, si annum consulatus implesset?
18 Scipione Norbanoque consulibus tertius ille turbo civilis insaniae toto furore detonuit, quippe cum

[1] urbis Ostia: urbs urbis hostía *B.*
[2] Caesar et *NL*: caesare *B.*
[3] domuum *Iahnius*: domus *B.*

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[1] *i.e.* Marius had told his followers to kill anyone whose salute he did not return.
[2] 86 B.C.
[3] 83 B.C.

driven by violence, Marius might seem to have acted justly, but that he disgraced his cause by cruelty. But returning at enmity with gods and men, he directed his first onslaught against Ostia, a city dependent upon Rome, and her foster-child, which he laid waste with impious destruction. Soon afterwards the city was entered by four detachments distributed under the command of Cinna, Marius, Carbo and Sertorius. When all Octavius' troops had been dislodged from the Janiculum, immediately, at a given signal, they wreaked their fury in the slaughter of the leading citizens with even greater cruelty than even in a Carthaginian city. The head of the consul Octavius was displayed on the *rostra*, that of Antonius, an ex-consul, on Marius' own table. Caesar and Fimbria were butchered at the household shrines of their own homes. The elder and younger Crassus were slain in the sight of one another. Baebius and Numitorius were dragged through the forum on the hooks of the executioners. Catulus saved himself from the insults of his enemies by swallowing fire. Merula, the priest of Jupiter in the Capitol, bespattered the visage of the god himself with the blood from his veins. Ancharius was stabbed in the presence of Marius himself, because, forsooth, when he saluted him, Marius had not stretched out to him the hand which was to decide his fate.[1] All these deaths of senators were the result of Marius' seventh consulship[2] between the 1st and the 9th of January. What would have happened if he had completed his full year of office?

In the consulship of Scipio and Norbanus,[3] the third storm of civil rage broke forth in all its fury.

hinc octo legiones,[1] quingentae cohortes starent in armis, inde ab Asia cum victore exercitu Sulla properaret. Et sane cum tam ferox in Sullanos Marius fuisset, quanta saevitia opus erat, ut Sulla de Mario vindicaretur? Primum apud Capuam sub amne Vulturno signa concurrunt, et statim omnis Norbani fusus exercitus, statim Scipionis copiae ostentata spe pacis oppressae. Tum Marius iuvenis et Carbo consules quasi desperata victoria, ne inulti perirent, in antecessum sanguine senatus sibi parentabant, obsessaque curia sic de senatu quasi de carcere qui iugularentur educti. Quantum[2] funerum in foro, in circo, in penitis[3] templis! nam Mucius Scaevola pontifex Vestalis amplexus aras tantum non eodem
22 igne sepelitur. Lamponius[4] atque Telesinus, Samnitum duces, atrocius Pyrrho et Annibale Campaniam Etruriamque populantur, et sub specie partium se
23 vindicant. Apud Sacriportum Collinamque portam debellatae omnes hostium copiae; ibi Marius, hic Telesinus oppressi. Nec idem tamen caedium qui belli finis fuit. Stricti enim et in pace gladii, animadversumque in eos, qui se sponte dediderant. Minus est, quod apud Sacriportum, apud Collinam septuaginta milia amplius Sulla concidit: bellum

[1] inde *post* legiones *add. BNL, del. Iahnius.*
[2] quantum *Iahnius*: quantum id *B*: quid *NL.*
[3] penitis *Rossbachius*: penitentibus *B*: patentibus *NL.*
[4] Lamponius (cp. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* I. 40; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 29): lucius amponius *B*: Iamponius *L.*

[1] Consuls in 82 B.C.

On the one side stood eight legions and 500 cohort in arms, while on the other side Sulla was hastening back from Asia with his victorious army. And, indeed, since Marius had acted so cruelly towards the supporters of Sulla, what cruelty was needed that Sulla might take vengeance upon Marius? Their forces first met at the River Vulturnus near Capua; the whole army of Norbanus was immediately routed and Scipio's forces were promptly overwhelmed after hopes of peace had been held out to them. Then the consuls, the younger Marius and Carbo,[1] as though despairing of victory and desirous of not perishing unavenged, offered sacrifice beforehand to their own shades with the blood of the senate; the senate-house was besieged and the senators were led out thence for execution as from a prison. What countless deaths took place in the forum, the circus and the innermost recesses of the temples! Mucius Scaevola, the priest of Vesta, clinging to the altar of the goddess, was almost buried in the flames which burnt upon it. Lamponius and Telesinus, the leaders of the Samnites, were laying waste Campania and Etruria with even more brutality than Pyrrhus or Hannibal, and were exacting vengeance on their own account under the pretence of helping their cause. But all the enemy's forces were defeated, those under Marius at Sacriportus, those under Telesinus at the Colline Gate. However, the end of the fighting was not also the end of the killing; for even after peace was made, swords were drawn and punishment was inflicted upon those who had surrendered voluntarily. The slaughter of more than 70,000 men by Sulla at Sacriportus and the Colline Gate was a lesser crime, for it was what one

erat. Quattuor milia deditorum inermium civium
25 in Villa Publica interfici iussit: isti tot in pace non plures sunt? Quis autem illos potest conputare, quos in urbe passim quisquis voluit occidit? Donec admonente Fufidio[1] vivere aliquos debere, ut essent quibus imperaret, proposita est ingens illa tubula, et ex ipso equestris ordinis flore ac senatu duo milia electi,[2] qui mori iuberentur: novi generis edictum.
26 Longum post haec referre ludibrio habita fata Carbonis, fata[3] Sorani, Plaetorios atque Venuleios,[4] Baebium sine ferro ritu ferarum inter manus laniatum, Marium, ducis ipsius fratrem, apud Catuli sepulcrum oculis effossis, manibus cruribusque effractis servatum aliquandiu, ut per singula membra more-
27 retur. Possis singulorum hominum ferre poenas: municipia Italiae splendidissima sub hasta venierunt, Spoletium, Interamnium, Praeneste, Florentia.
28 Nam Sulmonem, vetus oppidum socium atque amicum—facinus indignum—non expugnat aut obsidet iure belli; sed quo modo morte damnati duci iubentur, sic damnatam civitatem iussit Sulla deleri.

[1] Fufidio *Dukerus*: forfidio *B*: furfidio *NL*.
[2] ac—electi *om. B*.
[3] fata . . . fata: facta . . . facta *B*.
[4] Plaetorios atque Venuleios: plaetorius atque venuleius *B*.

expects in war. But he ordered 4,000 unarmed citizens who had been surrendered to be slain in the Villa Publica.[1] Do not all these 4,000 slain in peace really outnumber those other 70,000? Who can compute the total of those whom anyone, who wished to do so, slew in various parts of the city? At last, when Fufidius advised that some men ought to be allowed to live in order that Sulla might have someone to whom to give orders, that vast proscription-list was put up, and from the flower of the equestrian order and the senate 2,000 men were chosen and condemned to death. It was an edict for which there was no precedent. It would be tedious after this to relate the insulting end of Carbo and Soranus, the deaths of Plaetorii and Venuleii; how Baebius was torn to pieces, not by the sword, but by men's hands, like a wild beast; and how Marius, the brother of the general, after his eyes had been gouged out at the tomb of Catulus, was kept alive for some time after his hands and legs had been broken off, so that he might die limb by limb. One could endure the punishment of individuals, but the most renowned towns of Italy were put up to auction—Spoletium, Interamnium, Praeneste, Florentia. As for Sulmo, an allied and friendly city of long standing, Sulla, instead of storming or besieging it according to the rules of warfare, committed an act of base injustice in condemning the city and ordering its destruction, even as those who are condemned to death are ordered to be led to execution.

[1] A building in the Campus Martius used for the entertainment of foreign ambassadors.

X. Bellvm Sertorianvm

II, 22 Bellum Sertorianum quid amplius quam Sullanae proscriptionis hereditas fuit? Hostile potius an civile dixerim nescio, quippe quod Lusitani Celtiberique 2 Romano gesserint duce. Exul et profugus feralis illius tabulae, vir summae quidem sed calamitosae virtutis malis suis maria terrasque permiscuit; et iam Africae, iam Balearibus insulis fortunam expertus usque in Oceanum Fortunatasque Insulas penetravit consiliis, tandem Hispaniam armavit. 3 Viro cum viris facile convenit. Nec alias magis apparuit Hispani militis vigor quam Romano duce. 4 Quamquam ille non contentus Hispania ad Mithridatem quoque Ponticosque respexit[1] regemque 5 classe iuvit. Et quid futurum fuit satis tanto hosti, cui uno imperatore resistere res Romana non 6 potuit? additus Metello Gnaeus Pompeius. Hi copias adtrivere viri, prope tota Hispania persecuti. Diu et ancipiti semper acie pugnatum est; nec tamen prius bello quam suorum scelere et insidiis extinctus est.[2] Prima per legatos habita certamina, cum hinc Domitius et Thorius, inde 7 Hirtulei proluderent; mox his apud Segoviam, illis apud Anam flumen oppressis, ipsi duces comminus invicem experti apud Lauronem atque Sucronem

[1] respexit: perrexit *B*.

[2] hi—extinctus est *Iahnius et Halmius*: hic copias adtriverant viri diu et ancipiti semper acie pugnatum est. Nec tamen prius bello quam suorum scelere et insidiis extinctus est. Copias eius prope tota hispania persequuti diu et varia semper acie domaverunt *B*: hi copias viri diu et ancipitis (ancipiti *L*) semper acie adtribuere (adtrivere *L*) nec tamen prius bello quam suorum scelere et insidiis extinctus copias eius prope tota (totas *L*) hispania persecuti diu et ancipiti semper acie donaverunt *NL*.

X. The War with Sertorius

22. What was the war with Sertorius except an inheritance from the Sullan proscription? I know not whether to call it a war against enemies or a civil war, for it was waged by the Lusitani and Celtiberi under a Roman leader. Sertorius, an exile and fugitive from that fatal proscription-list, a man of great, but ill-starred, valour, involved seas and lands in his personal misfortunes. Having tried his fortune at one time in Africa, at another time in the Balearic Islands, he extended his plans to include the Ocean and Fortunate Isles, and finally armed Spain. A brave man easily unites with other brave men; and the energy of the Spanish soldiers never appeared to better advantage than under a Roman leader. Yet Spain was not enough for him, and he turned his gaze towards Mithridates and the people of Pontus and helped the king with his fleet. Why should such a general have limited his ambitions, when the Roman State could not withstand him with one general only? Gnaeus Pompeius was therefore sent to help Metellus. They wore down his forces, pursuing him over almost the whole of Spain. The fighting continued for a long time, always with doubtful result; and his defeat was due not so much to operations in the field as to the crime and treachery of his own followers. The first engagements were fought by lieutenant-generals, Domitius and Thorius commencing operations on one side and the Hirtulei on the other. After the defeat of the latter at Segovia and of the former at the River Ana, the generals themselves tried their strength in combat and suffered equal disasters at Lauro and Sucro.

aequavere clades. Tum illis ad populationes agro-
8 rum,[1] his ad urbium excidia conversis, misera inter Romanos duces Hispania discordiae poenas dabat;
9 donec oppresso domestica fraude Sertorio, victo deditoque Perperna, ipsae quoque in Romanam fidem venere urbes Osca, Termes,[2] Vlia, Valentia, Auxuma et in fame nihil non experta Calagurris. Sic recepta in pacem Hispania. Victores duces externum id magis quam civile bellum videri voluerunt, ut triumpharent.

XI. Bellvm Civile Svb Lepido

III, 23 Marco Lepido Quinto Catulo consulibus civile bellum paene citius oppressum est quam inciperet: sed quantulacumque fax illius motus ab ipso
2 Sullae rogo exarsit. Cupidus rerum novarum per insolentiam Lepidus acta tanti viri rescindere parabat; nec inmerito, si tamen posset sine magna
3 clade rei publicae. Nam cum iure belli Sulla dictator proscripsisset inimicos, qui supererant revocante Lepido quid aliud quam ad bellum vocabantur? Cumque damnatorum civium bona addicente Sulla quamvis male capta iure tamen tenerentur,[3] repetitio eorum procul dubio labe-

[1] ad populationes agrorum: apopulatione sacrorum *B*: ad populationem agrorum *NL*.

[2] Termes, Vlia *Salmasius et Iahnius*: tergaest cum *B*: termestudia *NL*.

[3] tenerentur *add. Dukerus*.

Then one army devoting itself to laying waste the country and the other to the destruction of the cities, unhappy Spain was punished for Rome's quarrels at the hands of the Roman generals, until, after Sertorius had been brought low by treachery in his own camp and Perperna had been defeated and given up, the cities also of Osca, Termes, Ulia, Valentia, Auxuma and Calagurris (the last after suffering all the extremities of starvation) themselves entered in allegiance with Rome. Thus Spain was restored to peace. The victorious generals desired that the struggle should be considered a foreign rather than a civil war in order that they might celebrate a triumph.

XI. The Civil War under Lepidus

23. In the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Catulus,[1] a civil war which arose was suppressed almost as soon as it began. Yet the spark which kindled this disturbance, however insignificant, sprang from the funeral pyre of Sulla. Lepidus, desirous of change in affairs, presumptuously prepared to rescind the acts of that great man; and his action might have been justified, if only he could have carried it out without involving the State in a great disaster. For since Sulla in his dictatorship, on the strength of his victory, had proscribed his enemies, for what possible purpose, except for war, were the survivors recalled by Lepidus? And since the estates of the condemned citizens, assigned to others by Sulla, though wrongfully seized, were yet held under a form of law, the demand for their restoration un-

[1] 78 B.C.

factabat compositae civitatis statum. Expediebat ergo quasi aegrae sauciaeque rei publicae quiescere quomodocumque, ne[1] volnera curatione[2] ipsa rescinderentur. Ergo cum turbidis contionibus velut classico civitatem terruisset, profectus in Etruriam arma inde et exercitum urbi admovebat. Sed iam Mulvium pontem collemque Ianiculum Lutatius[3] Catulus Gnaeusque Pompeius, Sullanae dominationis duces atque signiferi, alio exercitu insederant. A quibus primo statim impetu retro pulsus hostisque a senatu iudicatus incruenta fuga Etruriam, inde Sardiniam recessit, ibique morbo et paenitentia interiit. Victores quoque, quod non temere alias in civilibus bellis, pace[4] contenti fuerunt.

XII. Bellvm Catilinae

IIII, 1 Catilinam luxuria primum, tum[5] hinc conflata egestas rei familiaris, simul occasio, quod in extremis finibus mundi arma Romana peregrinabantur, in nefaria consilia opprimendae patriae suae conpulere.[6] Senatum confodere, consules trucidare, distringere incendiis urbem, diripere aerarium, totam denique rem publicam funditus tollere et quidquid nec Annibal videretur optasse, quibus—

[1] ne *om. B.*
[2] curatione: cutio *B.*
[3] Lutatius: latius *B.*
[4] pace: pacis *B.*
[5] tum: cum *B*: tu *N.*
[6] conpulere: contulere *B.*

doubtedly tended to disturb the condition of the State now tranquillized. It was expedient, therefore, that the sick and wounded State should by some means or other be allowed to rest, lest its wounds should be torn open by the very attempt to heal them. Lepidus, therefore, having alarmed the State by his excited harangues, which seemed like a trumpet-call, set out for Etruria and thence directed his arms and troops against Rome. But Lutatius Catulus and Gnaeus Pompeius, who had been leaders and standard-bearers under Sulla's domination, had already occupied the Mulvian Bridge and the Hill of Janiculum with another army. Having been immediately driven back by these generals at his first onslaught and declared an enemy by the senate, he fled without further bloodshed to Etruria and thence to Sardinia, where he died of disease and remorse. The victors were content with restoring peace, a thing which has rarely happened in civil wars.

XII. The War against Catiline

1. It was, in the first place, his personal extravagance and then his consequent lack of means, combined with the favourable opportunity offered by the absence of the Roman armies in the uttermost quarters of the world, that induced Catiline to entertain the nefarious design of overthrowing his country. And what men were his associates (oh, the wickedness of it) in his attempt to murder the senate, to assassinate the consuls, to set fire to the city in various places, to plunder the treasury and, in a word, utterly to overturn the whole State and entertain every kind of design of which not even

3 o nefas—sociis adgressus est! Ipse patricius; sed hoc minus est: Curii, Porcii, Sullae, Cethegi, Autronii, Varguntei atque Longini, quae familiae! quae senatus insignia! Lentulus quoque tum cum maxime praetor. Hos omnis inmanissimi
4 facinoris satellites habuit. Additum est pignus coniurationis sanguis humanus, quem circumlatum pateris bibere: summum nefas, ni[1] amplius esset,
5 propter quod biberunt. Actum erat de pulcherrimo imperio, nisi illa coniuratio in Ciceronem et Antonium consules incidisset, quorum alter in-
6 dustria rem patefecit, alter manu oppressit. Tanti sceleris indicium per Fulviam emersit, vilissimum
7 scortum, sed patriciis innocentius. Consul habito senatu in praesentem reum peroravit; sed non amplius profectum, quam ut hostis evaderet seque tum[2] palam ac professe incendium suum restinc-
8 turum ruina minaretur. Et ille quidem ad praeparatum a Manlio in Etruria exercitum proficiscitur signa inlaturus urbi. Lentulus, destinatum familiae suae Sibyllinis versibus regnum sibi vaticinans, ad praestitutum a Catilina diem urbe tota viros, faces,
9 tela disponit. Nec civili conspiratione contentus legatos[3] Allobrogum, qui tum forte aderant, in

[1] ni: ne *B*. [2] tum: cum *B*.
[3] legatos *Halmius*: legatis *NL*: *om*. *B*.

Hannibal seems to have thought! He himself was a patrician, but that was a minor consideration. A Curius, a Porcius, a Sulla, a Cethegus, an Autronius, a Vargunteius and a Longinus—what men of family and high senatorial distinction!—and Lentulus, too, while actually holding the office of praetor, all these he had as accomplices in his atrocious crimes. Human blood, which they handed round in bowls and drank, was used as a pledge to bind the conspirators together—in itself an act of the utmost wickedness, were not the object for which they drank it still more wicked. There would have been an end of our glorious empire, had not the conspiracy happened to fall into the consulship of Cicero and Antonius, of whom the former by his diligence laid bare the plot, while the latter suppressed it by force of arms. Information about the outrageous crime came to light through Fulvia, a worthless prostitute, but less blameworthy than her patrician associates. The consul, having called the senate together, made a speech against the accused, who was present; but the only result of his action was that his enemy left Rome, and as he went, threatened openly and without disguise that he would extinguish the flames which he had kindled in general ruin. He set out for the army which Manlius had already prepared in Etruria, intending to march upon the city. Lentulus, prophesying for himself the kingship which the Sibylline verses foretold should belong to his family, disposed throughout the city men, torches and arms ready for the day prearranged by Catiline. Not content with a conspiracy in which only Romans were involved, he incited the representatives of the Allobroges, who happened to be in Rome at the

arma sollicitat. Isset[1] ultra Alpes furor, nisi altera proditione Volturci praetoris litterae tenerentur. Statim Ciceronis imperio iniecta est barbaris manus; 10 palam praetor in senatu convincitur. De supplicio agentibus, Caesar parcendum dignitati, Cato 11 animadvertendum pro scelere censebant. Quam sententiam secutis omnibus in carcere parricidae strangulantur. Quamvis parte coniurationis oppressa, tamen ab incepto Catilina non destitit; infestis ab Etruria signis patriam petens obvio 12 Antonii exercitu opprimitur. Quam atrociter dimicatum sit, exitus docuit. Nemo hostium bello superfuit; quem quis in pugnando ceperat locum, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. Catilina longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, pulcherrima morte, si pro patria sic concidisset.

XIII. Bellvm Civile Caesaris et Pompei

IIII, 2 Iam toto orbe paene pacato maius erat imperium Romanum, quam ut ullis exteris viribus opprimi posset. Itaque invidens fortuna principi gentium 2 populo ipsum illum in exitium sui armavit. Ac

[1] sollicitat. Isset *Halmius*: sollicitatis. Sed *B*: sollicitatiset. Isset *N*: sollicitatis isset *L*.

[1] *i.e.* Lentulus.

time, to take up arms. The rage for conspiracy would have passed beyond the Alps had not a letter from the praetor[1] been intercepted by another betrayal, this time on the part of Volturcius. By Cicero's orders the barbarians were immediately arrested, and the praetor was openly proved guilty in the senate. When the question of punishment was discussed, Caesar expressed the opinion that the conspirators ought to be spared on account of their position; Cato thought that they ought to be punished in accordance with their crime. There was a general agreement in favour of the latter course, and the traitors were strangled in prison. Though part of the conspiracy was thus put down, Catiline did not abandon his designs; but, as he was marching against the city from Etruria with hostile intent, he was surprised by the army of Antonius. The result of the battle showed how desperate was the fighting; not a single one of the enemy survived, and each man's lifeless body covered the spot at which he had taken his post in the battle. Catiline was discovered far in front of his fellows amid the dead bodies of his foes, thus dying a death which would have been glorious if he had thus fallen fighting for his country.

XIII. The Civil War between Caesar and Pompeius

2. Almost the whole world having been now subjugated, the Roman Empire was too strong to be overcome by any foreign power. Fortune, therefore, envying a people that was sovereign of the world, armed it to its own destruction. The fury of

Mariana quidem Cinnanaque rabies iam intra urbem praeluserat,[1] quasi si experiretur. Sullana tempestas
3 latius, intra Italiam tamen, detonuerat. Caesaris furor atque Pompei urbem Italiam, gentes nationes, totum denique qua patebat[2] imperium quodam quasi diluvio et inflammatione corripuit, adeo ut non
4 recte tantum civile dicatur, ac ne sociale quidem, sed nec externum, sed potius commune quoddam
5 ex omnibus et plus quam bellum. Quippe si duces eius inspicias, totus senatus in partibus; si exercitus, hinc undecim legiones, inde decem et octo, flos omnis et robur Italici sanguinis; si auxilia sociorum, hinc Gallici Germanique dilectus, inde Deiotarus, Ariobarzanes, Tarcondimotus, Cotys et Rhascypolis,[3] omne Thraciae, Cappadociae, Macedoniae, Ciliciae,
6 Graeciae totiusque robur orientis; si moram belli, quattuor anni, sed[4] pro clade rerum breves;[5] si locum et spatium,[6] commissum est intra Italiam, inde se in Galliam Hispaniamque deflexit reversumque ab occasu totis viribus in Epiro Thessaliaque consedit; hinc in Aegyptum subito transiluit, inde respexit Asiam, Africae incubuit, postremo
7 in Hispaniam regyravit[7] et ibi aliquando defecit. Sed non et odia partium finita cum bello. Non

[1] praeluserat *Graevius*: praecluserat *B*: precluxerat *L*.
[2] totum denique qua patebat: totumque potibat *B*: totum denique patebat *L*.
[3] Tarcondimotus, Cotys et Rhascypolis: tarcondi motus cotys et thascypolis *B*.
[4] anni, sed: annis sed *B*: anni et *L*.
[5] breves *Halmius*: breve *B*: breve tempus *NL*.
[6] ubi *post* spatium *del. Perizonius*.
[7] regyravit: regiravit *L*: regnavit *B*.

[1] Cp. Lucan, *Phars.* I. 1, *Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos.*

Marius and Cinna had, indeed, formed a prelude, and as it were a preliminary trial, within the city; the thunder of the storm raised by Sulla had rolled over a wider area, but within the confines of Italy. The rage of Caesar and Pompeius, like a flood or a fire, involved the city and Italy, and then tribes and nations, and finally the whole extent of the empire. It cannot, therefore, justly be called merely a civil war, nor a war between allies, nor yet a foreign war, but was rather a war with all these characteristics and something worse than a war.[1] If one looks at the leaders, the whole senate was ranged on one side or the other; if one considers the forces engaged, on one side were eleven legions, on the other eighteen, all the flower and strength of Italy's manhood; if one looks at the aid given by the allies, one finds on one side the levies of Gaul and Germany, on the other side Deiotarus, Ariobarzanes, Tarcondimotus, Cotys and Rhascypolis,[2] all the strength of Thrace, Cappadocia, Macedonia, Cilicia, Greece and the whole East. If one considers the duration of the war, it lasted for four years, a short period in view of the destruction which it wrought. If one looks at the ground and space which it covered, it began in Italy, it next directed its course into Gaul and Spain, and then, returning from the West, settled in full force upon Epirus and Thessaly; thence it suddenly leaped across into Egypt, whence it cast a backward glance upon Asia, brooded over Africa, and finally wheeled back into Spain, where at last it died out. But the close of the war did not see the end of party hatred, which

[2] For these names see Index.

enim prius quieverunt, quam in ipsa urbe medio senatu eorum, qui victi erant, odia victoris se caede satiarent.

8 Causa tantae calamitatis eadem quae[1] omnium, nimia felicitas. Si quidem Quinto Metello Lucio Afranio[2] consulibus cum Romana maiestas toto orbe polleret recentesque victorias, Ponticos et Armenios triumphos, in Pompeianis theatris Roma cantaret, nimia Pompei potentia apud otiosos, ut solet, cives
9 movit invidiam. Metellus ob inminutum Cretae triumphum, Cato adversus potentes semper obliquus detrectare Pompeio actisque eius obstrepere. Hic dolor transversum egit et ad praesidia dignitati
10 paranda inpulit. Forte tunc Crassus genere, divitiis, dignitate florebat, ut[3] vellet tamen auctioris opes; C. Caesar eloquentia et spiritu, ecce iam et consulatu adlevabatur; Pompeius tamen inter utrumque
11 eminebat. Sic igitur Caesare dignitatem conparare, Crasso augere, Pompeio retinere cupientibus, omnibusque pariter potentiae cupidis de invadenda re
12 publica facile convenit. Ergo cum mutuis viribus in suum quisque decus niterentur, Galliam Caesar invadit, Crassus Asiam, Pompeius Hispaniam: tres maximi exercitus, et in his orbis imperium societate

[1] eadem quae *Aldus*: eademque *codd.*
[2] Afranio: Africano *B.* [3] ut *add. Mommsenus.*

[1] 60 B.C.
[2] The leaders of his defeated enemies had, by Pompeius' orders, not been allowed to figure in Metellus' triumph.
[3] 59 B.C.

did not subside until the rancour of those who had been defeated sated itself with the murder of the victor in the city itself, in the midst of the senate.

The cause of this great calamity was the same which caused all our calamities, namely, excessive good fortune. In the consulship of Quintus Metellus and Lucius Afranius,[1] when the majesty of Rome held sway throughout the world and Rome was celebrating in the theatres of Pompeius her recent victories and her triumphs over the peoples of Pontus and Armenia, the excessive power enjoyed by Pompeius excited, as often happens, a feeling of envy among the ease-loving citizens. Metellus, because his triumph over Crete was shorn of its splendour,[2] and Cato, who always looked askance upon those in power, began to decry Pompeius and clamour against his measures. Annoyance at this drove Pompeius into opposition and induced him to seek support for his position. Crassus happened at this time to be at the height of a reputation due to his birth, wealth and the high offices which he had held, and yet he wished to increase his riches; Gaius Caesar's fame for eloquence and courage was now enhanced by his tenure of the consulship;[3] but Pompeius occupied a higher position than either of them. Caesar, therefore, being desirous of winning, Crassus of increasing, and Pompeius of retaining his position, and all alike being eager for power, readily came to an agreement to seize the government. So, each striving with the support of the others to win glory for himself, Caesar entered upon the government of Gaul, Crassus upon that of Asia, and Pompeius upon that of Spain. They possessed three great armies, and the rule of the whole world was vested in these by association

13 trium principum occupatur. Decem annos traxit ista dominatio ex fide, quia mutuo metu tenebantur. Crassi morte apud Parthos, morte Iuliae Caesaris filiae, quae nupta Pompeio generi socerique concordiam matrimonii foedere continebat, statim
14 aemulatio erupit. Iam Pompeio suspectae Caesaris opes et Caesari Pompeiana dignitas gravis. Nec ille ferebat parem, nec hic superiorem. Pro nefas! Sic de principatu laborabant, tamquam duos tanti im-
15 perii fortuna non caperet. Ergo Lentulo Marcelloque consulibus rupta primum coniurationis fides.[1] De successione Caesaris senatus, id est Pompeius, agitabat, nec ille abnuebat, si ratio sui
16 proximis comitiis haberetur. Ut daretur consulatus absenti, quem decem tribuni favente Pompeio nuper decreverant, dissimulante eodem negabatur: veniret
17 et peteret more maiorum. Ille contra flagitare decreta, ac, nisi fides permaneret, non remittere exercitum. Ergo ut in hostem decernitur. His Caesar agitatus statuit praemia armorum armis defendere.

18 Prima civilis belli harena Italia fuit, cuius arces levibus praesidiis Pompeius insederat; sed omnia

[1] primum coniurationis fides *Halmius*: prima coniurationis fide *codd.*

[1] 49 B.C.

of the three leaders. This domination lasted for ten years in accordance with their compact, because they were restrained by fear of one another. But when Crassus had fallen fighting against the Parthians, and Julia, who, as Caesar's daughter and the wife of Pompeius, by this bond of marriage maintained friendly relations between father-in-law and son-in-law, had died, rivalry immediately broke out. Caesar's power now inspired the envy of Pompeius, while Pompeius' eminence was offensive to Caesar; Pompeius could not brook an equal or Caesar a superior. Oh, the wickedness of it! They strove for the first place, as though the fortunes of a great empire could not find room for both of them. And so, in the consulship of Lentulus and Marcellus,[1] the bond of agreement was first broken. The senate—in other words, Pompeius—began to agitate for the appointment of a successor to Caesar, and he was not inclined to object provided that his name should be considered at the coming elections. The granting of the consulship to him in his absence, which the tribunes of the people had recently decreed with the support of Pompeius, was now refused through secret machinations on the part of Pompeius, and it was urged that he should come and stand as a candidate in accordance with ancient precedent. Caesar, on the other hand, demanded that the decree should be put into execution, and refused to disband his army unless the compact held good. A decree was, therefore, passed declaring him a public enemy. Caesar, exasperated at this, determined to defend by arms the prizes which he had won by arms.

The first arena of the civil war was Italy, the strongholds of which Pompeius had occupied with

19 subito Caesaris impetu oppressa sunt. Prima Arimino signa cecinerunt. Tum pulsus Etruria Libo, Vmbria Thermus, Domitius Corfinio. Et peractum erat bellum sine sanguine, si Pompeium Brundisii
20 opprimere potuisset. Et ceperat; sed ille per obsessi claustra portus nocturna fuga evasit. Turpe dictu: modo princeps patrum, pacis bellique moderator, per triumphatum a se mare lacera et paene
21 inermi nave fugiebat. Nec Pompei ab Italia quam senatus ab urbe fuga turpior:[1] quam paene vacuam, metu Caesar ingressus consulem se ipse fecit. Aerarium quoque sanctum, quod quia tardius aperiebant tribuni iussit effringi, censumque et patrimonium populi Romani ante rapuit quam imperium.

22 Pulso fugatoque Pompeio maluit prius ordinare provincias quam ipsum sequi. Siciliam et Sardiniam,
23 annonae pignera, per legatos habet. Nihil hostile erat in Gallia; pacem ipse fecerat. Sed ad Hispanienses Pompei exercitus transeunti per eam duci portas claudere ausa Massilia est. Misera dum cupit pacem, belli metu in bellum incidit; sed quia tuta muris erat, vinci eam sibi iussit absenti.

[1] fuga turpior *Gruterus*: fugatur prior *BNL*.

[1] For the year 48 B.C.

light garrisons; but Caesar's sudden attack carried all before it. The first trumpet-call was sounded at Ariminum; Libo was driven out of Etruria, Thermus from Umbria, Domitius from Corfinium. The war would have terminated without bloodshed if Caesar could have surprised Pompeius at Brundisium; and he would have captured him, if he had not escaped by night through the entrance of the beleaguered harbour. A shameful tale, he who was but lately head of the senate and arbiter of peace and war fleeing, in a storm-beaten and almost dismantled vessel, over the sea which had been the scene of his triumphs. The flight of the senate from the city was as discreditable as that of Pompeius from Italy. Caesar on his entrance into Rome found it almost deserted owing to the fear which he inspired, and made himself consul.[1] When the tribunes showed themselves slow in unlocking the sacred treasury, he ordered it to be broken open, thus taking possession of the revenue and inheritance of the Roman people before he assumed the government.

Pompeius being routed and in flight, Caesar preferred to set the provinces in order before he pursued him. Sicily and Sardinia, which insure our corn supply, he secured by his lieutenant-generals. There was no hostility in Gaul, where he himself had established peace. Marseilles, however, as he was passing through on his way to attack Pompeius' armies in Spain, dared to close its gates to him; the luckless city, desirous of peace, became involved in war through its dread of war. But since it was protected by walls, he gave orders that it should be reduced for him in his absence. This, though only

24 Graecula civitas non pro mollitia nominis et vallum rumpere et incendere machinas ausa, etiam congredi
25 navibus; sed Brutus, cui mandatum erat bellum, victos terra marique perdomuit. Mox dedentibus se omnia ablata praeter quam potiorem omnibus habebant libertatem.

26 Anceps variumque sed incruentum in Hispania bellum cum legatis Gnaei Pompei, Petreio et Afranio, quos Ilerdae castra habentes apud Sicorim amnem obsidere et ab oppido intercludere ad-
27 greditur. Interim abundatio verni fluminis commeatibus prohibebat: sic fame castra temptata sunt,
28 obsessorque ipse quasi obsidebatur. Sed ubi pax fluminis redit, et[1] populationibus et pugnae[2] campos aperuit, iterum ferox instat et cedentes ad Celtiberiam consecutus aggere et vallo et per haec
29 siti ad deditionem conpulit.[3] Sic citerior Hispania recepta est, nec ulterior moram fecit. Quid enim una post quinque legiones? Itaque ultro cedente Varrone Gades, fretum, Oceanus, omnia felicitatem Caesaris sequebantur.

30 Aliquid tamen adversus absentem ducem ausa Fortuna est circa Illyricum[4] et Africam,[5] quasi
31 de industria prospera eius adversis radiaret;[6] quippe cum fauces Adriani maris iussi[7] occupare Dolabella

[1] et *add. Salmasius.* [2] pugnae: pugna *BL.*
[3] conpulit: contulit *B.*
[4] Illyricum: illirium *B*: illiricum *L.*
[5] moranti *post* Africam *add. B*
[6] radiaret: radiarent *B*: radiarentur *NL.*
[7] iussi: iussit *B.*

a Greek city, failing to justify its reputation for effeminacy, had the courage to break through the enemy's circumvallations and to burn their engines of war and even to engage them at sea. But Brutus, to whom the operations had been entrusted, defeated and overcame them by land and sea. They quickly surrendered and were deprived of everything which they possessed except the most valued of all their possessions, their liberty.

In Spain an indecisive war with varying success, but without heavy bloodshed, was fought against Petreius and Afranius, the lieutenant-generals of Gnaeus Pompeius, whom, while they were encamped at Ilerda on the river Sicoris, Caesar attempted to besiege and cut off from the town. Meanwhile the flooding of the river in the spring prevented him from obtaining supplies; thus his camp was threatened with starvation, and the besieger was himself as it were besieged. When, however, the river resumed its tranquil course and opened the country to ravaging and fighting, he again fiercely attacked the enemy and, when they retreated into Celtiberia, followed them up and reduced them to surrender by ditch and rampart and consequent lack of water. Thus Hither Spain was recovered, nor did Further Spain delay Caesar long; for what could one legion do after five had been defeated? After the voluntary surrender of Varro, Gades, the Straits and the Ocean all obeyed Caesar's lucky star.

Fortune, however, ventured some opposition to the absent leader, namely, in Illyricum and Africa, as though on purpose to make his successes more glorious in contrast with failure elsewhere. For when Dolabella and Antonius, who had been ordered

et Antonius, ille Illyrico, hic Curictico [1] litore castra posuissent, iam maria late tenente Pompeio, repente legatus eius Octavius Libo ingentibus [2] copiis
32 classicorum utrumque circumvenit. Deditionem fames extorsit Antonio. Missae quoque a Basilo [3] in auxilium eius rates, quales inopia navium fecerat,[4] nova Pompeianorum arte Cilicum actis sub mari
33 funibus captae quasi per indaginem. Duas tamen aestus explicuit. Una, quae Opiterginos ferebat, in vadis haesit memorandumque posteris exemplum [5] dedit. Quippe vix mille iuvenum manus circumfusi undique exercitus per totum diem tela sustinuit, et cum exitum virtus non haberet, tandem,[6] ne in deditionem veniret, hortante tribuno Vulteio mutuis
34 ictibus inter se concurrit. In Africa quoque par et virtus et calamitas Curionis fuit, qui ad recipiendam provinciam missus, pulso fugatoque Varo [7] superbus, subitum Iubae regis adventum equitatumque Maurorum sustinere non potuit. Patebat victo fuga ; sed pudor suasit, ut amissum sua temeritate exercitum morte [8] sequeretur.

35 Sed iam debitum par Fortuna flagitante sedem bello Pompeius Epiron elegerat ; nec Caesar mora-
36 batur. Quippe ordinatis a tergo omnibus, quamvis

[1] Curictico : currictico *L* : syretico *B*.
[2] ingentibus : genibus *B*.
[3] a Basilo *Asulanus* : ablatio *B* : ablasio *NL*.
[4] fecerat : fecerant *B*.
[5] exemplum *Freinshemius* : exitum *codd*.
[6] tandem *Iahnius* : tamen *codd*.
[7] Varo : varro *B*.
[8] morte : mortis *B*.

to hold the entrance to the Adriatic, had encamped, the former on the Illyrian coast and the latter on the shore near Curicta, at a time when Pompeius enjoyed a wide command of the sea, the latter's lieutenant-general Octavius Libo suddenly surrounded both of them with large forces from the fleet. Famine compelled Antonius to surrender. Some rafts sent to his assistance by Basilus—as good a substitute as he could make for the lack of ships—were captured, as in a net, by means of ropes drawn along under the water, a new device on the part of some Cilicians in Pompeius' service. The tide, however, floated two of them off; but one of them, which carried troops from Opitergium, went aground on the shallows and provided an incident worthy of record in history. A band of barely 1,000 men withstood for a whole day the weapons of an army which had completely surrounded them, and when their valour procured no way of escape, at last, at the exhortation of the tribune Vulteius, in order that they might not be forced to surrender, they fell upon one another and died by the blows of their fellows. In Africa too Curio showed like bravery and met with a like disaster. Sent to recover that province and elated at having routed Varus and put him to flight, he was unable to resist a sudden attack of King Juba and the Moorish cavalry. A way of flight was open to the defeated general, but shame induced him to share the fate of an army which had been lost through his rashness.

But, Fortune now demanding that the destined pair of combatants should meet, Pompeius had chosen Epirus as the scene of operations, and Caesar was not slow to face him. Having set all things in

hiemps media prohiberet tempestate, ad bellum
37 navigavit; positisque ad Oricum castris, cum pars exercitus ob inopiam navium cum Antonio relicta Brundisii moram faceret, adeo inpatiens erat, ut ad arcessendos eos ardente ventis mari, nocte concubia, speculatorio navigio solus ire temptaverit. Extat ad trepidum tanto discrimine gubernatorem
38 vox ipsius, "Quid times?[1] Caesarem vehis." Contractis in unum undique omnibus copiis positisque comminus castris diversa erant ducum consilia. Caesar pro natura ferox et conficiendae rei cupidus
39 ostentare aciem, provocare, lacessere; nunc obsidione castrorum, quae sedecim milium vallo obduxerat—sed quid iis[2] obesset obsidio, qui patente mari
40 omnibus copiis abundarent?—nunc expugnatione Dyrrachi inrita, quippe quam vel[3] situs inexpugnabilem faceret; ad hoc adsiduis in eruptione[4] hostium proeliis, quo tempore egregia virtus Scaevolae centurionis emicuit, cuius in scuto centum atque
41 viginti tela sederunt; iam vero urbium direptione sociarum, cum Oricum et Gomphos et alia castella[5]
42 Thessaliae vastaret. Pompeius adversus haec nectere moras, tergiversari, sic hostem interclusum undique

[1] quid times *om. B.*
[2] iis: is *B.*
[3] vel: vis *B.*
[4] in eruptione: inruptione *B*: ineruptionem *L.*
[5] castella *om. B.*

order in his rear, although mid-winter impeded his passage with a storm, he sailed to war, and having pitched his camp at Oricum and finding that the absence of part of his army, which had been left behind at Brindusium with Antonius owing to lack of ships, was delaying operations, he was so impatient that, though a gale was raging at sea, he attempted to cross in the depth of the night alone in a light reconnoitring boat. His remark to the master of the vessel, who was alarmed at the greatness of the risk, has come down to us: "Why are you afraid? You have Caesar on board." All their forces having been collected together from every side and their camps pitched close to one another, the plans of the two generals were very different. Caesar, naturally aggressive and eager to obtain a decision, displayed his troops in line of battle and provoked and challenged the enemy. At one time he blockaded Pompeius' camp, which he had surrounded with a rampart sixteen miles in circumference; but what harm could a siege do to an army which, from its command of the sea, could obtain supplies of every kind in abundance? At another time he made an attack on Dyrrhachium, but in vain, since its very site alone rendered it impregnable; and, further, he constantly encountered with the enemy whenever they made a sally—when extraordinary bravery was displayed by the centurion Scaevola, in whose shield a hundred and twenty weapons were lodged—and, finally, plundered the cities which had allied themselves with Pompeius, laying waste Oricum, Gomphi and other fortresses of Thessaly. Against these movements Pompeius contrived delays and subterfuges, and tried to wear down the enemy,

inopia commeatuum terere, usque dum ardentissimi
43 ducis consenesceret impetus. Nec diutius profuit ducis salutare consilium. Miles otium, socii moram, principes ambitum ducis increpabant. Sic praecipitantibus fatis proelio sumpta Thessalia est, et Philippicis campis urbis,[1] imperii, generis humani
44 fata commissa sunt. Numquam ullo loco tantum virium populi Romani, tantum dignitatis Fortuna respexit: trecenta amplius milia hinc vel illinc
45 praeter auxilia, reges et senatum. Numquam inminentis ruinae manifestiora prodigia: fuga victimarum, examina in signis, interdiu tenebrae. Dux ipse in nocturna imagine plausu theatri sui in modum[2] planctus circumsonatus et mane cum pullo
46 pallio—nefas—apud principia conspectus est. Numquam acrior neque alacrior exercitus Caesaris fuit; inde classica prius, inde tela. Adnotatum quoque committentis aciem Crastini pilum, qui mox adacto in os gladio—sic inter cadavera repertus est—libidinem ac rabiem qua pugnaverat ipsa novitate
47 volneris praeferebat. Sed nec minus admirabilior illius[3] exitus belli. Quippe cum Pompeius adeo equitum copia abundaret, ut facile circumventurus

[1] urbis: orbis *B*.
[2] plausu theatri sui in modum *Mommsenus*: plausum theatrisui audiens in modum *B*.
[3] illius: ullius *B*.

[1] Florus, like Virgil (*Georg.* I. 490), seems to imply that the battle of Pharsalia was fought on the same ground as the battle of Philippi. The confusion is doubtless due to the fact that these two decisive battles were both fought within the space of a few years in the Roman province of Macedonia.

who were hemmed in on all sides, by depriving them of their supplies, and waited for the moment when the zeal of the impetuous general should die down. But Pompeius' salutary plan did not avail him very long; the soldiers complained of his inactivity, the allies of the length of the war, the nobles of the ambition of their leader. The fates thus forcing on an issue, Thessaly was chosen as the scene of the battle, and the destiny of the city, the empire and the human race was entrusted for decision to the plains of Philippi.[1] Never did Fortune see so much of the might and dignity of the Roman people collected in one place; more than 300,000 men were assembled in the two armies as well as auxiliary troops, kings and senate. Never were the portents of impending disaster more clearly manifest, victims escaping from slaughter, bees swarming upon the standards, and darkness coming on in the daytime. Pompeius himself dreamed that he was surrounded in his own theatre by a clapping of hands which resembled the beating of breasts, and in the morning appeared at his head-quarters clad in a dark cloak—an omen of misfortune. Caesar's army was never more eager and alert, and it was from his side that the first trumpet-call was sounded and the first weapons were discharged. The javelin of Crastinus was noted as that of the man who started the battle, and the strangeness of the wound which he received—he was found among the dead with a sword thrust into his mouth—showed the zeal and rage with which he had fought. Nor was the issue of the campaign less wondrous; for although Pompeius had such a superiority in cavalry that he thought he could easily surround Caesar,

sibi Caesarem videretur, circumventus ipse est.
48 Nam cum diu aequo Marte contenderent, iussuque Pompei fusus[1] a cornu erupisset equitatus, repente hinc signo dato Germanorum cohortes tantum in effusos equites fecere impetum, ut illi esse[2] pedites,
49 hi[3] venire in equis viderentur. Hanc stragem fugientis equitatus levis armaturae ruina comitata est; tunc terrore latius dato, turbantibus invicem copiis, reliqua strages quasi una manu facta est; nec ulla res magis exitio fuit quam ipsa exercitus
50 magnitudo. Multus in eo proelio Caesar fuit mediusque inter imperatorem et militem. Voces quoque obequitantis acceptae, altera cruenta, sed docta et ad victoriam efficax "miles faciem feri!" altera ad iactationem conposita "parce civibus!"
51 cum ipse sequeretur felicem utcumque in malis Pompeium, si eadem ipsum quae[4] exercitum eius fortuna traxisset. Superstes dignitatis suae vixit, ut cum maiore dedecore per Thessalica Tempe equo fugeret, ut una navicula Lesbon applicaret, ut[5] Syedris[6] in deserto Ciliciae scopulo fugam in
52 Parthos, Africam vel Aegyptum agitaret, ut denique Pelusio litore imperio vilissimi regis, consiliis spadonum et, ne quid malis desit, Septimii desertoris

[1] sui *post* fusus *add. B.*
[2] esse: essent *B.*
[3] hi: ulli *B.*
[4] ipsum quae: ipsumque *BL.*
[5] applicaret, ut *Rossbachius*: applicarentur et *B.*
[6] Syedris *Salmasius*: hedris *codd.*

he was himself surrounded. For when the fight had continued for a long time without advantage to either side and, by Pompeius' order, his cavalry had poured forth in an onslaught from the wing, suddenly at a given signal the German cohorts made so violent an attack from that quarter on the cavalry as they rushed out that the latter seemed but infantry, while their assailants seemed to be mounted on horseback. The slaughter of the retreating cavalry was accompanied by the destruction of the light infantry; then the panic extended further and, one body of troops spreading confusion to another, the slaughter of the rest was accomplished as though by one sweep of the hand, and the very size of the army contributed more than anything to its destruction. Caesar was everywhere in the battle and combined the functions of a general and of a common soldier. Some of his remarks too, made as he rode about, are preserved. One of them, "Soldiers, strike the foe in the face," was cruel but judicious and conducive to success. Another, "Spare your fellow-citizens," uttered when he was himself pursuing Pompeius (who would have been lucky in his misfortunes if the same fate which overtook his army had fallen upon himself), was intended merely as a boast. As it was, Pompeius survived his honours, only to suffer the still greater disgrace of escaping on horseback through the Thessalian Tempe; of reaching Lesbos with one small vessel; of meditating at Syedra, on a lonely rock in Cilicia, an escape to Parthia, Africa or Egypt; and finally of dying by murder in the sight of his wife and children on the shores of Pelusium, by order of the most contemptible of kings and by the advice of eunuchs, and, to complete the tale of his

sui gladio trucidatus sub oculis uxoris suae liberorumque moreretur.

53 Quis non peractum esse cum Pompeio crederet? Atquin acrius multo atque vehementius Thessalici
54 incendii cineres recaluerunt. Et in Aegypto qui-
55 dem adversus Caesarem sine partibus bellum. Quippe cum Ptolemaeus, rex Alexandriae, summum civilis belli scelus peregisset et foedus amicitiae cum Caesare medio Pompei capite sanxisset, ultionem clarissimi viri manibus quaerente[1] Fortuna causa
56 non defuit. Cleopatra, regis soror, adfusa Caesaris genibus partem regni reposcebat. Aderat puellae forma, [et] quae duplicaretur ex illo, quod talis passa videbatur iniuriam, <et>[2] odium ipsius regis,
57 qui Pompei caedem[3] partium fato, non Caesari dederat, haud dubie idem[4] in ipsum ausurus, si
58 fuisset occasio.[5] Quam ubi Caesar restitui iussit in regnum, statim ab isdem percussoribus Pompei obsessus in regia quamvis exigua manu ingentis
59 exercitus molem mira virtute sustinuit. Ac primum proximorum aedificiorum atque navalium[6] incendio infestorum hostium tela summovit, mox in paeninsulam Pharon subitus evasit; inde depulsus in maria mira felicitate ad proximam classem enatavit, relicto

[1] ultionem clarissimi viri manibus quaerente Fortuna: ultionem quaemanibus clarissimi viri omnibus quaerente fortunae *B*.

[2] et *post* forma *secl. et ante* odium *add. dubitanter Rossbachius*.

[3] Pompeii caedem: pompeium regem *B*: pompeio aedem *N*: pompeii cedem *L*.

[4] idem *om. B*. [5] fuisset occasio: ruisset hoccasio *B*.

[6] atque navalium *om. B*.

misfortunes, by the sword of Septimius, a deserter from his own army.

With the death of Pompeius, who could but suppose that the war was over? Yet the embers of the conflagration in Thessaly burst forth again in flames with far greater fury and violence. In Egypt, indeed, a war broke out against Caesar which had no connection with party faction. Since Ptolemaeus, king of Alexandria, had perpetrated the crowning atrocity of the civil war and had sealed a treaty of friendship with Caesar by means of Pompeius' murder, fate called for vengeance for the shade of so illustrious a victim; and an occasion soon presented itself. Cleopatra, the king's sister, threw herself at Caesar's feet and asked for the restoration of part of the kingdom. He was moved by the beauty of the damsel, which was enhanced by the fact that, being so fair, she seemed to have been wronged, and by hatred for the king himself, who had sacrificed Pompeius to the fortunes of a faction and not out of any consideration for Caesar, against whom he would certainly have made the same attempt if occasion had arisen. When Caesar ordered that Cleopatra should be restored to the throne, he was immediately surrounded in the palace by those who had assassinated Pompeius, but, though he had only a small body of troops, he resisted with wonderful bravery the pressure of a vast army. First of all, by setting fire to the neighbouring buildings and docks he kept the missiles of his assailants at a distance; then he made a sudden sally and occupied the peninsula of Pharos. Driven thence into the sea he succeeded, with wonderful good fortune, in swimming to the nearer vessels of the fleet, leaving

quidem in fluctibus paludamento seu fato seu consilio, ut illud ingruentibus hostium telis saxisque
60 peteretur. Tunc receptus a classicis suis, undique simul hostes adortus de inbelli ac perfida gente iusta generi manibus dedit. Quippe et Theodotus magister auctorque totius belli, et ne virilia quidem portenta, Pothinus atque Ganymedes diversa per mare et terras fuga morte consumpti. Regis ipsius corpus obrutum limo repertum est in aureae loricae honore.

61 In Asia quoque novus rerum motus a Ponto, plane [1] quasi de industria captante fortuna hunc Mithridatico regno exitum, ut a Pompeio pater, a
62 Caesare filius vinceretur. Rex Pharnaces magis discordiae nostrae fiducia quam suae virtutis infesto
63 in Cappadociam agmine ruebat. Sed hunc Caesar adgressus uno et, ut sic dixerim, non toto proelio obtrivit, more fulminis, quod uno eodemque momento venit, percussit, abscessit. Nec vana [2] de se praedicatio est Caesaris, ante hostem victum esse quam visum.

64 Sic cum exteris; at in Africa cum civibus multo atrocius quam in Pharsalia. Hic reliquias partium naufragarum quidam fugae aestus expulerat; nec
65 reliquias diceres, sed integrum bellum. Sparsae

[1] plane *om. B.* [2] vana : una *B.*

his cloak behind him in the water, either through luck or by design, that it might be a target for the shower of missiles and stones thrown by the enemy. Having been taken on board by the sailors of the fleet, he attacked his foes on all sides at once and exacted vengeance for the shade of his son-in-law from that cowardly and treacherous people. Theodotus, the director and instigator of the whole war, and Pothinus and Ganymedes, monsters who were not even men, met their deaths after fleeing in different directions over sea and land. The body of the king himself was found buried in mud, distinguishable by his golden coat of mail.

In Asia too a fresh disturbance arose from Pontus, fortune as it were designedly seeking thus to make an end of the kingdom of Mithridates, in order that his son might be conquered by Caesar just as the father had been defeated by Pompeius. King Pharnaces, relying rather upon our internal feuds than upon his own valour, invaded Cappadocia with a hostile force. Caesar attacked him, and in a single battle—or, if I may use the expression, in part of a battle—crushed him like a thunderbolt which in one and the same moment has come, has struck and has departed. Caesar's boast was no vain one when he said that the enemy was defeated before he was seen.

So much for foreign enemies; in Africa Caesar had a much more bitter struggle against his fellow-countrymen than at Pharsalia. It was on the coast of Africa that the tide of flight had cast ashore the remnants of the shipwrecked faction—remnants, indeed, one can hardly call them, but rather material for a fresh war. Their forces had been scattered

magis quam oppressae vires erant; auxerat sacramentum ipsa clades imperatoris, nec degenerabat ducum successio. Quippe satis ample sonabant [1] in Pompeiani nominis locum Cato et Scipio. Accessit copiis Mauretaniae rex Iuba, videlicet ut
66 latius vinceret Caesar. Nihil ergo inter Pharsaliam et Thapson, nisi quod amplior; eoque acrior Caesareanorum impetus fuit, indignantium post Pompeium crevisse bellum; denique, quod alias numquam, ante imperium ducis sua sponte signa
67 cecinerunt. Strages [2] a Iuba coepit, cuius elephanti bellorum rudes et nuperi [3] a silva consternati subito clangore lituorum in suos sese circumegere. Statim exercitus in fugam, nec duces fortiores [4] quam ut effugerent. Non inconspicua tamen mors omnium.
68 Iam Scipio nave fugiebat; sed adsecutis hostibus gladium per viscera exegit et, ubi esset quodam requirente, respondit hoc ipsum, "Bene se habet
69 imperator." Iuba cum se recepisset in regiam, magnifice epulatus est postero die cum Petreio fugae comite superque mensas et pocula interficiendum se ei praebuit. Ille et regi suffecit et sibi, cum interim semesi in medio cibi et parentalia fercula

[1] sonabant: sonabat *B*: sanabant *L*.
[2] et primum *ante* strages *add. B*.
[3] nuperi *Heinsius*: nuper *codd*.
[4] fortiores *scripsi*: fortius *codd*.

[1] *i.e.* they had an additional obligation to avenge Pompeius' death.

rather than defeated, and the fate of their leader had in itself confirmed the obligation of their oath,[1] and they were no degenerate leaders who succeeded him; for the names of Cato and Scipio had a sufficiently imposing sound to take place of that of Pompeius. Juba, king of Mauretania, also joined their forces, apparently in order that Caesar might spread his conquests still more widely. There was no difference between Pharsalia and Thapsus, except that the latter was on a larger scale; also the attack of Caesar's troops was all the more vigorous because they were indignant that the war had assumed greater dimensions since Pompeius' death. Furthermore, the trumpeters gave the signal for the attack of their own accord before receiving the general's order—a thing which happened on no other occasion. The defeat began with Juba, whose elephants, unaccustomed to war and only recently brought from the woods, panic-stricken at the sudden noise of the trumpets, wheeled round and charged their own side. The army immediately turned to flight, nor were the generals too brave to flee; the deaths, however, of all of them were remarkable. Scipio was escaping on a ship, but, when the enemy came up with him, he thrust a sword right through his vitals; and when someone inquired where he was, he replied, "All is well with the general." Juba, having reached his palace, held a sumptuous banquet the following day with Petreius, the companion of his flight, and at the table, in the midst of his cups, offered himself to die at his hands. Petreius had courage enough for the king and himself, and the half-consumed meats, their funeral feast, on the table before them, were drenched with the blood of

70 regio[1] simul Romanoque sanguine madebant. Cato non interfuit bello. Positis apud Bagradam castris Vticam veluti altera Africae claustra servabat. Sed
71 accepta partium clade nihil cunctatus,[2] ut sapiente dignum erat, mortem sibi etiam laetus accivit. Nam postquam filium comitesque ab amplexu dimisit, in noctem lecto ad lucernam Platonis libro, qui immortalitatem animae docet, paulum quieti dedit;
72 tunc circa primam vigiliam stricto gladio revelatum pectus semel iterumque percussit. Ausi post hoc virum medici violare fomentis. Ille passus, dum abscederent, rescidit plagas secutaque vi sanguinis moribundas manus in ipso volnere reliquit, quod ipse bis fecerat.

73 Quasi numquam esset dimicatum, sic arma rursus et partes, quantoque Africa supra Thessaliam fuit,
74 tanto Africam superabat Hispania. Plurimum quantum favoris partibus dabat fraternitas ducum et pro
75 uno duos stare Pompeios. Itaque nusquam atrocius nec tam ancipiti Marte concursum est. Primum in ipso ostio Oceani Varus[3] Didiusque legati conflixere. Sed acrius fuit cum ipso mari quam inter se navibus bellum, siquidem, quasi furorem civicum[4] castigaret,
76 Oceanus utramque classem naufragio cecidit. Quinam ille horror, cum eodem tempore fluctus,[5] procellae, viri, naves, armamenta[6] confligerent! Adde situs ipsius formidinem, vergentia[7] in unum hinc

[1] fercula regio : pericula quaeregio *B*.
[2] est *post* cunctatus *add B*.
[3] Varus : varius *B*.
[4] civicum : civium *B* : avicum *L*.
[5] fluctus : fluctibus *B* : fructus *NL*.
[6] armamenta : arma et armenta *B*.
[7] vergentia ; urgentia *B*.

[1] The *Phaedo*.

the king and the Roman. Cato was not present at the fighting; having pitched his camp on the Bagradas, he was holding Utica as a second line for the defence of Africa. When, however, he received the news of the defeat of his party, he did not hesitate but cheerfully, as became a philosopher, called death to his aid. Having embraced and dismissed his son and the members of his staff, and having read far into the night by the light of a lamp the book of Plato which treats of the immortality of the soul,[1] he slept for a while and then, about the first watch, drew his sword and once and again struck his bared breast. After this the doctors with their fomentations must needs lay their vulgar hands upon this hero: he endured it until they departed, and then tore the wounds open and, a rush of blood ensuing, left his dying hands in the wound which he had twice dealt himself.

Just as though there had been no fighting hitherto, warfare and party spirit broke out afresh, and Spain outdid Africa, just as Africa surpassed Thessaly. The Pompeian party gained greatly in popularity from the fact that its leaders were brothers, and that two Pompeii took the place of one. Nowhere, therefore, were the encounters more bitter or the results so doubtful. First Varus and Didius, the lieutenant-generals, fought at the very mouth of the Ocean. But the ships had a harder struggle against the sea than against one another; for the Ocean, as though it were punishing the madness of civil war, destroyed both fleets by shipwreck. What a dread conflict was that in which waves, storms, men, ships and arms all strove together at the same time! Mark too the terrible nature of the battle-

Hispaniae, inde Mauritaniae litora, mare et intestinum et externum inminentesque Herculis speculas, cum omnia undique simul proelio et tempestate
77 saevirent. Mox circa obsidionem urbium utrimque discursum est, quae miserae inter hos atque illos duces societatis Romanae[1] poenas dabant. Omnium
78 postrema certaminum Munda. Hic non pro cetera felicitate, sed anceps et diu triste proelium, ut plane
79 videretur nescio quid deliberare[2] Fortuna. Sane et ipse ante aciem maestior non ex more Caesar, sive[3] respectu[4] fragilitatis humanae, sive nimiam prosperorum suspectam habens continuationem, vel eadem timens, postquam idem esse coeperat quod Pompeius; et[5] in ipso proelio, quod nemo umquam
80 meminerat, cum diu pari Marte acies nihil amplius quam occiderent, in medio ardore pugnantium subito ingens inter utrosque silentium, quasi convenisset
81 et hic[6] omnium sensus esset, "quo usque illud?" Novissime[7] inusitatum Caesaris oculis nefas: post quattuordecim annos probata veteranorum manus gradum retro dedit, quos, etsi nondum fugerant[8] apparuit tamen pudore magis quam virtute resistere.
82 Itaque ille ablegato equo similis furenti primam in aciem procurrit. Ibi prensare fugientis, confirmare

[1] Romanae: romae *B*.
[2] deliberare: liberare *B*.
[3] Caesar sive: caesaris sue *B*: cesar sui *L*.
[4] respectu: respectum *B*: respectus *NL*.
[5] et *Iahnius*: sed *codd*.
[6] hic *NL*: in hic B.
[7] illud? novissime: illum novissime *B*: novissime illud *NL*.
[8] fugerant *Heinsius*: fugerat *codd*.

field—the shores of Spain closing in on one side and those of Mauretania on the other, an outer and an inner sea, and the Watch-towers of Hercules overhanging them, while all around was the rage of battle and of storm. Soon after this both sides scattered in different directions to besiege the unhappy cities, which, between the leaders on one side and the other, paid a heavy price for their alliance with Rome. The final struggle took place at Munda. On this occasion Caesar's usual good fortune was lacking, and the struggle was for a long time doubtful and anxious; so much so that Fortune seemed clearly to be deliberating some strange issue. Caesar himself too before the battle was unusually depressed, either from a consideration of human weakness, or because he felt doubtful whether his good luck, having lasted so long, would continue, or else because, having started on the same career as Pompeius, he feared that the same fate might befall him. In the battle itself too an incident occurred which was unparalleled in men's memory: when the two armies, being evenly matched, had long been simply cutting one another down, suddenly, at the height of the battle, silence fell upon both hosts, as though by mutual agreement and as if everyone was asking himself "What was to be the end of it all?" Finally, an unaccustomed disgrace presented itself to Caesar's eyes: his tried band of veterans, after fourteen years of service, gave ground, and though they had not gone so far as to flee, yet it was obvious that shame rather than valour made them resist. Sending away his horse, Caesar rushed forward like a madman to the forefront of the battle, where he seized hold of those who were fleeing, heartened the standard-bearers, uttered

signiferos, orare hortari increpare, per totum denique
83 agmen oculis manibus clamore volitare. Dicitur in illa perturbatione et de extremis agitasse secum manifestoque voltu fuisse, quasi occupare mortem manu vellet; nisi [1] cohortes hostium quinque per transversam aciem actae, quas Labienus periclitantibus castris praesidio miserat, speciem fugae praebuissent.
84 Hoc aut et [2] ipse credidit aut dux callidus arripuit in occasionem, et quasi in fugientes et iam victos [3] simul et suorum erexit animos et hostis perculit. Nam et hi, dum se putant vincere, fortius sequi, et Pompeiani, dum fugere credunt suos, fugere coepe-
85 runt. Quanta fuerit hostibus caedendis [4] ira rabiesque victoribus, sic aestimare posses,[5] quod a proelio profugi cum se Mundam recepissent, et Caesar obsideri statim victos [6] imperasset, congestis cadaveribus agger effectus est, quae pilis tragulisque [7] confixa inter se tenebantur,—foedum etiam in
86 barbaros. Sed videlicet victoriam desperantibus Pompei liberis, Gnaeum proelio profugum, crure saucium,[8] deserta et avia petentem Caesonius apud Lauronem oppidum consecutus, pugnantem—adeo
87 nondum desperabat—interfecit; Sextum fortuna in

[1] quod *post* nisi *add. codd. praeter Rehd.*
[2] aut et: autem et *B.*
[3] iam victos *Iahnius*: invictos *B.*
[4] caedendis B^1: caedentis *B.*
[5] posses *scripsi*: posset *B.*
[6] victos: victor *B.*
[7] pilis tragulisque *Rossbachius*: plaustri stragulisque *B*: pilis iaculisque *NL.*

prayers, exhortations and rebukes, and, in a word, dashed this way and that through the ranks with glances, gestures and shouts. In the turmoil he is even said to have meditated making an end of himself and to have shown clearly by his expression that he wished to take his own life; only, at that moment, five cohorts of the enemy, which had been sent by Labienus to protect the camp, which was in danger, crossed the battle-field and suggested an appearance of flight. Caesar either actually believed that the enemy was fleeing or else craftily made use of the incident and gave them heart against an enemy, who they thought was fleeing and already conquered, while he discouraged the foe. His men, thinking that they were winning the day, followed more boldly, while the Pompeians, thinking that their own side was in flight, began to flee. How great was the rage and fury of the victors in the slaughter of the enemy can be gathered from the fact that, when the fugitives had retreated to Munda, and Caesar immediately ordered that his conquered foes should be besieged, a rampart was constructed of corpses piled up and held together by the javelins and missiles which were thrust through them—an expedient which would have been horrible even if it had been used against barbarians. Pompeius' sons clearly had no longer any hope of victory; Gnaeus Pompeius, a fugitive from the battle-field and wounded in the leg, was overtaken, as he was seeking some solitary and inaccessible place of refuge, by Caesonius near the town of Lauro, and was killed, still showing enough spirit to resist; Fortune allowed Sextus Pompeius to remain hidden

[8] crure saucium : cruore avium *B* : crure saucio *NL*.

Celtiberia interim abscondit aliisque post Caesarem bellis servavit.

88 Caesar in patriam victor invehitur, primum de Gallia triumphum trahens: hic erat Rhenus et Rhodanus et ex auro captivus Oceanus. Altera laurus Aegyptia: tunc in ferculis Nilus, Arsinoe
89 et ad simulacrum ignium ardens Pharos. Tertius de Pharnace currus et Ponto. Quartus Iubam et Mauretaniam et bis subactam ostendebat Hispaniam. Pharsalia[1] et Thapsos et Munda nusquam. Et quanto maiora erant, de quibus non triumphabat!

90 Hic aliquando finis armis fuit; reliqua pax incruenta pensatumque clementia bellum. Nemo caesus imperio praeter Afranium (satis ignoverat semel) et Faustum Sullam (docuerat generos timere Pompeius) filiamque Pompei cum parvulis[2] ex
91 Sulla[3] (hic posteris cavebatur). Itaque non ingratis civibus omnes in principem congesti honores: circa templa imagines, in theatro distincta radiis corona, suggestus in curia, fastigium in domo, mensis in caelo, ad hoc pater ipse patriae perpetuusque dictator, novissime, dubium an ipso volente,[4] oblata

[1] Pharsalia: pharsaliam *B*.
[2] cum parvulis *Perizonius*: et parvulus *B*: cum patruolis *N*: cum patruelis *L*.
[3] ex Sulla *N*: exylla *BL*.
[4] volente *om. B*.

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[1] Arsinoe, sister of Cleopatra, actually figured in the procession (Dio Cass. XLIII, 19).

[2] Pompeius, having married Julia, was son-in-law of Caesar; but Faustus Sulla was no relative by marriage to Caesar, having married a daughter of Pompeius by another wife, Julia having been childless.

[3] Hirtius, *de bell. Afric.* 95, states that Caesar pardoned Pompeius' daughter and her children.

for the moment in Celtiberia and preserved him to fight again after Caesar's time.

Caesar returned home victorious and celebrated a triumph first over Gaul, in which figured the Rhine and the Rhone and the captive Ocean represented in gold. A second triumph was celebrated for the conquest of Egypt; on this occasion the Nile, Arsinoe,[1] and the Pharos lighted with a semblance of flames was displayed on moving platforms. A third procession celebrated the victory over Pharnaces of Pontus; a fourth set forth the defeat of Juba and Mauretania and the two conquests of Spain. Pharsalia, Thapsus and Munda made no appearance; yet how much greater were the victories for which he had no triumph!

At this point there was at last an end of fighting; the ensuing peace was free from bloodshed, and clemency made atonement for war. No one was put to death by Caesar's orders except Afranius (it was enough that Caesar had once pardoned him) and Faustus Sulla (for the example of Pompeius had taught Caesar to be afraid of sons-in-law),[2] and Pompeius' daughter and her children by Sulla,[3] as a precaution for posterity. His fellow-citizens were not ungrateful and heaped every kind of honour upon him as sole ruler. Statues of him were set up in the temples; in the theatre he wore a crown adorned with rays; he had a raised chair in the senate-house; a high gable was added to his house; a month in the calendar was named after him. In addition to this he was called Father of his Country and Perpetual Dictator. Finally—though it is doubtful whether it was by his own wish—he was offered the insignia of royalty in front of

92 pro rostris ab Antonio consule regni insignia. Quae omnia velut infulae in destinatam morti victimam congerebantur. Quippe clementiam principis vicit invidia, gravisque erat liberis ipsa beneficiorum
93 potentia. Nec diutius lata[1] dominatio est, sed Brutus et Cassius aliique patres consensere in caedem
94 principis. Quanta vis fati! Manaverat late coniuratio, libellus etiam Caesari datus eodem die, nec perlitare centum victimis potuerat. Venit in curiam
95 tamen expeditionem Parthicam meditans. Ibi in curuli sedentem eum senatus invasit, tribusque et viginti volneribus ad terram datus est. Sic ille, qui terrarum orbem civili sanguine impleverat, tandem ipse sanguine suo curiam implevit.

XIIII. Res svb Caesare Avgvsto

IIII, 3 Populus Romanus Caesare et Pompeio trucidatis redisse in statum pristinum libertatis videbatur. Et
2 redierat, nisi aut Pompeius[2] liberos aut Caesar heredem reliquisset, vel, quod utroque perniciosius fuit, si non collega quondam, mox aemulus Caesareanae potentiae,[3] fax et turbo sequentis saeculi superfuisset
3 Antonius. Quippe dum Sextus paterna repetit, trepidatum toto mari; dum Octavius mortem patris
4 ulciscitur, iterum fuit movenda Thessalia; dum

[1] lata: dilata *B*. [2] aut Pompeius: ad pompeii *B*.
[3] potentiae: potentiam *B*.

the *rostra* by the consul Antonius. But all these things were, as it were, decorations heaped upon a victim doomed to die; for the envy which he inspired influenced men more than his clemency, and his very power to confer favours was intolerable to free citizens. His rule was not long endured; Brutus and Cassius and other senators conspired together to kill their leader. How powerful is fate! The plot had become widely known; on the very day fixed for its execution, written information of it had been presented to Caesar, and, though he sacrificed a hundred victims, he had been unable to obtain favourable omens. Yet he came into the senate-house thinking of his campaign against Parthia. As he was seated there in his curule chair the senators attacked him, and he was borne to the ground wounded in twenty-three places. Thus he who had filled the whole world with the blood of his fellow-citizens at last filled the senate-house with his own.

XIIII. The State under Caesar Augustus

3. The Roman people, after the murders of Caesar and Pompeius, seemed to have returned to their former state of liberty; and they would have done so if either Pompeius had left no children or Caesar no heir, or, what was still more fatal than either of these circumstances, if Antonius, once Caesar's colleague and afterwards his rival in power, had not survived to cause fire and storm in the succeeding age. For Sextus Pompeius sought to recover his father's inheritance, with the result that there was alarm over the whole sea; Octavius sought to avenge his father's death, and Thessaly was again to be

Antonius vario ingenio aut successorem Caesaris indignatur Octavium aut amore Cleopatrae desciscit in regem [1] *** . Nam aliter salvus esse non potuit,
5 nisi confugisset ad servitutem. Gratulandum tamen ut in tanta perturbatione est, quod potissimum ad Octavium Caesarem Augustum summa rerum redit, qui sapientia sua atque sollertia perculsum undique
6 ac perturbatum ordinavit imperii corpus, quod haud dubie numquam coire et consentire potuisset, nisi unius praesidis nutu quasi anima et mente regeretur.
7 Marco Antonio Publio Dolabella consulibus imperium Romanum iam ad Caesarem transferente fortuna varius et multiplex motus civitatis fuit. Quodque in annua caeli conversione [2] fieri solet, ut mota
8 sidera tonent ac suos flexus tempestate significent, sic tum Romanae dominationis, id est humani generis, conversione penitus intremuit omnique genere discriminum, civilibus, externis, servilibus terrestribus ac navalibus bellis omne imperii corpus agitatum est.

XV. Bellvm Mvtinense

IIII, 4 Prima civilium motuum causa testamentum Caesaris fuit, cuius secundus heres Antonius, praelatum sibi Octavium furens, inexpiabile contra adoptionem

[1] *post* regem *spatium vacuum octo circiter litterarum B.*
[2] conversione : conversatione *B.*

disquieted; Antonius, fickle as ever, either refused to tolerate Octavius as the successor of Caesar, or else, for love of Cleopatra, degenerated into a king, and . . .[1] For the Roman people could find no salvation except by taking refuge in subservience. It was, however, a ground for congratulation that, in that great upheaval, the chief power passed into the hands of none other than Octavius Caesar Augustus, who by his wisdom and skill restored order in the body of the empire, everywhere paralyzed and confused, which certainly would never have been able to achieve coherence and harmony unless it had been controlled by the will of a single ruler which formed, as it were, its soul and mind. In the consulship of Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella,[2] while fortune was already transferring the Roman Empire to Caesar, diverse and manifold confusion afflicted the State. Just as, in the annual revolutions of the heavens, the constellations by their movements cause thunder and make known their changes of position by storms, so, in the change which came over the Roman dominion, that is, the whole world, the body of the empire trembled through and through and was disturbed by every kind of peril, by wars, civil, foreign, and against slaves, by land and by sea.

XV. The War round Mutina

4. The first cause of civil dissension was Caesar's will; for his second heir, Antonius, furious because Octavius had been preferred to himself, had engaged in an implacable war to prevent the adoption of

[1] There is a lacuna in the best MS. at this point.
[2] 44 B.C.

2 acerrimi iuvenis susceperat bellum. Quippe cum intra octavum decimum annum tenerum et obnoxium et opportunum iniuriae iuvenem videret, se plenae[1] ex commilitio Caesaris dignitatis, lacerare furtis[2] hereditatem,[3] ipsum insectari probris, cunctis 3 artibus cooptationem Iuliae gentis inhibere, denique ad opprimendum iuvenem palam arma moliri, et iam parato exercitu in Cisalpina Gallia resistentem moti- 4 bus suis Decimum Brutum obsidere. At[4] Octavius Caesar, et aetate et iniuria favorabilis et nominis maiestate quod sibi induerat, revocatis ad arma veteranis, privatus—quis crederet?[5]—consulem ad- 5 greditur, obsidione Mutinae liberat Brutum, Antonium exuit castris. Tunc quidem etiam manu pulcher apparuit. Nam cruentus et saucius aquilam a moriente signifero traditam suis umeris in castra referebat.

XVI. Bellvm Pervsinvm

IIII, 5 Alterum bellum concitavit agrorum divisio, quod 2 Caesar veteranis patris pretium militiae persolvebat. Semper alias Antonii pessimum ingenium Fulvia tum[6] gladio cincta virilis militiae uxor agitabat. Ergo depulsos agris colonos incitando iterum arma

[1] se plenae *scripsi*: is plenae *B*: ·se· plene *L*.
[2] furtis: viri fortis *B*: fortis (o *in* u *mut.*) *L*.
[3] et heredem *ante* hereditatem *add. B*.
[4] obsidere. At *Iahnius*: obsiderat *B*: obsidebat *NL*.
[5] crederet: credere *B*.
[6] tum *Mommsenus*: ut *B*.

that high-spirited youth. Looking upon Octavius, who was under eighteen years of age, as a lad of tender years and a fit and easy victim of injustice, and upon himself as enjoying all the prestige of his long service with Caesar, Antonius proceeded to destroy his inheritance by embezzlement, to pursue him with personal insults, and to hinder his adoption into the Julian family by every device in his power; finally, he took up arms openly with the object of crushing his youthful rival and, having formed an army, besieged Decimus Brutus, who, in Cisalpine Gaul, was opposing his movements. Octavius Caesar, however, winning popularity from his youth, his wrongs, and the dignity of the name which he had assumed, recalled the veterans to arms, and—what is scarcely credible—though he was holding no office, attacked the consul, released Brutus by relieving Mutina, and captured Antonius' camp. On this occasion indeed he also showed his gallantry by an act of personal courage; for, though bleeding and wounded, he took an eagle from the hands of a dying standard-bearer and bore it back upon his shoulder to the camp.

XVI. The War round Perusia

5. The distribution of lands to the soldiers was the cause of another war; for Caesar assigned land to his father's veterans as a reward for their services. Though the nature of Antonius was always evil, on this occasion his wife Fulvia, girding herself with the sword of her husband's service, egged him on yet more. He had, therefore, stirred up further hostilities by rousing the farmers who had been dis-

3 cierat.[1] Hic vero iam non[2] privatis, sed totius senatus suffragiis iudicatum hostem Caesar adgressus intra Perusiae muros redegit[3] conpulitque ad extrema deditionis turpi et nihil non experta fame.

Trivmviratvs

IIII, 6 Cum solus etiam gravis paci,[4] gravis rei publicae esset Antonius, quasi ignis incendio Lepidus accessit. Quid[5] contra duos consules, duos exercitus? Necesse fuit venire in cruentissimi foederis societatem. Diversa omnium vota, ut ingenia. 2 Lepidum divitiarum cupido, quarum spes erat ex perturbatione rei publicae, Antonium ultionis[6] de his qui se hostem iudicassent, Caesarem inultus pater et manibus eius graves Cassius et Brutus 3 agitabant. In hoc velut foedus pax inter tres duces conponitur. Apud Confluentes inter Perusiam et Bononiam iungunt manus, et exercitus consalutant. Nullo bono more triumviratus invaditur, oppressaque armis re publica redit Sullana proscriptio, cuius atrocitas nihil insignius[7] habet quam numerum centum 4 et quadraginta senatorum. Exitus foedi, truces, miserabiles toto terrarum orbe fugientium. Quis pro indignitate ingemescat, cum Antonius Lucium

[1] arma cierat *Hauptius*: in arma revocaverat *B*: in arma ierat *NL*.
[2] non *om. B*.
[3] redegit *L*: redigit *B*.
[4] gravis paci *om. B*.
[5] quid *Graevius*: cui *B*.
[6] ultionis: ultionem *B*.
[7] insignius *Mommsenus*: in se minus *codd*.

[1] *i.e.* that of the previous triumvirate of Julius Caesar, Pompeius and Crassus.

possessed of their lands. He was thereupon declared a public enemy not merely in the judgment of private citizens but by the votes of the whole senate, and Caesar, attacking him, drove him within the walls of Perusia, and by the humiliating device of starvation, against which he tried every expedient, finally reduced him to surrender.

The Triumvirate

6. Although Antonius by himself was a sufficient menace to peace and to the State, Lepidus joined him and thus, as it were, added fire to fire. What could be done against two consuls and two armies? Caesar was forced to become a party to a horrible compact. The three leaders were as different in their aims as in their characters. Lepidus was actuated by a desire for wealth, which he might expect to gain from confusion in the State; Antonius desired vengeance upon those who had declared him an enemy; Caesar was spurred on by the thought that his father's death was still unpunished and that the survival of Cassius and Brutus was an insult to his departed spirit. Under a compact for these objects peace was concluded between the three leaders. At Confluentes between Perusia and Bononia they joined hands, and the armies saluted one another. The formation of the triumvirate followed a bad precedent,[1] and with the overthrow of the constitution by arms, the Sullan proscription came back. Its most remarkable act of atrocity was the murder of as many as a hundred and forty senators. Shocking, brutal and pitiable deaths in every part of the world awaited those who escaped. What lamentation can do justice to the disgrace involved in the

Caesarem avunculum suum, Lepidus Lucium Paulum
5 fratrem suum proscripserint? Romae[1] capita caesorum proponere in rostris iam usitatum erat; verum sic quoque civitas lacrimas tenere non potuit, cum recisum Ciceronis caput in illis suis rostris videret, nec aliter ad videndum eum, quam solebat ad
6 audiendum, concurreretur. Haec scelera in Antonii Lepidique tabulis: Caesar percussoribus patris contentus fuit, ideo ne, si inulta fuisset, etiam iusta eius caedes haberetur.

XVII. Bellvm Cassi et Brvti

IIII, 7 Brutus et Cassius sic Caesarem quasi Tarquinium regem depulisse[2] regno videbantur,[3] sed libertatem, quam maxime restitutam voluerunt, illo ipso parri-
2 cidio perdiderunt. Igitur caede perfecta cum veteranos Caesaris, nec inmerito, timerent, statim e curia in Capitolium confugerant. Nec illis ad ultionem deerat animus, sed ducem nondum habe-
3 bant. Igitur cum appareret, quae strages rei publicae inmineret, displicuit ultio, cum caedes inprobaretur.
4 Igitur Ciceronis consiliis abolitione decreta, ne tamen publici doloris oculos ferirent, in provincias ab illo ipso quem occiderant Caesare datas, Syriam

[1] Romae: romanae *B.* [2] depulisse: depulisset *B.*
[3] videbantur: videbatur *B.*

proscription by Antonius of his uncle Lucius Caesar, and of his brother Lucius Paulus by Lepidus? It had long been customary to expose on the *rostra* at Rome the heads of those who had been executed; but, even so, the citizens could not restrain their tears when they saw the severed head of Cicero on those very *rostra* which he had made his own, and men rushed to gaze upon him as once they were wont to crowd to listen to him. These crimes were the result of the proscription-lists of Antonius and Lepidus; Caesar contented himself with proscribing his father's murderers, for fear lest his death might be considered to have been deserved if it had remained unavenged.

XVII. The War against Cassius and Brutus

7. Brutus and Cassius seemed to have cast forth Caesar from the throne like another King Tarquin; yet by that very act of murder they destroyed that liberty, the restoration of which was their dearest wish. After the deed had been committed, being, not without reason, afraid of Caesar's veterans, they had immediately left the senate-house and taken refuge in the Capitol. They were not without the courage to avenge Caesar, but they were as yet without a leader. So, since it was manifest what a calamity was threatening the State, the idea of vengeance was rejected, though the murder met with disapprobation. Although on the advice of Cicero an amnesty was passed, yet, to avoid offending the gaze of the sorrowful populace, the murderers had withdrawn to Syria and Macedonia, the provinces which had been assigned to them by Caesar, the

et Macedoniam concesserant. Sic vindicta Caesaris dilata potius quam oppressa est.

5 Igitur iam ordinata magis ut poterat quam ut debebat inter triumviros re publica, relicto ad urbis praesidium Lepido, Caesar cum Antonio in Cassium
6 Brutumque succingitur. Illi comparatis ingentibus copiis eandem illam, quae fatalis Gnaeo Pompeio fuit, harenam insederant. Sed nec tum [1] inminentia
7 cladis destinatae signa latuerunt.[2] Nam et signis insedit examen et adsuetae cadaverum pabulo volucres castra [3] quasi iam sua circumvolabant, et in
8 aciem prodeuntibus obvius Aethiops [4] nimis aperte ferale signum fuit. Ipsique Bruto per noctem, cum inlato lumine ex more aliqua secum agitaret, atra quaedam imago se obtulit et, quae esset interrogata, "Tuus" inquit "malus genius," ac [5] sub oculis
9 mirantis evanuit. Pari in meliora praesagio in Caesaris castris omnia aves victimaeque promiserant. Sed nihil illo praestantius, quod Caesaris medicus somnio admonitus est,[6] ut Caesar castris excederet,
10 quibus capi inminebat; ut factum est. Acie namque commissa cum pari ardore aliquandiu dimicatum foret, et [7] quamvis duces inde praesentes adessent, hinc alterum corporis aegritudo, illum metus et ignavia subduxissent, stabat [8] tamen pro partibus

[1] tum : tot *B*.
[2] inminentia cladis destinatae signa latuerunt *N* : imminentia destinate cladis latuerunt *B*.
[3] castra *om. B*. [4] Aethiops : aethiope *B*.
[5] ac : hoc *B*. [6] est *om. BN*. [7] et *om. BN*.
[8] stabat *Salmasius* : staret *B* : starent *NL*.

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[1] See note on p. 280. [2] Augustus.
[3] Antonius. Plutarch (*vit. Ant.* 28) merely observes, "According to some, Antonius was absent from the battle

very man whom they had murdered. Thus revenge for Caesar was delayed rather than stifled.

The governing power having been distributed between the triumvirs rather as it could be than it should be, Caesar and Antonius prepared to make war on Cassius and Brutus, while Lepidus remained behind to guard the capital. Brutus and Cassius, having collected vast forces, had occupied the same ground as had been fatal to Gnaeus Pompeius.[1] On this occasion too threatening signs of impending disaster were not lacking. A swarm of bees settled on the standards; the birds which usually feed upon corpses flew round the camp, as though it were already their prey; and an Ethiopian who met the troops as they were marching to battle was only too clearly an omen of disaster. Also, while Brutus himself was meditating at night, according to his custom, with a lamp at his side, a gloomy phantom presented itself, and on being asked who it was replied, "I am your evil genius," and then vanished from his wondering sight. In Caesar's camp birds and victims had with equal clearness given every promise of better fortune. The most striking incident was that Caesar's physician was warned in a dream that Caesar should quit his camp, which was on the point of being captured. And this actually happened; for when the battle had begun and both sides had been fighting for some time with equal ardour and, though on one side both generals were present, on the other side one[2] had been kept away by illness, the other[3] by fear and cowardice, yet the

and did not reach the field until his men were already in pursuit of the enemy."

invicta fortuna et ultoris et qui vindicabatur, ut[1] exitus proelii docuit. Primum adeo anceps fuit,
11 ut—par utrimque[2] discrimen—capta sint[3] hinc Caesaris castra, inde Cassi.[4] Sed quanto efficacior est fortuna, quam virtus! Et quam verum est, quod moriens ⟨Brutus⟩[5] efflavit, non in re, sed in verbo tantum esse virtutem! Victoriam illi proelio error[6]
12 dedit. Cassius, inclinato cornu suorum, cum captis Caesaris castris rapido impetu recipientes se equites
13 videret, fugere arbitratus evadit in tumulum. Inde pulvere et strepitu, etiam nocte vicina eximentibus gestae rei sensum, cum speculator quoque in id missus tardius nuntiaret, transactum de partibus ratus uni ex proximis auferendum praebuit caput.
14 Brutus cum in Cassio etiam suum animum perdidisset, ne quid ex constituti fide resignaret, (ita enim non superesse[7] bello convenerat) ipse quoque uni comitum suorum confodiendum praebuit latus.
15 Quis sapientissimos ac fortissimos viros non miretur ad ultimum non suis manibus usos? Nisi hoc quoque ex persuasione[8] sectae fuit, ne violarent manus, sed in amolitione fortissimarum piissimarumque animarum iudicio suo, scelere alieno uterentur.

[1] ut *om. B.*
[2] utrimque *Palat. Rehd.* : utrumque *BN.*
[3] sint *Spengelius* : sunt *codd.*
[4] Cassi : classi *B*: cassii *N*: cassias *L.*
[5] Brutus *add. Tollius* : *cf. Dio Cass.* XLVII, 49.
[6] error : errore *B.*
[7] superesse : superesset *B.*
[8] persuasione *N*: suasione *B.*

[1] This quotation is singularly inept, since *virtus* was used by Brutus in the sense of moral virtue, whereas Florus interprets it in the sense of military valour.

invincible good fortune both of the avenger and of him who was being avenged supported their cause, as the result of the battle proved. At first the issue was so doubtful that, danger threatening both sides alike, the camp of Caesar was captured on the one hand and that of Cassius on the other. But how much more powerful is fortune than valour, and how true it is, as the dying Brutus said with his last breath, that virtue exists not in reality but in name only![1] A mistake decided the victory in this battle. Cassius, at a moment when the wing of his army had given way, on seeing the cavalry returning at full speed after the capture of Caesar's camp, thought that they were in flight and made his way to some higher ground. Here, when the dust and confusion and the approaching darkness prevented him from seeing what had happened, and a scout whom he had sent out to obtain news was slow in bringing it, thinking that his cause was lost, he made one of those who were standing by cut off his head. Brutus, having lost his second self by the death of Cassius, in order that he might not fail in carrying out every detail of their compact (for it had been agreed that neither of them should survive the battle), presented his side to one of his companions that he might plunge his sword into it. Who can but wonder that these wise and brave men did not die by their own hands? But it was perhaps a further example of their adherence to their philosophic principles, that they should not stain their hands with blood, but that, for the destruction of their brave and pious lives, though the decision to die was their own, they should employ the hands of others to execute the crime.

XVIII. Bellvm cvm Sexto Pompeio

IIII, 8 Sublatis percussoribus Caesaris supererat Pompei domus. Alter iuvenum in Hispania occiderat, alter fuga evaserat contractisque infelicis belli reliquiis, cum insuper ergastula armasset, Siciliam Sardiniamque habebat; iam et classe medium mare insederat. 2 O quam diversus a patre! Ille Cilicas extinxerat, hic se piratica tuebatur. Puteolos,[1] Formias, Vulturnum, totam denique Campaniam, Pontias et Aenariam,[2] ipsa Tiberini fluminis ora populatus est. Subinde congressus[3] Caesaris naves et incendit et demersit;[4] nec ipse tantum, sed Menas[5] et Menecrates, foeda servitia, quos classi praefecerat, prae- 3 dabundi[6] per litora cuncta volitabant. Ob haec tot prospera centum bubus auratis Peloro litavit spirantemque equum cum auro in fretum misit, dona Neptuno,[7] ut se maris rector in suo mari regnare pateretur. Eo denique discriminum ventum est, ut foedus et[8] pax cum hoste—si modo hostis Pompei 4 filius—tamen feriretur. Quantum id, sed breve gaudium fuit, cum in Baiani litoris mole de reditu eius et bonorum restitutione convenit, cumque invitante ipso in navem discubitum est, et ille sortem suam increpitans "hae sunt" inquit "carinae

[1] tuebatur. Puteolos *Bezzenbergerus*: turbatur per (= *pn* = *proprium nomen*) puteolos *B.*
[2] Aenariam: tenariam *B.*
[3] congressus: congressas *B.*
[4] demersit: emersit *B.*
[5] Menas: mensas *B.*
[6] praedabundi *Halmius*: praedendi *B.*
[7] hoc putabant *post* Neptuno *add. B, del Hauptius.*
[8] et: ut *B.*

[1] *Medium mare* seems to mean the sea in the middle of the Roman Empire, *i.e.* in the neighbourhood of Italy.

XVIII. The War against Sextus Pompeius

8. Though Caesar's assassins had been thus removed, Pompeius' family still survived. One of his young sons had fallen in Spain, but the other had escaped by flight, and after collecting the survivors of their unsuccessful war and also arming the slave-prisons, was holding Sicily and Sardinia. He had also already occupied the central sea [1] with his fleet. But how great the difference between him and his father! The latter had exterminated the Cilician pirates, his son protected himself by piracy. He ravaged Puteoli, Formiae, Vulturnum, in a word, the whole coast of Campania, the Pontine marshes, Aenaria and even the mouth of the river Tiber. Then, meeting with Caesar's fleet, he burnt and sank it; and not only Pompeius himself, but also Menas and Menecrates, base slaves whom he had put in command of his fleet, made sudden raids in search of plunder along all the coasts. In return for all these successes he made a sacrifice of a hundred bulls with gilded horns at Pelorum and flung a living horse with an offering of gold into the straits as gifts to Neptune, in order to induce the ruler of the sea to allow him to reign in his domain. At last the danger became so great that a treaty of peace was concluded with the enemy—if a son of Pompeius can be called an enemy. How great was the joy (though it was short-lived), when an agreement was made on the embankment on the shores of Baiae permitting his return and the restitution of his property, and when, at his invitation, they dined on board his ship, and railing against his fate, he said, "There are keels (*carinae*) where I live"— a

meae"; haud incomiter, quod, cum in celeberrima parte urbis Carinis pater eius habitasset, ipsius
5 domus et penates in navi penderent. Sed inportunitate[1] Antonii, et Pompeianorum bonorum, quorum sector ille fuerat, praeda devorata, possessio manere non poterat; detrectare coepit foederis pactum. Itaque itum[2] ad arma rursus, et iam totis[3] imperii viribus classis in iuvenem conparata est, cuius molitio
6 ipsa magnifica. Quippe interciso Herculanae viae limite refossisque litoribus Lucrinus lacus mutatus in portum eique interrupto medio additus est Avernus, ut in illa aquarum[4] quiete classis exercita
7 imaginem belli navalis agitaret. Tanta mole belli petitus in Siculo freto iuvenis oppressus est, magnique famam ducis ad inferos secum tulisset, si nihil temptasset ulterius; nisi quod magnae indolis signum
8 est sperare semper. Perditis enim rebus profugit Asiamque velis petit, venturus[5] ibi in manus hostium et catenas et, quod miserrimum est fortibus viris, ad
9 hostium arbitrium sub percussore moriturus. Non

[1] inportunitate *Iahnius*: inportu *B.*
[2] itum *Halmius*: inille *B.*
[3] et iam totis *Halmius*: et intotis *B.*
[4] illa aquarum: illae quarum *B.*
[5] venturus: ventus *B.*

[1] It is impossible to keep up the play upon the word *carinae* (keels), which was also the name of a district of Rome.

witty remark,[1] seeing that his father had lived in Carinae, the most fashionable quarter of the capital, while his own home and his household gods tossed in a ship. But owing to the incivility of Antonius and because the spoil from Pompeius' property, of which Antonius had been the purchaser, had been squandered, the entry of Sextus into possession of his estates could not be sustained; thus Pompeius began to back out of the pact of agreement. So recourse was had to arms again, and a fleet was now equipped with all the resources of the Empire against the young leader. Preparations for it were made on a magnificent scale; for by cutting through the track of the Herculean Way and digging up the shore,[2] the Lucrine Lake was turned into a harbour and the Lake of Avernus added to it by cutting away the ground between, in order that manœuvring on these quiet waters the fleet might practise a semblance of naval warfare. The young commander was brought to action by this superior force and defeated in the Sicilian straits, and would have carried with him to the grave the reputation of a great leader if he had attempted nothing further; but it is a characteristic of genius never to lose hope. When his position became desperate, he fled away and made sail for Asia, only to fall there into the hands of the enemy and to suffer imprisonment and undergo the most wretched fate which can befall a brave man, namely, death by the sword of the executioner at the bidding of his foes. There had been no such pitiable

[2] *i.e.* by removing the narrow strip of land which separated the Lucrine Lake from the sea and carried the road (Via Herculea) between Baiae and Puteoli.

alia post Xerxen miserabilior fuga. Quippe modo trecentarum quinquaginta navium dominus cum sex septemve fugiebat extincto praetoriae [1] navis lumine, anulis in mare abiectis, pavens atque respectans, et tamen non timens nisi ne periret.

XVIIII. Bellvm Parthicvm svb Ventidio

IIII, 9 Quamvis in Cassio et Bruto partes sustulisset, in Pompeio totum partium nomen abolevisset, nondum tamen ad pacis stabilitatem profecerat Caesar, cum scopulus et nodus et mora publicae securitatis
2 superesset Antonius. Nec ille defuit vitiis quin periret, immo omnia expertus ambitu [2] et luxuria primum hostes, deinde cives, tandem etiam saeculum terrore [3] liberavit.
3 Parthi clade Crassiana altius animos erexerant civilesque populi Romani [4] discordias laeti acceperant.[5] Itaque ut prima adfulsit occasio, non du-
4 bitaverunt erumpere, ultro quidem invitante Labieno, qui missus a Cassio Brutoque—qui furor scelerum—sollicitaverat hostes in auxilium. Et illi Pacoro duce, regio iuvene, dispulerant Antoniana

[1] praetoriae: portitoriae *B*: praetorio *NL*.
[2] ambitu: ambitus *B*.
[3] saeculum terrore *Halmius*: terrore saeculum *B*.
[4] populi Romani: populus romanus *B*.
[5] regi *post* acceperant *add. B*.

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[1] The meaning appears to be that Sextus Pompeius threw away his rings so that he might not be recognized by them if he were captured. Some commentators think that the reference is to the fetters worn by the rowers (*anulus*

flight since that of Xerxes; for he who had been but lately lord of three hundred and fifty ships fled with six or seven and with the lights extinguished on his flagship, after throwing his rings[1] into the sea, casting anxious looks behind him, though his only fear was lest he should fail to meet with death.

XVIIII. The Parthian War under Ventidius

9. Although, by the defeat of Cassius and Brutus, Caesar had demolished the republican faction and, by conquering Pompeius, had completely wiped out its very name, still he had not achieved a stable peace, as long as Antonius still survived, a rock in his path, an unsolved problem, an obstacle[2] to public security, However, owing to his vices, he did not fail to work his own destruction; nay more, by trying every expedient to which his ambition and luxury prompted him, he freed first his enemies, then his fellow-citizens, and finally the age in which he lived, from any fear which he had inspired.

The disaster of Crassus had further increased the confidence of the Parthians, and they had heard with joy of the internal discords of the Roman people. So, as soon as there was a gleam of hope, they did not hesitate to break out, being actually invited to do so by Labienus, who had been sent to Parthia by Cassius and Brutus, and—such was their mad fury—had urged the enemies of Rome to assist them. Under the leadership of Pacorus, a young prince, they had driven out the garrisons of An-

is used by Martial xiv. 169, in this sense), which were removed that they might make no noise.

[2] *Nodus et mora* is clearly a reminiscence of Vergil, *Aen.* x. 428, *pugnae nodumque moramque.*

praesidia; Saxa legatus ne veniret in potestatem
5 gladio[1] impetravit. Denique ablata Syria emanabat latius malum, hostibus sub auxilii specie sibi vincentibus, nisi Ventidius, et hic legatus Antonii, incredibili felicitate et Labieni copias ipsumque Pacorum et omnem Parthicum equitatum toto[2] inter
6 Oronten et Euphraten sinu late cecidisset. Viginti amplius milium fuit. Nec sine consilio ducis, qui simulato metu adeo passus est hostem castris succedere, donec absumpto iactus spatio adimeret usum
7 sagittarum. Rex fortissime dimicans cecidit. Mox circumlato eius per urbes, quae desciverant, capite Syria sine bello recepta. Sic Crassianam cladem Pacori caede pensavimus.

XX. Bellvm Parthicvm svb Antonio

IIII, 10 Expertis invicem Parthis atque Romanis, cum Crassus et Pacorus utrimque virium mutuarum documenta fecissent, pari rursus reverentia integrata amicitia, et quidem ab ipso foedus Antonio cum
2 rege percussum. Sed—inmensa vanitas hominis—dum titulorum cupidine Araxen et Euphraten sub imaginibus suis legi concupiscit, neque causa neque

[1] gladio *Vossius*: claudio *B*: aclaudio *NL*.
[2] equitatum toto: et que tantum totum *B*.

tonius, and the latter's lieutenant-general Saxa owed it to his sword that he did not fall into their hands. At length Syria was snatched from us, and the trouble was like to spread more widely—the enemy making conquests for themselves on the pretence of helping others—had not Ventidius, another lieutenant-general of Antonius, with marvellous good luck severely defeated the forces of Labienus and Pacorus himself and all the Parthian cavalry over the whole area between the Euphrates and the Orontes. The defeated force numbered more than 20,000. The defeat was not inflicted without a stratagem on the part of the general, who, under a pretence of panic, allowed the enemy to approach so close to the camp that he prevented them from making use of their arrows by depriving them of room to shoot. The king died fighting with great gallantry. After his head had been carried round the cities which had revolted, Syria was recovered without further fighting. Thus we obtained compensation for the disaster of Crassus by the slaughter of Pacorus.

XX. The Parthian War under Antonius

10. Now that the Parthians and Romans had made trial of one another, and Crassus and Pacorus had given proof of the strength of either side, friendship was renewed on the basis of mutual respect, and a treaty actually concluded with the king by Antonius himself. But such was the exceeding vanity of the man that, in his desire for fresh titles of honour, he longed to have the Araxes and Euphrates inscribed beneath his statues, and, without any pretext or design and without even

consilio ac ne imaginaria quidem belli indictione, quasi hoc quoque ex arte ducis esset obrepere,
3 relicta repente Syria in Parthos impetum facit. Gens praeter armorum fiduciam callida simulat trepidationem et in campos fugam. Et hic statim quasi victor sequebatur, cum subito nec magna manus ex inproviso et iam in[1] fessos via sub vespere velut nimbus erupit. Missis undique sagittis duas[2]
4 legiones operuerunt. Nihil acciderat in comparationem cladis, quae in posterum diem inminebat, nisi intervenisset deum miseratio. Unus ex clade Crassiana Parthico habitu castris adequitat et salute Latine data, cum fidem ipso sermone fecisset, quid
5 inmineret edocuit; iam adfuturum cum omnibus copiis regem; irent retro peterentque montis: sic quoque hostem fortasse non defore. Atque ita secuta est minor vis hostium quam inminebat;
6 adfuit tamen. Deletae reliquae copiae forent, nisi urguentibus telis in modum grandinis quidam forte quasi docti procubuissent in genua milites, et elatis supra capita scutis caesorum speciem[3] praebuissent.
7 Tunc Parthus arcus inhibuit. Dein rursus cum se

[1] in *om. B.* [2] duas: suas *B.*
[3] speciem: specie *B.*

a pretended declaration of war, just as if it were part of the art of generalship to attack by stealth, he left Syria and made a sudden attack upon the Parthians. The Parthians, who were crafty as well as confident in their arms, pretended to be panic-stricken and to fly across the plains. Antonius immediately followed them, thinking that he had already won the day, when suddenly a not very large force of the enemy unexpectedly burst forth, like a storm of rain, upon his troops in the evening when they were weary of marching, and overwhelmed two legions with showers of arrows from all sides. No disaster had ever occurred comparable with that which threatened the Romans on the following day, if the gods in pity had not intervened. A survivor from the disaster of Crassus dressed in Parthian costume rode up to the camp, and having uttered a salutation in Latin and thus inspired trust by speaking their language, informed them of the danger that was threatening them. The king, he said, would soon be upon them with all his forces; they ought, therefore, to retreat and make for the mountains, though, even so, they would probably have no lack of enemies to face. The result was that a smaller body of the enemy than was anticipated came up with them. However, it did come up with them, and the rest of their forces would have been destroyed, had not some of the soldiers, as though they had been drilled to it, by chance kneeled down, when the missiles fell like hail upon them, and raising their shields above their heads presented the appearance of dead men; whereupon the Parthians refrained from further use of their bows. Then, when the Romans rose up again,

Romani extulissent, adeo res miraculo fuit, ut unus ex barbaris miserit vocem "Ite et bene valete, Romani! Merito vos victores fama gentium loquitur, qui Parthorum tela fugistis." Non minor[1] ex
8 via postea quam ab hostibus accepta clades. Infesta primum siti regio, tum quibusdam salmacidae infestiores,[2] novissime quae iam ab invalidis et
9 avide hauriebantur[3] noxiae etiam dulces fuere. Mox et ardores per Armeniam et nives per Cappadociam et utriusque caeli subita mutatio pro pesti-
10 lentia fuit. Sic vix tertia parte de sedecim legionibus reliqua, cum argentum eius passim dolabris concideretur, et[4] subinde inter moras mortem ab gladiatore suo flagitasset egregius imperator, tandem perfugit in Syriam, ubi incredibili quadam mentis vaecordia ferocior aliquanto factus est, quasi vicisset, quia evaserat.

XXI. Bellvm cvm Antonio et Cleopatra

IIII, 11 Furor Antonii quatenus per ambitum non poterat interire, luxu et libidine extinctus est. Quippe cum post Parthos exosus arma in otio ageret, captus amore Cleopatrae quasi bene gestis rebus in regio
2 se sinu reficiebat. Hinc mulier Aegyptia ab ebrio imperatore pretium libidinum Romanum imperium[5]

[1] minor : minora *B*.
[2] salmacidae infestiores *Halmius* : salmacidae fluvius in *B* : salmacidis fluvius infestior *M*.
[3] hauriebantur : hauriebat *B* : hauriebatur *NL*.
[4] et *om*. *B*. [5] pretium—imperium *om*. *B*.

it seemed so like a miracle that one of the barbarians cried out, "Depart, Romans, and farewell; rumour deservedly calls you victorious over the nations, since you have escaped the weapons of the Parthians." The subsequent losses of the Romans on the march were quite as heavy as those inflicted by the enemy. In the first place the lack of water in the district was fatal, but still more fatal to some was the brackish water which they drank; and, finally, even fresh water was harmful when drunk with avidity by the soldiers in their already debilitated condition. Afterwards the heat in Armenia and the snows of Cappadocia and the sudden change from one climate to another were as destructive as a plague. Thus, when scarcely a third part of the sixteen legions was left, and his silver plate had been cut up with hatchets and distributed, and the famous general had on several occasions begged his sword-bearer to put him to death, he at last reached Syria in flight, where, by an extraordinary perversion of mind, he grew even more self-confident, for all the world as if, by escaping, he had won the day.

XXI. The War against Antonius and Cleopatra

11. The madness of Antonius, since it could not be laid to rest by the satisfaction of his ambition, was brought to an end by his luxury and licentiousness. After the Parthian expedition he acquired a loathing for war and lived a life of ease, and a slave to his love for Cleopatra, rested in her royal arms as though all had gone well with him. The Egyptian woman demanded the Roman Empire from the drunken general as the price of her favours; and

petit; et promisit Antonius, quasi facilior[1] esset
3 Partho Romanus. Igitur coepit non sibi dominationem parare nec tacite, sed patriae, nominis, togae, fascium oblitus totus in monstrum illud ut mente, ita amictu[2] quoque cultuque desciverat. Aureum in manu baculum, in latere acinaces, purpurea vestis ingentibus obstricta gemmis: dia-
4 dema deerat, ut regina rex et ipse frueretur. Ad primam novorum motuum famam Caesar a Brundisio traiecerat, ut venienti bello occurreret, positisque castris in Epiro omne litus Actiacum, Leucada[3] insulam montemque Leucaten et Ambracii sinus
5 cornua infesta classe succinxerat. Nobis quadringentae amplius naves, ducentae[4] minus hostium; sed numerum magnitudo pensabat. Quippe a senis[5] in novenos remorum ordines, ad hoc turribus atque tabulatis adlevatae castellorum vel urbium specie, non sine gemitu maris et labore ventorum fere-
6 bantur; quae quidem ipsa moles exitio fuit. Caesaris naves a binis remigum in senos nec amplius ordines creverant; itaque habiles in omnia quae usus posceret, ad impetus et recursus flexusque capiendos, illas graves et ad omnia praepeditas singulas plures adortae missilibus, simul rostris, ad
7 hoc ignibus iactis ad arbitrium[6] dissipavere. Nec ulla re[7] magis hostilium copiarum apparuit magni-

[1] facilior: felicior *B.*
[2] amictu *Freinshemius*: animo *codd.*
[3] Leucada *Rossbachius*: leucadam *B.*
[4] non *post* ducentae *codd.*, *del. Titzius.*
[5] a senis: adenis *B.*
[6] ad arbitrium *om. B.*
[7] re: res *B.*

this Antonius promised her, as though the Romans were more easily conquered than the Parthians. He, therefore, began to aim at sovereignty—though not for himself—and that in no secret manner; but, forgetful of his country, his name, his toga and the emblems of his office, he soon completely degenerated into the monster which he became, in feeling as well as in garb and dress. In his hand was a golden sceptre, at his side a scimitar; he wore a purple robe studded with huge gems; a crown only was lacking to make him a king dallying with a queen. At the first rumour of his latest proceedings Caesar had crossed over from Brundisium to meet the approach of war, and, pitching his camp in Epirus, had surrounded all the shore of Actium, the island of Leucas, Mount Leucate and the promontories enclosing the Ambracian Gulf with a formidable fleet. We had more than four hundred ships, the enemy less than two hundred; but their size compensated for their numerical inferiority. For having from six to nine banks of oars and also rising high out of the water with towers and platforms so as to resemble castles or cities, they made the sea groan and the wind labour as they moved along. Their very size, indeed, was fatal to them. Caesar's ships had from two to six banks of oars and no more; being, therefore, easily handled for any manœuvre that might be required, whether for attacking, backing water or tacking, they scattered at their will the opposing vessels, which were clumsy and in every respect unwieldy, several of them attacking a single ship with missiles and with their beaks, and also with firebrands hurled into them. The vastness of the enemy's forces was never more

tudo quam post victoriam. Quippe inmensae classis naufragium bello factum toto mari fluitabat, Arabumque et Sabaeorum et mille Asiae gentium spolia purpura auroque inlita adsidue mota ventis
8 maria revomebant.[1] Prima dux fugae regina cum aurea puppe veloque purpureo in altum dedit. Mox
9 secutus Antonius, sed instare vestigiis Caesar. Itaque nec praeparata in Oceanum fuga nec munita praesidiis utraque Aegypti cornua, Paraetonium atque Pelusium, profuere : prope manu tenebantur. Prior ferrum occupavit Antonius, regina ad pedes Caesaris provoluta temptavit oculos ducis. Frustra quidem ; nam pulchritudo infra [2] pudicitiam princi-
10 pis fuit. Nec illa de vita, quae offerebatur, sed de parte regni laborabat. Quod ubi desperavit a principe servarique se triumpho vidit, incautiorem nancta custodiam in mausoleum se (sepulchra re-
11 gum [3] sic [4] vocant) recepit.[5] Ibi maximos, ut solebat, induta cultus in referto odoribus solio iuxta suum se conlocavit Antonium, admotisque ad venas serpentibus sic morte quasi somno soluta [6] est.

IIII, 12 Hic finis armorum civilium : reliqua adversus exteras gentes, quae districto circa mala sua [7]
2 imperio diversis orbis emicabant. Nova quippe pax,

[1] revomebant : removebant *B.*
[2] infra *Aldus* : intra *codd.*
[3] regum : regem *B.*
[4] sic *om. B.*
[5] recepit : recipit *BNL.*
[6] soluta : resoluta *cod. Iordanis Polling.* : victa *B.*
[7] districto circa mala sua : destricto circa asa sua *B.*

[1] Plutarch (*vit. Ant.* 89) tells us that a project was discussed of dragging the Egyptian fleet over the Isthmus of Suez into the Red Sea and escaping to found a new kingdom.

apparent than after the victory; for, as a result of the battle, the wreckage of the huge fleet floated all over the sea, and the waves, stirred by the winds, continually yielded up the purple and gold-bespangled spoils of the Arabians and Sabaeans and a thousand other Asiatic peoples. The queen led the retreat, putting out into the open sea in her golden vessel with purple sails. Antonius soon followed her, but Caesar was hard upon his tracks. And so neither their preparations for flight into the Ocean,[1] nor their occupation of the two promontories of Egypt, Paraetonium and Pelusium, with garrisons availed them aught; they were almost within Caesar's grasp. Antonius was the first to seize the sword of a suicide; the queen, casting herself at Caesar's feet, tried to attract his glances, but in vain, for her beauty was unable to prevail over his self-control. Her efforts were aimed not at saving her life, which was freely offered to her, but at obtaining a portion of her kingdom. Despairing of winning this from Caesar and perceiving that she was being reserved to figure in his triumph, profiting by the carelessness of her guard, she betook herself to the Mausoleum, as the royal sepulchre is called. There, having put on the elaborate raiment which she was wont to wear, she placed herself by the side of her beloved Antonius in a coffin filled with rich perfumes, and applying serpents to her veins thus passed into death as into a sleep.

12. Thus the civil wars came to an end; the other wars were waged against foreign nations and broke out in different quarters of the world while the empire was distracted by its own troubles. Peace was a new state of affairs, and the proud and

necdum adsuetae frenis servitutis tumidae gentium inflataeque cervices ab inposito nuper iugo resilie-
3 bant. Ad septentrionem conversa ferme plaga ferocius agebat, Norici, Illyrii, Pannonii, Delmatae, Moesi,[1] Thraces et Daci,[2] Sarmatae atque Germani.

XXII. Bellvm Noricvm

4 Noricis animos Alpes dabant, quasi in rupes et nives bellum non posset ascendere ; sed omnes illius cardinis populos, Breunos, Vcennos[3] atque Vindelicos, per privignum suum Claudium Drusum pacavit.
5 Quae fuerit Alpinarum gentium feritas, facile est vel per mulieres ostendere, quae deficientibus telis infantes suos adflictos humi[4] in ora militum adversa miserunt.

XXIII. Bellvm Illyricvm

6 Illyrii quoque sub Alpibus agunt imasque valles earum et quaedam quasi claustra custodiunt abruptis torrentibus inplicata. In hos expeditionem ipse
7 sumpsit fierique pontes imperavit. Hic et aquis et hoste turbantibus, cunctanti ad ascensum militi scutum de manu rapuit et viam primus ingressus est. Tum agmine secuto cum subrutus multitudine pons succidisset, saucius[5] manibus et cruribus,

[1] Moesi : misi *B.* [2] Daci : claci *B.*
[3] Breunos, Vcennos *Rossbachius* : brennos, cennos *B.*
[4] humi I, *om. B.*
[5] saucius *Aldus* : sauciis *BI.*

haughty necks of the nations, not yet accustomed to the reins of servitude, revolted against the yoke recently imposed upon them. It was in particular the northern region, where dwelt the Noricans, the Illyrians, the Pannonians, the Dalmatians, the Moesians, the Thracians and Dacians, the Sarmatians and Germans, that showed the most spirit.

XXII. The Norican War

The Alps gave confidence to the Noricans, who imagined that war could not reach their rocks and snows; but Caesar, by the hand of his stepson Claudius Drusus, subdued all the nations in that quarter, the Breuni, the Ucenni and the Vindelici. How savage these Alpine peoples were is proved by the action of their women, who, when missiles failed, dashed out the brains of their own children against the ground and hurled them in the faces of the soldiers.

XXIII. The Illyrian War

The Illyrians also live at the foot of the Alps and keep watch over the depths of their valleys and the barriers formed there by the windings of precipitous torrents. Caesar himself undertook an expedition against them and gave orders for the building of bridges. It was here that, in the confusion caused by the water and the enemy, he snatched a shield from the hand of a soldier who was hesitating to mount the bridge, and was the first to cross. When the army followed him and the bridge had collapsed, broken down by the number of persons upon it, Caesar, wounded in the hands and legs, his comeli-

speciosior[1] sanguine et ipso periculo augustior[2] terga hostium percecidit.

XXIIII. Bellvm Pannonicvm

8 Pannonii duobus acribus fluviis, Dravo Savoque vallantur. Populati proximos intra ripas se recipiebant. In hos domandos Vinnium misit. Caesi
9 sunt in utrisque fluminibus. Arma victorum non ex more belli cremata, sed rupta[3] sunt et in profluentem[4] data, ut Caesaris nomen eis qui resistebant sic nuntiaretur.

XXV. Bellvm Delmaticvm

10 Delmatae plerumque sub silvis agebant; unde in
11 latrocinia promptissimi. Hos iam pridem Marcius consul incensa urbe Delminio[5] quasi detruncaverat, postea Asinius Pollio gregibus, armis, agris multaverat—hic secundus orator—sed Augustus perdo-
12 mandos Vibio mandat, qui efferum genus fodere terras coegit aurumque venis repurgare; quod alioquin gens omnium stupidissima[6] eo studio, ea diligentia anquirit,[7] ut illud in usus suos eruere videantur.

[1] speciosior: specior *B*: speciosiore *N*.
[2] augustior: auctior *BI*.
[3] rupta *Rossbachius*: capta *codd.*
[4] profluentem: profluente *B*: profluentes *NL*.
[5] Delminio: deiminio *B*.
[6] stupidissima *Gracvius*: cupidissima *codd.*
[7] anquirit *Vinetus*: adquirit *codd.*

ness enhanced by his blood and his dignity by his very danger, dealt the enemy a heavy blow in the rear.

XXIIII. The Pannonian War

The Pannonians are protected by two swiftly-flowing rivers, the Drave and the Save; after ravaging the territory of their neighbours, they used to withdraw behind the banks of these streams. Caesar sent Vinnius to subdue them, and they were defeated on both rivers. The arms of the conquered enemy were not burnt, as was the usual custom in war, but broken to pieces and hurled into the current, that the fame of Caesar might thus be announced to those who were still resisting.

XXV. The Dalmatian War

The Dalmations for the most part lived in the forests, whence they frequently made predatory raids. Marcius the consul had already[1] crippled them by burning Delminium, their capital; afterwards Asinius Pollio—the second greatest of Roman orators[2]—had deprived them of their flocks, arms and territory; Augustus entrusted the task of completely subjugating them to Vibius, who forced this savage people to dig the earth and to melt from its veins the gold, which this otherwise most stupid of peoples seeks with such zeal and diligence that you would think they were extracting it for their own purposes.

[1] In 156 B C.

[2] *i.e.* second only to Cicero, with whom he is compared by Quintilian, x. 1, 113. Some commentators regard *hic secundus orator* as a gloss.

XXVI. Bellvm Moesicvm [1]

13 Moesi [2] quam feri, quam truces fuerint, quam ipsorum etiam barbari barbarorum horribile dictu
14 est. Unus ducum ante aciem postulato silentio "qui vos estis?" inquit. Responsum invicem
15 "Romani gentium domini." Et ille "ita" inquit "fiet, si nos viceritis." Accepit omen Marcus [3] Crassus. Illi statim ante aciem inmolato equo concepere votum, ut caesorum extis [4] ducum et
16 litarent et vescerentur. Deos audisse crediderim: nec tubas sustinere potuerunt. Non minimum terroris incussit barbaris Cornidius [5] centurio satis barbarae, efficacis tamen apud tales homines stoliditatis, qui foculum gerens super cassidem, agitatum motu corporis, flammam velut ardenti capite funditabat.

XXVII. Bellvm Thracicvm

17 Thraces antea saepe, tum maxime Rhoemetalce [6] rege desciverant. Ille barbaros et signis militaribus et disciplina, armis etiam Romanis adsueverat; sed a Pisone perdomiti in ipsa captivitate rabiem ostendere. Quippe cum catenas morsibus temptarent, feritatem suam ipsi puniebant.

[1] Moesicum: Mysicum *B*.
[2] Moesi N^2I: mysi *BN*.
[3] Marcus *Monach.*: marcius *BN*: martius *L*.
[4] extis: exitus *B*.
[5] Cornidius: chornidius *B*: Comidius *Mommsenus*.
[6] Rhoemetalce: rhemetalce *B*.

XXVI. The Moesian War

It is a repulsive task to describe the savagery and cruelty of the Moesians and their barbarity surpassing that of all other barbarians. One of their leaders, after calling for silence, exclaimed in front of the host, "Who are you?" And when the reply was given, "We are Romans, lords of the world," "So you will be," was the answer, "if you conquer us." Marcus Crassus accepted the omen. The Moesians immediately sacrificed a horse in front of the army and made a vow that they would offer up and feed upon the vitals of the slaughtered leaders of their enemies. I can well believe that the gods heard their boast, for they would not even endure the sound of our trumpets. No little terror was inspired in the barbarians by the centurion Cornidius, a man of rather barbarous stupidity, which, however, was not without effect upon men of similar character; carrying on the top of his helmet a pan of coals which were fanned by the movement of his body, he scattered flame from his head, which had the appearance of being on fire.

XXVII. The Thracian War

Though the Thracians had often revolted before, their most serious rising had taken place now under King Rhoemetalcis. He had accustomed the barbarians to the use of military standards and discipline and even of Roman weapons. Thoroughly subdued by Piso, they showed their mad rage even in captivity; for they punished their own savagery by trying to bite through their fetters.

XXVIII. Bellvm Dacicvm

18 Daci montibus inhaerent. Inde Cotisonis[1] regis imperio, quotiens concretus gelu Danuvius iunxerat
19 ripas, decurrere solebant et vicina populari. Visum est Caesari Augusto gentem aditu difficillimam summovere. Misso igitur Lentulo ultra ulteriorem perpulit ripam ; citra praesidia constituta. Sic tum Dacia non victa, sed summota atque dilata[2] est.

XXVIIII. Bellvm Sarmaticvm

20 Sarmatae patentibus[3] campis inequitant. Et hos per eundem Lentulum prohibere Danuvio satis fuit. Nihil praeter nives pruinasque et silvas habent. Tanta barbaria est, ut nec intellegant pacem.

XXX. Bellvm Germanicvm

21 Germaniam quoque utinam vincere tanti non putasset ! Magis turpiter amissa est quam gloriose
22 adquisita. Sed quatenus sciebat patrem[4] suum C. Caesarem bis transvectum ponte Rhenum quaesisse bellum, in illius honorem concupierat facere provinciam ; et factum erat, si barbari tam[5] vitia nostra quam imperia[6] ferre potuissent.

[1] Cotisonis : gotisoni *B.*
[2] dilata : deleta *B* : dilatata *L.*
[3] patentibus : iacentibus *B.*
[4] patrem : patroni *B.*
[5] barbari tam : barbaricam *B.*
[6] quam imperia *om. B.*

XXVIII. The Dacian War

The Dacians cling close to the mountains, whence, whenever the Danube froze and bridged itself, under the command of their King Cotiso, they used to make descents and ravage the neighbouring districts. Though they were most difficult to approach, Caesar resolved to drive back this people. He, therefore, sent Lentulus and pushed them beyond the further bank of the river; and garrisons were posted on the nearer bank. On this occasion then Dacia was not subdued, but its inhabitants were moved on and reserved for future conquest.

XXVIIII. The Sarmatian War

The Sarmatians range on horseback over wide-spreading plains. Them too it was deemed sufficient to debar from access to the Danube, and Lentulus was entrusted with this task also. Their territory consists entirely of snow, ice and forest. So barbarous are they that they do not even understand what peace is.

XXX. The German War

It could be wished that Caesar had not set such store on conquering Germany also. Its loss was a disgrace which far outweighed the glory of its acquisition. But since he was well aware that his father, Gaius Caesar, had twice crossed the Rhine by bridging it and sought hostilities against Germany, he had conceived the desire of making it into a province to do him honour. His object would have been achieved if the barbarians could have tolerated our vices as well as they tolerated our rule.

23 Missus in eam provinciam Drusus primos domuit Vsipetes, inde Tencteros[1] percurrit et Catthos. Nam Marcomannorum spoliis et insignibus quendam
24 editum tumulum in tropaei modum excoluit. Inde validissimas nationes Cheruscos Suebosque et Sicambros pariter adgressus est, qui viginti centurionibus in crucem actis hoc velut sacramento sumpserant bellum, adeo certa[2] victoriae spe, ut praedam in anticessum pactione[3] diviserint.[4] Cherusci equos,
25 Suebi aurum et argentum, Sicambri captivos elegerant; sed omnia retrorsum. Victor namque Drusus equos, pecora, torques eorum ipsosque
26 praedam divisit et vendidit; et praeterea in tutelam provinciae praesidia atque custodias ubique disposuit per Mosam flumen, per Albin, per Visurgin. In Rheni quidem ripa quinquaginta amplius castella direxit. Bormam et Gesoriacum[5] pontibus iunxit
27 classibusque firmavit. Invisum atque inaccessum in id tempus Hercynium saltum patefecit. Ea denique in Germania pax erat, ut mutati homines, alia terra, caelum ipsum mitius molliusque solito
28 videretur. Denique non per adulationem, sed ex meritis, defuncto ibi fortissimo iuvene, ipse,[6] quod numquam alias, senatus cognomen ex provincia dedit.

[1] Tencteros: cenceros *B*.
[2] certa: certae *B*.
[3] in anticessum pactione: ante pactionem *B*: inanticessum *L*.
[4] diviserint: diviserunt *B*: dividerent *L*.
[5] Gesoriacum: caesoria cum *B*: gesogiam cum *N*: genoso niam cum *L*.

Drusus was sent into the province and conquered the Usipetes first, and then overran the territory of the Tencturi and Catthi. He erected, by way of a trophy, a high mound adorned with the spoils and decorations of the Marcomanni. Next he attacked simultaneously those powerful tribes, the Cherusci, Suebi and Sicambri, who had begun hostilities after crucifying twenty of our centurions, an act which served as an oath binding them together, and with such confidence of victory that they made an agreement in anticipation for dividing the spoils. The Cherusci had chosen the horses, the Suebi the gold and silver, the Sicambri the captives. Everything, however, turned out contrariwise; for Drusus, after defeating them, divided up their horses, their herds, their necklets and their own persons as spoil and sold them. Furthermore, to secure the province he posted garrisons and guard-posts all along the Meuse, Elbe and Weser. Along the banks of the Rhine he disposed more than five hundred forts. He built bridges at Borma and Gesoriacum, and left fleets to protect them. He opened a way through the Hercynian forest, which had never before been visited or traversed. In a word, there was such peace in Germany that the inhabitants seemed changed, the face of the country transformed, and the very climate milder and softer than it used to be. Lastly, when the gallant young general had died there, the senate itself, not from flattery but as an acknowledgment of his merit, did him the unparalleled honour of bestowing upon him a surname derived from the name of a province.

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[6] ipse *Perizonius*: ipsi *codd.*

29 Sed difficilius est provincias obtinere quam facere ;
30 viribus parantur, iure retinentur. Igitur breve id
gaudium. Quippe Germani victi magis quam
domiti erant, moresque nostros magis quam arma
31 sub imperatore Druso suspiciebant ; postquam ille
defunctus est, Vari Quintilli libidinem ac superbiam
haud secus quam saevitiam odisse coeperunt. Ausus
ille agere conventum, et in Catthos [1] edixerat, quasi
violentiam [2] barbarorum lictoris virgis et praeconis
32 voce posset inhibere. At illi, qui iam pridem ro-
bigine obsitos [3] enses inertesque maererent equos,
ut primum togas et saeviora armis iura viderunt,
33 duce Armenio [4] arma corripiunt ; cum interim tanta
erat Varo pacis fiducia, ut ne prodita quidem [5] per
Segestem [6] unum [7] principum coniuratione com-
34 moveretur. Itaque inprovidum et nihil tale me-
tuentem ex inproviso adorti, cum ille—o securitas—ad
tribunal citaret, undique invadunt ; castra rapiuntur,
35 tres legiones opprimuntur. Varus perditas res [8]
eodem quo Cannensem diem Paulus et fato est et [9]
36 animo secutus. Nihil illa caede per paludes perque
silvas cruentius, nihil insultatione barbarorum
intolerabilius, praecipue tamen in causarum patro-

[1] in Catthos (*vel* Chaucos) edixerat *Rossbachius*: incauto sedixerat *B*: incastos sedi rexerat *N*: incastris se direxerat *L*: incautius edixerat *Halmius*.
[2] violentiam: vinolentia *B*.
[3] obsitos *Rehd.*: oblitos *BN*.
[4] Armenio *NL*: ar meno *B*.
[5] prodita quidem *Iahnius*: perdita quidem aut prodita *B*.
[6] Segestem *L*: segentem *B*. [7] unum: unius *B*.
[8] perditas res *N*: perdi castra *B*.

But it is more difficult to retain than to create provinces; they are won by force, they are secured by justice. Therefore our joy was short-lived; for the Germans had been defeated rather than subdued, and under the rule of Drusus they respected our moral qualities rather than our arms. After his death they began to detest the licentiousness and pride not less than the cruelty of Quintillius Varus. He had the temerity to hold an assembly and had issued an edict against the Catthi, just as though he could restrain the violence of barbarians by the rod of a lictor and the proclamation of a herald. But the Germans who had long been regretting that their swords were rusted and their horses idle, as soon as they saw the toga and experienced laws more cruel than arms, snatched up their weapons under the leadership of Armenius. Meanwhile Varus was so confident of peace that he was quite unperturbed even when the conspiracy was betrayed to him by Segestes, one of the chiefs. And so when he was unprepared and had no fear of any such thing, at a moment when (such was his confidence) he was actually summoning them to appear before his tribunal, they rose and attacked him from all sides. His camp was seized, and three legions were overwhelmed. Varus met disaster by the same fate and with the same courage as Paulus on the fatal day of Cannae. Never was there slaughter more cruel than took place there in the marshes and woods, never were more intolerable insults inflicted by barbarians, especially those directed

[9] Paulus et fato est et *NL*: diem potuisse fassus est ex *B*.

37 nos. Aliis oculos, aliis manus amputabant, uni os obsutum, recisa prius lingua, quam in manu tenens barbarus "tandem" ait "vipera sibilare desisti."
38 Ipsius quoque consulis corpus, quod militum pietas humi abdiderat, effossum. Signa et aquilas duas adhuc barbari possident, tertiam signifer, prius quam in manus hostium veniret, evolsit mersamque intra baltei sui latebras gerens in cruenta palude sic latuit. Hac clade factum, ut imperium, quod in
39 litore Oceani non steterat,[1] in ripa Rheni fluminis staret.

XXXI. Bellvm Gaetvlicvm

40 Haec ad septentrionem: sub meridiano tumultuatum magis quam bellatum est. Musulamos atque Gaetulos, accolas Syrtium, Cosso duce compescuit; unde illi Gaetulici nomen latius quam ipsa victoria.
41 Marmaridas atque Garamantes Quirinio[2] subigendos dedit. Potuit et ille redire Marmaricus, sed modestior in aestimanda victoria fuit.

XXXII. Bellvm Armenicvm

42 Ad orientem plus negotii cum Armeniis. Huc alterum ex Caesaribus, nepotibus suis, misit. Ambo

[1] non steterat *Baehrensius*: constiterat *codd.*
[2] Quirinio: quirjnio *N om. B*: curinio *L Voss. Monac. Palat.*

against the legal pleaders. They put out the eyes of some of them and cut off the hands of others; they sewed up the mouth of one of them after first cutting out his tongue, which one of the barbarians held in his hand, exclaiming, "At last, you viper, you have ceased to hiss." The body too of the consul himself, which the dutiful affection of the soldiers had buried, was disinterred. As for the standards and eagles, the barbarians possess two to this day; the third eagle was wrenched from its pole, before it could fall into the hands of the enemy, by the standard-bearer, who, carrying it concealed in the folds round his belt, secreted himself in the blood-stained marsh. The result of this disaster was that the empire, which had not stopped on the shores of the Ocean, was checked on the banks of the Rhine.

XXXI. The Gaetulian War

Such were the operations in the north; in the south there were risings rather than wars. Augustus put down the Musulami and Gaetulians who dwell near the Syrtes, through the agency of Cossus, who thus gained the name of Gaetulicus, a title more extensive than his actual victory warranted. He entrusted the subjugation of the Marmarides and Garamantes to Quirinius, who likewise might have returned with the title of Marmaricus, had he not been too modest in estimating his victory.

XXXII. The Armenian War

In the east the Armenians caused more trouble. Hither Ceasar sent one of the Caesars, his grandsons.

fato breves, sed alter inglorius. Massiliae quippe morbo Lucius solvitur, in Syria Gaius ex volnere occubuit, cum Armeniam[1] ad Parthos se subtra-
43 hentem in ius[2] recepit. Armenios victo rege Tigrane[3] in hoc unum servitutis genus Pompeius adsueverat, ut rectores a nobis acciperent. Intermissum ergo ius per hunc recuperatum non in-
44 cruento, nec multo[4] tamen certamine. Quippe Dones, quem rex Artageris[5] praefecerat, simulata proditione adortus virum intentum libello, quem ut thensaurorum rationes continentem ipse porrexerat, stricto repente ferro subiit. Et tunc quidem Caesar
45 recreatus[6] est ex volnere in tempus, sed * * *.[7] Ceterum barbarus undique infesto exercitu oppressus gladio et pyra, in quam se percussus[8] inmisit,[9] superstiti etiam nunc Caesari satisfecit.

XXXIII. Bellvm Cantabricvm et Astvricvm

46 Sub occasu pacata erat fere omnis Hispania, nisi quam Pyrenaei desinentis scopulis inhaerentem citerior adluebat[10] Oceanus. Hic duae validissimae

[1] Armeniam: armenia *B*.
[2] in ius *Iahnius*: ipsos *B*.
[3] victo rege Tigrane: victor gentis Tigranen *B*.
[4] multo: ulto *B*: multa *L*.
[5] Artageris *G. Vossius*: artaxer ser par this *B*: artaxatis *N*: artasatis *L*.
[6] recreatus—profundo (60, 6) *scripsit* B^1.
[7] *lacunam indicavit Iahnius.*
[8] percussus: percussu* B^1.
[9] inmisit: summisit B^1: immisit *L*.
[10] adluebat: abluebat B^1: alluebat *L*.

Both were cut off in early life, one without having distinguished himself; for Lucius died of disease at Marseilles, while Gaius perished in Syria by a wound received while recovering Armenia, which was transferring its allegiance to Parthia. Pompeius, after defeating Tigranes, had accustomed the Armenians to a state of bondage which merely obliged them to accept rulers appointed by Rome. The exercise of this right, which had been interrupted, was re-established by Gaius Caesar after a struggle which, though not serious, involved some loss of life. For Dones, whom the king had appointed governor of Artagerae,[1] pretending to betray his master, attacked the general while he was engaged in examining a document, which he had himself handed to him as containing a list of the treasures, and suddenly struck him with his drawn sword. Caesar recovered from the wound for the time being but . . .[2] His barbarian assailant, beset on all sides by the angry soldiers, made atonement to the still surviving Caesar; for he fell by the sword, and was burnt upon the pyre on which he hurled himself after he was stabbed.

XXXIII. The War against the Cantabrians and Asturians

In the west almost all Spain had been subjugated, except that part which adjoins the cliffs where the Pyrenees end and is washed by the nearer waters of the Ocean.[3] Here two powerful nations,

[1] The Artageira of Strabo XI, p. 529.

[2] There is a lacuna in the text at this point

[3] The Ocean being regarded as a broad stream, the Atlantic shores of Spain form its nearer bank.

gentes,Cantabri et Astures,inmunes imperii agitabant.
47 Cantabrorum et prior et acrior et magis pertinax in rebellando animus fuit, qui non contenti libertatem suam defendere proximis etiam imperitare temptabant Vaccaeosque et Turmogos et Autrigonas[1]
48 crebris incursionibus fatigabant. In hos igitur, quia[2] vehementius agere nuntiabatur, non est mandata expeditio, sed sumpta. Ipse venit Segisamam, castra posuit, inde tripertito exercitu totam Cantabriam amplexus efferam gentem ritu ferarum
49 quasi quadam cogebat indagine. Nec ab Oceano quies, cum infesta classe ipsa quoque terga hostium caederentur. Primum adversus Cantabros sub moenibus Bergidae proeliatum. Hinc statim fuga in eminentissimum Vindium[3] montem, quo maria prius Oceani quam arma Romana ascensura esse
50 crediderant. Tertio Aracelium oppidum magna vi repugnat;[4] captum tamen. Postremo fuit Medulli montis obsidio, quem perpetua decem et octo milium fossa conprehensum undique simul adeunte Romano postquam extrema barbari vident, certatim igne, ferro inter epulas[5] venenoque, quod ibi volgo taxo[6] exprimitur, praecepere[7] mortem, seque pars maior a[8] captivitate, quae morte gravior ad id tempus
51 indomitis videbatur, vindicaverunt. Haec per

[1] Autrigonas *Salmasius*: aurigantes B^1: aurigonas NL.
[2] quia: qua B^1. [3] Vindium: vinnium B^1.
[4] repugnat: oppugnat B^1. [5] inter epulas *om.* B^1.
[6] taxo *scripsi*: taxeo B^1.
[7] praecipere N: praecoepere B^1.
[8] maior a: magis (*om.* a) B^1.

the Cantabrians and the Asturians, lived in freedom from the rule of Rome. The Cantabrians rose first and were more energetic and obstinate in their rebellion; not content with defending their liberty, they tried also to dominate their neighbours and harassed the Vaccaei, the Turmogi and the Autrigones by frequent raids. The news of their unusual activity induced Caesar himself to undertake an expedition instead of entrusting it to another. He came personally to Segisama, where he pitched his camp, and then, dividing his army into three parts, enveloped the whole of Cantabria and enclosed its fierce people like wild beasts in a net. Nor did he give them any peace on the side of the Ocean; for they were also assailed in the rear by the attacks of his fleet. The first battle against the Cantabrians was fought under the walls of Bergida. From here they fled to the lofty peak of Mount Vindius, to which they had thought the Roman army was less likely to ascend than the waters of the Ocean. Next the town of Aracelium offered a stout resistance, but was eventually taken. The last incident was the siege of Mount Medullus. When it had been surrounded by a continuous earthwork extending over eighteen miles and the Romans were closing in upon it on every side, the barbarians, seeing that their last hour had come, vied with one another in hastening on their own deaths in the midst of a banquet by fire and the sword and a poison which is there commonly extracted from the yew-tree. Thus most of them saved themselves from a captivity which was deemed more grievous than death itself by men who had hitherto never been conquered. Caesar received the news of these operations, which

Antistium[1] Furniumque[2] legatos et Agrippam hibernans in Tarraconis[3] maritimis Caesar accepit.
52 Mox ipse praesens hos deduxit montibus, hos obsidibus astrinxit, hos sub corona iure belli venun-
53 dedit. Digna res lauro, digna curru[4] senatui visa est; sed iam tantus erat Caesar, ut triumpho
54 augeri contemneret. Astures per id tempus ingenti agmine a montibus niveis descenderant. Nec temere sumptus barbaris videbatur hic impetus; sed positis castris apud Asturam[5] flumen trifariam diviso agmine tria simul Romanorum adgredi
55 parant castra. Fuissetque anceps et cruentum et utinam mutua clade certamen cum tam fortibus,
56 tam[6] subito, tam cum consilio venientibus, nisi Brigaecini[7] prodidissent,[8] a quibus praemonitus Carisius cum exercitu advenit. Pro victoria fuit oppressisse consilia, sic[9] quoque non incruento
57 certamine. Reliquias fusi exercitus validissima civitas Lancea excipit, ubi cum locis adeo certatum est, ut, cum in captam urbem faces poscerentur, aegre
58 dux impetraverit veniam, ut victoriae Romanae stans potius esset quam incensa monumentum.

[1] Antistium: antatium B^1: antestium *L*.
[2] Furniumque: firmumque B^1.
[3] in Tarraconis: in terra tonis B^1: intarrachonis *N*: interraconis *L*.
[4] digna curru: dignas currus B^1.
[5] Asturam: astaram B^1: scuram *NL*.
[6] tam *L Voss. Rehd.*: quam B^1.
[7] Brigaecini: dri caecini B^1: drigaecini *N*: drigenici *L*.
[8] prodidissent: providissent B^1.
[9] tamen *post* sic *add.* B^1N: *om. Iahnius*.

[1] This is the only sense which can be extracted from the words *utinam mutua clade* which is read by all MSS.; but *utinam* is possibly corrupt.

were carried out by Antistius and Furnius, his lieutenant-generals, and Agrippa, while he was wintering on the coast at Tarraco. Himself arriving quickly on the scene, he brought some of the inhabitants down from the mountains, secured the fidelity of others by taking hostages, and sold others, by right of conquest, into slavery. His success was considered by the senate to be worthy of a laurel crown and a triumphal chariot; but Caesar was now so mighty that he despised any glory that a triumph could bestow. The Asturians meanwhile had come down from the snow-clad mountains in a vast host. This attack seems not to have been undertaken without consideration by the barbarians; but they pitched their camp at the river Astura and, dividing their forces into three parts, prepared a simultaneous attack on the three camps of the Romans. With such brave enemies attacking suddenly and with so well-conceived a plan the struggle would have been doubtful and bloody—and I would I could think that the losses on both sides would have been equal [1] —had not the Brigaecini acted as traitors and had not Carisius arrived with his army as a result of their warnings. To have frustrated the enemy's designs meant victory, though, even so, the struggle was a bloody one. The well-fortified city of Lancea opened its gates to the remains of the defeated army; here such efforts were needed to counteract the natural advantage of the place, that when firebrands were demanded to burn the captured city, it was only with difficulty that the general won mercy for it from the soldiers, on the plea that it would form a better monument of the Roman victory if it were left standing than if it were burnt.

59 Hic finis Augusto bellicorum certaminum[1] fuit, idem rebellandi finis Hispaniae. Certa mox fides et aeterna pax, cum ipsorum ingenio in pacis artes[2] promptiore, tum consilio Caesaris, qui fiduciam montium timens in quos se recipiebant, castra sua, 60 quia in plano erant, habitare et incolere iussit; ibi gentis esse concilium, illud observari[3] caput. Favebat consilio natura regionis; circa enim omnis aurifera[4] est et chrysocollae[5] miniique et aliorum colorum ferax. Itaque exerceri solum iussit. Sic Astures[6] nitentes in profundo opes suas atque divitias, dum aliis quaerunt, nosse coeperunt.

XXXIIII. Pax Parthorvm et Consecratio Avgvsti

61 Omnibus ad occasum et meridiem pacatis gentibus, ad septentrionem quoque, dum taxat intra Rhenum atque Danuvium, item ad orientem intra Cyrum[7] et Euphraten, illi quoque reliqui, qui inmunes imperii erant, sentiebant tamen magnitudinem et victorem[8] gentium populum Romanum[9] revere- 62 bantur. Nam et Scythae misere legatos et Sarmatae amicitiam petentes. Seres etiam habitantesque sub ipso sole Indi, cum gemmis et margaritis elephantos quoque inter munera trahentes, nihil magis quam

[1] bellicorum certaminum: belli civilium certamin B^1.
[2] artes: arte B^1: partes NL.
[3] observari: observare B^1.
[4] aurifera: auriferae B^1.
[5] chrysocollae: chriso calle B^1.
[6] Astures N^2: astare B^1.
[7] Cyrum: ecyrum N: circum L.
[8] victorem *Aldus*: victoriam *codd.*
[9] populum Romanum *Aldus*: populi Romani *codd.*

This was the end of Augustus' campaigns as well as of the rebellion in Spain. After this we were able to rely on the loyalty of the Spaniards, and uninterrupted peace ensued as a result both of their natural disposition for the arts of peace and also of the wise measures taken by Caesar, who, dreading the confidence inspired by the mountains into which they were wont to retire, ordered them to occupy and cultivate the district in the plain where his camp had been; he urged that the council of the nation should be held there and the place regarded as the capital. The natural advantages of the place favoured his plan; for the whole district bears gold and is rich in *chrysocolla*,[1] vermilion and other pigments; he, therefore, ordered that the soil should be tilled. Thus the Astures, digging deep into the ground in search of riches for others, gained their first knowledge of their own resources and wealth.

XXXIIII. The Peace with Parthia and the Deification of Augustus

Now that all the races of the west and south were subjugated, and also the races of the north, those at least between the Rhine and the Danube, and of the east between the Cyrus and Euphrates, the other nations too, who were not under the rule of the empire, yet felt the greatness of Rome and revered its people as the conqueror of the world. For the Scythians and the Sarmatians sent ambassadors seeking friendship; the Seres[2] too and the Indians, who live immediately beneath the sun, though they

[1] A green pigment.

[2] Chinese.

longinquitatem viae inputabant—quadriennium inpleverant; et iam[1] ipse hominum color ab alio
63 venire caelo fatebatur. Parthi quoque, quasi victoriae paeniteret,[2] rapta clade Crassiana signa ultro
64 rettulere. Sic ubique certa[3] atque continua totius generis humani aut pax fuit aut pactio,[4] aususque tandem Caesar Augustus septingentesimo ab urbe condita anno Ianum geminum cludere, bis ante se clusum sub Numa rege et victa primum Carthagine.
65 Hinc conversus ad pacem pronum in omnia mala et in luxuriam fluens saeculum gravibus severisque legibus multis coercuit, ob haec tot facta ingentia
66 dictus imperator perpetuus et pater patriae. Tractatum etiam in senatu, an, quia condidisset imperium, Romulus vocaretur; sed sanctius et reverentius visum est nomen Augusti, ut scilicet iam tum, dum colit terras, ipso nomine et titulo consecraretur.

[1] iam *Mommsenus*: tamen *codd.*
[2] paeniteret *Rehd.*: pertineret *N*: permaneret *L Monac.*
[3] certa *Freinshemius*: cuncta *codd.*
[4] pactio *L Palat.*: paccio *Voss. Monac. Rehd.*: factio *N.*

[1] Strictly speaking the year of the closing of the temple of Janus (29 B.C.) was A.U.C. 725.

brought elephants amongst their gifts as well as precious stones and pearls, regarded their long journey, in the accomplishment of which they had spent four years, as the greatest tribute which they rendered; and indeed their complexion proved that they came from beneath another sky. The Parthians too, as though they repented of their victory, voluntarily returned the standards which they had won at the time of Crassus' defeat. Thus everywhere throughout the inhabited world there was firmly-established and uninterrupted peace or truce, and Caesar Augustus ventured at last, in the seven hundredth year since the foundation of the city,[1] to close the double doors of the temple of Janus, which had previously been shut on two occasions only, in the reign of Numa and after the first defeat of Carthage. Next, devoting himself to securing tranquillity, by many strict and severe enactments he restrained an age which was prone to every vice and readily led into luxury. For all these great achievements he was named Perpetual Imperator and Father of his Country. It was also discussed in the senate whether he should not be called Romulus, because he had established the empire; but the name of Augustus was deemed more holy and venerable, in order that, while he still dwelt upon earth, he might be given a name and title which raised him to the rank of a deity.

CORNELIUS NEPOS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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A A

INTRODUCTION

The Life and Works of Cornelius Nepos

Cornelius Nepos (his *praenomen* is unknown) was born in Cisalpine Gaul, the native land of Catullus, Vergil, Livy and the Plinys. The elder Pliny speaks of him as *Padi accola*,[1] and since we know that he was a native of that part of Cisalpine Gaul which took its name from the Insubres,[2] it has been conjectured that his birthplace was Ticinum, the modern Pavia.

The dates of his birth and death are not known with certainty. He appears to have lived from about 99 to about 24 B.C.; for we know that he survived Atticus, who died in 32 B.C., and that he lived to an advanced age. The elder Pliny twice refers[3] to "Cornelius Nepos, qui divi Augusti principatu obiit."

Nepos took up his residence in Rome early and spent the greater part of his life there. He seems to have had an independent fortune and to have devoted his entire attention to literary work. He apparently took no part in political life; at least, we know from one of Pliny's letters that he was not of senatorial rank.[4] He exchanged letters with Cicero[5] and he

[1] *N.H.* iii. 127.
[2] Pliny, *Epist.* iv. 28. 1; cf. Cicero, *ad Fam.* xv. 16. 1.
[3] *N.H.* ix. 137; x. 60.
[4] v. 3. 6.
[5] Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 1. 14; Suet. *Jul.* 55; etc.

was intimate with Atticus after the latter's return from Athens in 65 B.C. Catullus dedicated a book of poems to him in complimentary lines.[1]

A reference of Fronto[2] seems to indicate that Nepos, like his friend Atticus, was a publisher, as well as a writer, of books.

Nepos was a prolific author in several branches of literature. The greater part of his works has been lost and is known to us only through references of other writers. The list is as follows:

Love Poems, mentioned by the younger Pliny in the letter cited above.[3]

Chronica, referred to by Catullus in his dedication. This work comprised in three books an outline of the history of the world from the earliest times to about 54 B.C. Like the *Liber Annalis*[4] of Atticus, it was of a chronological character.

Exempla, a collection of anecdotes arranged under various captions, like the *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium libri IX* of Valerius Maximus, and intended for the use of rhetoricians. A fifth book is cited by Gellius.[5] It must have been published after 43 B.C.[6]

A *Life of Cato*, mentioned by Nepos himself.[7]

A *Life of Cicero*,[8] apparently composed after the death of the orator.

A treatise on Geography, known, though not by title, from references of the elder Pliny and Pomponius Mela. The former speaks of it as uncritical.[9]

[1] Catull. 1. [2] Page 20, 6, Naber (i. p. 169, L.C.L.).
[3] v. 3. 6. [4] Nepos, xxiii. 13. 1. [5] vi. 18. 11.
[6] Suet. Aug. 77. [7] xxiv. 3. 5. [8] Gell. xv. 28. 2.
[9] *N.H.* v. 4.

De Viris Illustribus, in at least sixteen books.[1] Nepos arranged his biographies in groups of two books each. The first book of every group included the distinguished men of foreign nations, for the most part Greeks; the second, those of Rome. From references of Nepos himself and others[2] the categories of generals, historians, kings and poets have been determined. What the other four were is uncertain; philosophers, orators, statesmen and grammarians have been suggested. The reference of Gellius[3] to Book xii with reference to a Roman historian is variously explained, some assuming an error in the text of Gellius; others, that an introductory book of a general character preceded and introduced the pairs of lives.

Of this work we have the entire book *De Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium*, and two lives from the book *De Historicis Latinis*, besides a few fragments. The former was for a long time believed to be the work of Aemilius Probus, a grammarian of the time of Theodosius II (A.D. 408–450) on account of an epigram of his which appears in some of the manuscripts after the Life of Hannibal.

It reads as follows:

Vade, liber, nostri fato meliore memento;
Cum leget haec dominus, te sciat esse meum.
Nec metuas fulvo strictos diademate crines,
Ridentes blandum vel pietate oculos.

[1] Charisius, i. 141. 13 K., cites the sixteenth book.

[2] Nepos, x. 3. 2; xxi. 1. 1; xxiii. 13. 4; Suet. *vit. Ter.* iii. (ii. p. 457, L.C.L.).

[3] xi. 8. 5.

Communis cunctis hominem, sed regna tenere
Se meminit; vincit hinc magis ille homines.
Ornentur steriles fragili tectura libelli;
Theodosio et doctis carmina nuda placent.
Si rogat auctorem, paulatim detege nostrum
Tunc domino nomen; me sciat esse Probum.
Corpore in hoc manus est genitoris avique meaque;
Felices, dominum quae meruere, manus.[1]

Go forth, my book, and under a better destiny be mindful of me. When my Lord shall read this, let him know that you are mine. Fear not the golden diadem that binds his locks, his eyes smiling with kindness and goodness. Gracious to all, he remembers that he is a mortal man, but a man who rules an empire; thus he binds men the closer. Let the frail covering of useless books be adorned, but to Theodosius and the cultured unadorned songs are pleasing. If he ask for the author, then gradually reveal my name to my Lord. Let him know that I am Probus.[2] In this work is the hand of my father, my grandfather and myself. Happy the hands that have found favour with my Lord.

As early as the sixteenth century it was shown that the author of the book on Great Generals must have belonged to the later days of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire.[3] Furthermore, the resemblances in language and style to the lives of Cato

[1] Followed in codd. A and P by "Aemilii (Emilii, P) Probi de excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium liber explicit."

[2] The Honest Man.

[3] See, for example, xviii. 8. 2; xvii. 4. 2; viii. [2. 4; i. 6. 2.

and Atticus, which have come down to us under the name of Cornelius Nepos, are so great as to leave no doubt that they are the work of the same writer. Aemilius Probus, following in the footsteps of his grandfather and his father, was apparently the editor of a collection of Selected Lives from the *De Viris Illustribus* of Nepos.

The entire work was published before the death of Atticus in 32 B.C., probably in 34 or 35. At some time before 27 B.C. a second edition was issued,[1] in which the brief extract *On Kings* and the lives of Datames, Hamilcar and Hannibal seem to have been added to the existing collection and additions made to the biography of Atticus. Thus the first edition contained only Greeks and Romans.

According to his own statement,[2] Nepos wrote biography and not history, and it is as the oldest existing biographical work that has come down to us under the name of its author that the surviving part of the *De Viris Illustribus* may claim a modest place in the history of literature. The lives were addressed to the general public[3] rather than to scholars, and their purpose was to entertain and at the same time point a moral. They therefore should, and in the majority of instances do, belong to the Peripatetic type, represented by the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch. Nepos falls far short of Plutarch as a biographer; he preceded him in comparing Romans with foreigners, although in this method of gratifying Roman national

[1] See xxv. 19. 1. Octavian is everywhere referred to as Caesar, never with the title Augustus, conferred on him in 27 B.C.

[2] xvi. 1. 1.

[3] See Praef. 1–7; xv. 1. 1; etc.

pride he had himself been anticipated by Varro [1] and other writers of the period.[2]

Nepos was not skilled in the art of composition, and as a result his work presents a combination of nearly all possible types of biography.[3] Besides the Peripatetic biographies we have brief summaries in the Alexandrine-philological manner (*Cimon*, *Conon*, *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias* and *Timotheus*), and eulogies (*encomia* or *laudationes*) either in an approximation [4] to the conventional form taught in the schools of rhetoric and based on the virtues of the hero (*Epaminondas*), or with a superficial resemblance to the *Agesilaus* of Xenophon and based upon the hero's exploits (*Agesilaus*). The *Atticus*, which is also a eulogy, is unique in being originally written of a person who was still living; after his death, as has been said, it was somewhat changed. It is in the main of the type represented by Xenophon's *Agesilaus* and the brief laudation of Germanicus in Suetonius' *Caligula*.[5]

Nepos writes as a rule in the " plain " style.[6] His vocabulary is limited, and he expresses himself ordinarily in short sentences. The results of rhetorical training are shown in his attempts to adorn his narrative, especially, although not consistently,[4] in more elevated passages, when he depicts the virtues of his heroes [7] or puts speeches into their mouths. He occasionally attempts long periods, but

[1] In the *Imagines*.
[2] See, for example, Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 1.
[3] Leo, p. 210.
[4] He is rarely, if ever, consistent in the use of any literary form or rhetorical device.
[5] i–vii.
[6] See Gellius, vi. 14.
[7] *E.g.* xv. 3.

is obviously not at home in them. His principal rhetorical devices are rhythmical *clausulae*, alliteration and antithesis. The last-named figure is used to such excess that his sentences are frequently overloaded at the beginning, and end weakly. Although he was a contemporary of Caesar and Cicero, his Latinity belongs with that of Varro and the writers of the supplements to Caesar's *Civil War*. He has some archaisms, numerous colloquial words and expressions, and some words that are common to him and writers of a later date. He has little variety in his diction; in particular he uses *nam* and *enim* to an extent which taxes the ingenuity of a translator. He is also fond of the pronoun *hic*, probably owing to the influence of the Alexandrine biographers.[1]

Although Nepos makes direct mention of Thucydides, Xenophon's *Agesilaus*, Plato's *Symposium*, Theopompus, Dinon, Timaeus, Silenus, Sosylus, Polybius, Sulpicius Blitho, Atticus and the writings of Hannibal, it is obvious that he rarely, if ever, made first-hand use of those authorities. The material which he needed for his Greek subjects was available in the biographical literature of that country,[2] such as the works of Antigonus of Carystus, Hermippus and Satyrus. In the biographies of Romans, which are lost except for the *Cato* and the *Atticus*, he may have depended to a greater extent on historical sources, although he had predecessors in Varro and Santra.

The Manuscripts

The best manuscripts of Nepos are no longer in existence. The *codex Parcensis* (*P*), so named from

[1] See Leo, p. 217. [2] See xv. 4. 6.

the Abbey of Parc, was discovered and collated by Roth. It belonged to the fifteenth century, but represented an older tradition than the earlier *Sangallensis* and *Guelferbytanus*. It found its way to the library of Louvain, where it disappeared during the late war. The collation of Roth is preserved in the public library of Basle. Of about the same age and value, so far as it goes, is a manuscript variously known as the *codex Danielinus* or *Gifanianus* (*Dan.* or *Gif.*), which was formerly at St. Benoît sur Loire, but has been lost sight of since the sixteenth century. Many of its readings have been more or less imperfectly preserved in the margin of the edition of Langueil (1543). In many cases they are so similar to those of the *codex Guelferbytanus Gudianus*, 166, (*A*) of the twelfth or thirteenth century, that Chatelain [1] thought it possible that *codex A* was actually the famous Danielinus. Other manuscripts of value are the *Sangallensis* (*B*), of the fourteenth century, the *Monacensis*, 88, (*M*), written at Ulm in 1482, and a manuscript of the *Collegium Romanum* (*R*). The Utrecht edition of 1542 (*u*) represents a special tradition and was ranked among the manuscripts by Roth and Halm.

For other manuscripts added by Gemss, Winsted and Guillemin, which occasionally furnish good readings, see the list of sigla. All the existing codices have the same lacuna at vi.2.3 and a number of obvious errors in common, and hence are descended from the same archetype, assumed to be a minuscule manuscript not earlier than the eleventh century. They are classified as follows by Guillemin: (1) Dan.-Gif., P, A, θ, π; (2) B, μ; (3) u; (4) R, M, F, λ.

[1] *Paléographie de classiques latins*, ii. p. clxxxii.

INTRODUCTION

Owing to the lack of reliable manuscripts and the fact that Nepos has been so extensively used in the schools of ancient, as well as of modern, times, editors have been very free in making emendations and transpositions, and in assuming the existence of *lacunae*. The extremes of conservatism and the reverse are perhaps illustrated by the editions of Winsted and Guillemin. In this edition the manuscript reading has been kept wherever it seemed possible to do so; in the words of Winsted (Praef.): "Nepotis librum limatiorem quam ipse reliquit reddere veritus sum." Deviations from the codices, except in the case of obvious and generally accepted corrections, have been indicated in the critical notes.

Biographical Note

The *editio princeps* of Nepos was published at Venice in 1471; it was followed by the *editio Juntina* of 1525 and the Utrecht edition of 1542. Of critical editions may be mentioned: Lambin, *Aemilii Probi et Cornelii Nepotis quae supersunt*, Paris, 1569; Roth, with prolegomena of Rinck, Basle, 1841; Nipperdey, Berlin, 1867; Halm, Leipzig, 1871; Fleckeisen, Leipzig, 1884; Winsted, Oxford, 1904; and Guillemin, with a translation into French, Paris, 1923. The best commentary is that of Nipperdey, Berlin, 1849 (ed. 2 by Lupus, Berlin, 1879). The school editions in various languages are very numerous, such as Nipperdey's abridgment for the use of schools, of which an eleventh edition by C. Witte appeared in 1913; that of Browning, Oxford, 1868 (ed. 3 by Inge, 1887); and that of O. Wagner, Leipzig, 1922. Nepos' style is treated

by B. Lupus, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Cornelius Nepos*, Berlin, 1876, and in the preface to the Nipperdey-Witte edition; and his branch of literature by Fr. Leo, *Die Griechisch-römische Biographie*, Leipzig, 1901, and D. R. Stuart, *Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography*, Berkeley, California, 1928.

SIGLA

Dan. } = Codex Danielinus or Gifanianus.
Gif. }
P = Codex Parcensis, fifteenth century.
A = Codex Guelferbytanus Gudianus 166, twelfth to thirteenth century.
B = Codex Sangallensis, fourteenth century.
M = Codex Monacensis, 1482.
R = Codex Collegii Romani, thirteenth century.
H = Codex Haenelianus, 1469.
Leid. = Codex Leidensis Boecleri.
Leid. II = Codex Leidensis.
Can. = Codex Bodleianus Canonici Lat. 159, fifteenth century.
V = Codex Vindobonensis, fifteenth century.
Σ = Codex Strozzianus (Florence).
Γ = Codex Claromontanus 259, fifteenth century.
θ = Codex Parisinus 5826, fifteenth century.
μ = Codex Parisinus 6143, fifteenth century.
λ = Codex Parisinus 5837, fifteenth century.
π = Codex Parisinus (Arsenal Library), fifteenth century.
u = Utrecht edition of 1542.
Nipp. = Nipperdey.
Fleck. = Fleckeisen.
Guill. = Guillemin.

THE BOOK OF CORNELIUS NEPOS

ON THE

GREAT GENERALS OF FOREIGN NATIONS

CORNELII NEPOTIS

LIBER DE EXCELLENTIBUS DUCIBUS EXTERARUM GENTIUM

PRAEFATIO

1 Non dubito fore plerosque, Attice, qui hoc genus scripturae leve et non satis dignum summorum virorum personis iudicent, cum relatum legent quis musicam docuerit Epaminondam, aut in eius virtutibus commemorari, saltasse eum commode scien-
2 terque tibiis cantasse. Sed hi erunt fere qui expertes litterarum Graecarum nihil rectum, nisi quod
3 ipsorum moribus conveniat, putabunt. Hi si didicerint non eadem omnibus esse honesta atque turpia, sed omnia maiorum institutis iudicari, non admirabuntur nos in Graiorum virtutibus exponendis
4 mores eorum secutos. Neque enim Cimoni fuit turpe, Atheniensium summo viro, sororem germanam habere in matrimonio, quippe cum cives eius eodem uterentur instituto; at id quidem nostris moribus nefas habetur. Laudi in Creta[1] ducitur adulescentulis quam plurimos habuisse amatores.

[1] Creta, *Valckenaer*; Graecia, *MSS.*

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[1] See xv. 2. In the Notes and Index the Lives are referred to by number.

[2] v. 1. 2.

THE BOOK OF CORNELIUS NEPOS

ON THE

GREAT GENERALS OF FOREIGN NATIONS

PREFACE

I DOUBT not, Atticus, that many readers will look upon this kind of writing as trivial and unworthy of the parts played by great men, when they find that I have told who taught Epaminondas music or see it mentioned among his titles to fame that he was a graceful dancer and a skilled performer on the flute.[1] But such critics will for the most part be men unfamiliar with Greek letters, who will think no conduct proper which does not conform to their own habits. If these men can be made to understand that not all peoples look upon the same acts as honourable or base, but that they judge them all in the light of the usage of their forefathers, they will not be surprised that I, in giving an account of the merits of Greeks, have borne in mind the usage of that nation. For example, it was no disgrace to Cimon, an eminent citizen of Athens, to have his own sister to wife,[2] inasmuch as his countrymen followed that same custom; but according to our standards such a union is considered impious. In Crete it is thought praiseworthy for young men to have had the greatest possible number of love affairs.

Nulla Lacedaemoni vidua tam est nobilis, quae
5 non ad cenam[1] eat mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus tota fere fuit Graecia victorem Olympiae citari; in scaenam vero prodire ac populo esse spectaculo nemini in eisdem gentibus fuit turpitudini. Quae omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur.

6 Contra ea pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora quae apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? Aut cuius non mater familias primum locum tenet aedium
7 atque in celebritate versatur? Quod multo fit aliter in Graecia; nam neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neque sedet nisi in interiore parte aedium, quae gynaeconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit nisi propinqua cognatione coniunctus.

8 Sed hic plura persequi cum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum festinatio ut ea explicem quae exorsus sum. Qua re ad propositum veniemus et in hoc exponemus libro de vita excellentium imperatorum.

[1] cenam, *PA*; scenam, *the other MSS.*; obscena ineat, *O. Wagner*; moeccum, *L. Havet.*

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[1] *Cenam* is probably corrupt, but no satisfactory emendation has been proposed. The suggestion of Wagner, "to indulge in promiscuous intercourse," seems the best one; see the critical note.

[2] The reference is primarily to the *atrium*, but also to other rooms to which guests were admitted; *primum locum* is contrasted with *interiore parte*.

At Lacedaemon no woman without a husband, however distinguished she may be, refuses to go to a dinner-party as a hired entertainer.[1] Almost everywhere in Greece it was deemed a high honour to be proclaimed victor at Olympia; even to appear on the stage and exhibit oneself to the people was never regarded as shameful by those nations. With us, however, all those acts are classed either as disgraceful, or as low and unworthy of respectable conduct.

On the other hand, many actions are seemly according to our code which the Greeks look upon as shameful. For instance, what Roman would blush to take his wife to a dinner-party? What matron does not frequent the front rooms[2] of her dwelling and show herself in public? But it is very different in Greece; for there a woman is not admitted to a dinner-party, unless relatives only are present, and she keeps to the more retired part of the house called "the women's apartment," to which no man has access who is not near of kin.

But further enlargement of this topic is impossible, not only because of the extent of my proposed work, but also by my haste to treat the subject that I have chosen. I shall therefore come to the point and shall write in this book of the lives of celebrated commanders.

I. MILTIADES

1. Miltiades, Cimonis filius, Atheniensis, cum et antiquitate generis et gloria maiorum et sua modestia unus omnium maxime floreret eaque esset aetate ut non iam solum de eo bene sperare, sed etiam confidere cives possent sui talem eum futurum qualem cognitum iudicarunt, accidit ut Athenienses Chersonesum colonos vellent mittere. Cuius generis cum magnus numerus esset et multi eius demigrationis peterent societatem, ex his delecti Delphos deliberatum missi sunt,[1] quo potissimum duce uterentur. Namque tum Thraeces eas regiones tenebant, cum quibus armis erat dimicandum. His consulentibus nominatim Pythia praecepit ut Miltiadem imperatorem sibi sumerent: id si fecissent, incepta prospera futura.

Hoc oraculi responso Miltiades cum delecta manu classe Chersonesum profectus, cum accessisset Lemnum et incolas eius insulae sub potestatem redigere

[1] *The MSS. except Leid. add* qui consulerent Apollinem.

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[1] He claimed descent from Aeacus, son of Zeus; for similar family-trees cf. Suet. *Galba* 2; *Vesp.* 12.

[2] A general term for a peninsula; here the Thracian Chersonesus is meant, the modern Gallipoli peninsula.

[3] In chapters 1 and 2 Nepos confuses Miltiades with his uncle of the same name. The responses of the oracle were

I. MILTIADES

1. Miltiades, the Athenian, son of Cimon, because of the antiquity of his family,[1] the fame of his ancestors, and his own unassuming nature, was the most distinguished man of his day. He had reached a time of life when he not only inspired high hopes in his fellow-citizens, but even gave them confidence that he would be the kind of man that they found him on longer acquaintance, when it chanced that the Athenians wished to send a colony to the Chersonesus.[2] Since the number of eligible citizens was large and many wished to take part in that migration, a deputation from their number was sent to Delphi, to inquire who would be the best leader to choose. For at that time the Thracians were in control of those regions, and a contest with them was inevitable. To the envoys who consulted her the Pythia named Miltiades[3] and bade them take him as their commander, declaring that if they did so, their enterprise would be successful.

It was owing to that response of the oracle that Miltiades, accompanied by a carefully selected band, set sail with a fleet for the Chersonesus. Having reached Lemnos[4] and wishing to bring the

usually vague or ambiguous, like the well-known *aio te, Aeacide, Romanos vincere posse*, given to King Pyrrhus of Epirus.

[4] Nepos everywhere has the Latin forms of Greek names and uses the Roman names for the Greek gods.

vellet Atheniensium, idque Lemnii sua sponte[1]
5 facerent postulasset, illi irridentes responderunt
tum id se facturos, cum ille, domo navibus pro-
ficiscens, vento aquilone venisset Lemnum; hic
enim ventus, ab septentrionibus oriens, adversum
6 tenet Athenis proficiscentibus. Miltiades, morandi
tempus non habens, cursum derexit quo tendebat,
pervenitque Chersonesum.

2. Ibi brevi tempore barbarum[2] copiis disiectis,
tota regione quam petierat potitus, loca castellis
idonea communiit, multitudinem quam secum duxerat
in agris conlocavit crebrisque excursionibus locuple-
2 tavit. Neque minus in ea re prudentia quam
felicitate adiutus est; nam cum virtute militum
devicisset hostium exercitus, summa aequitate res
constituit atque ipse ibidem manere decrevit. Erat
3 enim inter eos dignitate regia, quamvis carebat
nomine, neque id magis imperio quam iustitia con-
secutus; neque eo setius Atheniensibus, a quibus
erat profectus, officia praestabat. Quibus rebus
fiebat ut non minus eorum voluntate perpetuum[3]
imperium obtineret qui miserant, quam illorum cum
quibus erat profectus.

4 Chersoneso tali modo constituta Lemnum revertitur et ex pacto postulat ut sibi urbem tradant. Illi enim dixerant, cum vento borea domo profectus eo

[1] sponte ut, *u*; idque ut, *Cobet*.
[2] barbarum, *Dan. PA*; *the other MSS. have* barbarorum.
[3] perpetuum *Pluygers*; perpetuo, *MSS*.

[1] There were two cities on Lemnos, Hephaistia and Myrina.

inhabitants of that island under the sway of the Athenians, he demanded of the Lemnians that they should voluntarily accept that condition. They replied ironically that they would do so, whenever he should set sail from his home and come to Lemnos driven by Aquilo. But that wind, since it blows from the north, is dead ahead for those who sail from Athens. Miltiades, having no time to lose, kept on to his destination and arrived at the Chersonesus.

2. There he soon dispersed the forces of the barbarians, and having gained possession of the entire region that he had in view, he fortified strategic points with strongholds, settled on farms the company which he had brought with him, and enriched them by frequent raids. In that whole enterprise his success was due not less to statesmanship than to good fortune; for when, thanks to the valour of his soldiers, he had vanquished the enemy, he organized the colony with the utmost impartiality and decided to make his own home there. As a matter of fact, he enjoyed the rank of king among the colonists without having that title, an honour which he owed to his justice no less than to his position of authority. Nevertheless, he continued to do his duty by the Athenians, who had sent him to Thrace; and as a result he retained permanent authority, no less with the consent of those who had sent him than of those who had taken part in the expedition.

After the Chersonesus was thus organized, Miltiades returned to Lemnos and demanded the surrender of the city[1] according to the agreement. For they had said that they would give themselves

pervenisset, sese dedituros; se autem domum Chersonesi habere. Cares, qui tum Lemnum incolebant, etsi praeter opinionem res ceciderat, tamen non dicto, sed secunda fortuna adversariorum capti, resistere ausi non sunt atque ex insula demigrarunt. Pari felicitate ceteras insulas quae Cyclades nominantur sub Atheniensium redegit potestatem.

3. Eisdem temporibus Persarum rex Darius ex Asia in Europam exercitu traiecto Scythis bellum inferre decrevit. Pontem fecit in Histro flumine, qua copias traduceret. Eius pontis, dum ipse abesset, custodes reliquit principes quos secum ex Ionia et Aeolide duxerat; quibus singulis illarum[1] urbium perpetua dederat imperia. Sic enim facillime putavit se Graeca lingua loquentes qui Asiam incolerent sub sua retenturum potestate, si amicis suis oppida tuenda tradidisset; quibus se oppresso nulla spes salutis relinqueretur. In hoc fuit tum numero Miltiades.[2] Hic, cum crebri adferrent nuntii male rem gerere Darium premique a Scythis, hortatus est[3] pontis custodes ne a fortuna datam occasionem liberandae Graeciae dimitterent. Nam si cum iis copiis quas secum transportarat interisset Darius, non solum Europam fore tutam, sed etiam eos qui Asiam incolerent Graeci genere liberos a Persarum futuros dominatione et periculo. Id[4] facile effici

[1] illarum, *Andresen*; ipsarum, *MSS.*
[2] Miltiades, *Halm*; M. cui illa custodia crederetur, *MSS.*
[3] *Most MSS. have* Miltiades *before* hortatus est.
[4] id, *Halm*; id et, *Mu*; et, *the other MSS.*

[1] Only Hephaistia surrendered without opposition.
[2] Nepos' statement is inaccurate. Lemnos is not one of the Cyclades, and it was Conon who reduced the islands of the Aegean.

up whenever he left his home and came to them before a north wind; but now, as he reminded them, he had his home in the Chersonesus. To the Carians, who at that time dwelt in Lemnos, the situation was an unexpected one; nevertheless, since they were trapped not so much by their promise as by the good fortune of their opponents, they did not dare to resist,[1] but left the island. Miltiades had equal success in bringing the remaining islands known as the Cyclades into the power of the Athenians.[2]

3. At that same period of time King Darius B.C. 513 decided to lead an army from Asia into Europe and make war on the Scythians. He built a bridge over the river Hister for the transport of his troops and entrusted the guard of that bridge during his absence to men of rank whom he had brought with him from Ionia and Acolis. To each of those men he had given the permanent rule of a city in the region from which each had come. For in that way he hoped most easily to retain under his sway the Greek-speaking peoples dwelling in Asia, if he entrusted the charge of their towns to friends of his, who would have no hope of safety in case he were overthrown. Among these at that time was Miltiades. He, learning from numerous sources that Darius was meeting with no success and was hard pressed by the Scythians, urged the defenders of the bridge not to lose the opportunity that fortune had given them of freeing Greece. For if Darius and the forces which he had taken with him should perish, not only would Europe be safe, but also the dwellers in Asia who were of Greek descent would be freed from the Persian yoke and menace. That result

posse: ponte enim rescisso, regem vel hostium ferro vel inopia paucis diebus interiturum.

5 Ad hoc consilium cum plerique accederent, Histiaeus Milesius ne res conficeretur obstitit, dicens non idem ipsis, qui summas imperii tenerent, expedire et multitudini, quod Darii regno ipsorum niteretur dominatio; quo exstincto, ipsos, potestate expulsos, civibus suis poenas daturos. Itaque adeo se abhorrere a ceterorum consilio, ut nihil putet ipsis utilius
6 quam confirmari regnum Persarum. Huius cum sententiam plurimi essent secuti, Miltiades, non dubitans tam multis consciis ad regis aures consilia sua perventura, Chersonesum reliquit ac rursus Athenas demigravit. Cuius ratio etsi non valuit, tamen magno opere est laudanda, cum amicior omnium libertati quam suae fuerit dominationi.

4. Darius autem, cum ex Europa in Asiam redisset, hortantibus amicis ut Graeciam redigeret in suam potestatem, classem quingentarum navium comparavit eique Datim praefecit et Artaphernem iisque ducenta peditum, decem milia equitum dedit, causam interserens se hostem esse Atheniensibus, quod eorum auxilio Iones Sardis expugnassent
2 suaque praesidia interfecissent. Illi praefecti regii classe ad Euboeam appulsa celeriter Eretriam ceperunt omnesque eius gentis cives abreptos in Asiam

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[1] He did not return until some years later, in 493 B.C.

[2] This was in 499 B.C. during the Ionian revolt, before Darius' Scythian expedition.

could easily be accomplished; for the bridge once destroyed, within a few days the king would fall victim either to the enemy's steel or to famine.

That plan met with the approval of a great many, but Histiaeus of Miletus opposed its execution, pointing out that he and his colleagues, who held high command, were not in the same situation as the common people, since their authority was bound up with the sovereignty of Darius; if the king should be killed, their power would be wrested from them and they would be exposed to the vengeance of their fellow-citizens. Therefore he was so far from approving the plan proposed by the rest that he believed nothing to be more to their advantage than the maintenance of the Persian rule. When the opinion of Histiaeus met with general approval, Miltiades, feeling sure that with so many witnesses his proposal would come to the king's ears, left the Chersonesus and returned to Athens.[1] His design, although it failed, is none the less deserving of high praise, since he was more interested in the public freedom than in maintaining his own power.

4. Now Darius, having returned from Europe to Asia and being urged by his friends to reduce Greece to submission, got ready a fleet of five hundred ships and put it under the command of Datis and Artaphernes, giving them in addition two hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horsemen. He alleged as a pretext for his hostility to the Athenians that it was with their help that the Ionians had taken Sardis and slain his garrison.[2] Those officers of the king, having landed on Euboea, 490 B.C.
quickly took Eretria, carried off all the citizens of

ad regem miserunt. Inde ad Atticam accesserunt ac suas copias in campum Marathona deduxerunt; is est ab [1] oppido circiter milia passuum [2] decem.

3 Hoc tumultu Athenienses tam propinquo tamque magno permoti, auxilium nusquam nisi a Lacedaemoniis petiverunt Phidippumque, cursorem eius generis qui hemerodromoe vocantur, Lacedaemonem miserunt, ut nuntiaret quam celeri opus esse auxilio.

4 Domi autem creant decem praetores, qui exercitui praeessent, in iis Miltiadem; inter quos magna fuit contentio, utrum moenibus se [3] defenderent an

5 obviam irent hostibus acieque decernerent. Unus Miltiades maxime nitebatur ut primo quoque tempore castra fierent: id si factum esset, et civibus animum accessurum, cum viderent de eorum virtute non desperari, et hostes eadem re fore tardiores, si animadverterent auderi [4] adversus se tam exiguis copiis dimicari.

5. Hoc in tempore nulla civitas Atheniensibus auxilio fuit praeter Plataeenses; ea mille misit militum. Itaque horum adventu decem milia arma-

2 torum completa sunt, quae manus mirabili flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate. Quo factum est ut plus quam collegae Miltiades valeret. Eius ergo auctoritate

3 impulsi, Athenienses copias ex urbe eduxerunt locoque idoneo castra fecerunt. Dein postero die

[1] abest, *R*; abest ab, *Aldus*.
[2] passuum, *u*; passus, *MSS*.
[3] se, *added by Lambin*.
[4] auderi, *Lambin and some inferior MSS*; *the best MSS. have* audere.

[1] Couriers who could run for whole days and cover great distances. Phidippides, which was the correct form of the

that place, and sent them to the king in Asia. Then they kept on to Attica and led their forces into the plain of Marathon, which is distant about ten miles from Athens.

The Athenians, though greatly alarmed by this hostile demonstration, so near and so threatening, asked help only from the Lacedaemonians, sending Phidippus, a courier of the class known as "all-day runners,"[1] to report how pressing was their need of aid. But at home they appointed ten generals to command the army, including Miltiades; among these there was great difference of opinion, whether it were better to take refuge within their walls or go to meet the enemy and fight a decisive battle. Miltiades alone persistently urged them to take the field at the earliest possible moment; stating that if they did so, not only would the citizens take heart, when they saw that their courage was not distrusted, but for the same reason the enemy would be slower to act, if they realized that the Athenians dared to engage them with so small a force.

5. In that crisis no city gave help to the Athenians except the Plataeans. They sent a thousand soldiers, whose arrival raised the number of combatants to ten thousand.[2] It was a band inflamed with a marvellous desire for battle, and their ardour gave Miltiades' advice preference over that of his colleagues. Accordingly, through his influence the Athenians were induced to lead their forces from the city and encamp in a favourable position. Then,

name, is said to have covered the 140 miles between Athens and Sparta in 48 hours.

[2] This is what Nepos seems to say; but there were 10,000 Athenians and 1000 Plataeans.

sub montis radicibus acie regione [1] instructa non apertissuma [2]—namque arbores multis locis erant rarae [3]—proelium commiserunt hoc consilio, ut et montium altitudine tegerentur et arborum tractu
4 equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur.

Datis etsi non aequum locum videbat suis, tamen fretus numero copiarum suarum confligere cupiebat, eoque magis quod, priusquam Lacedaemonii subsidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur. Itaque
5 in aciem peditum centum, equitum decem milia produxit proeliumque commisit. In quo tanto plus virtute valuerunt Athenienses, ut decemplicem numerum hostium profligarint, adeoque perterruerint ut Persae non castra, sed naves petierint. Qua pugna nihil adhuc exstitit [4] nobilius; nulla enim umquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit.

6. Cuius victoriae non alienum videtur quale praemium Miltiadi sit tributum docere, quo facilius
2 intellegi possit eandem omnium civitatum esse naturam. Ut enim populi Romani honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues ob eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi atque obsoleti, sic olim apud
3 Athenienses fuisse reperimus. Namque huic Miltiadi, quia Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat, talis honos tributus est: in porticu, quae Poecile vocatur, cum pugna depingeretur Marathonia, ut

[1] regione, *Roth*; e regione, *MSS.*

[2] non apertissuma, *Roth*; nona (nova, *Dan.* π; nana, *A* θ) partis (partem, π) summa, *Dan.* *P A* θ π *u*; non apertis summa, *B*; nova arte vi summa, *M*; in parte montis summa, *R.*

[3] namque . . . rarae *follows* commiserunt *in the MSS.*

[4] exstitit, *Halm*; est his (hiis), *MSS.*

[1] Pentelicon.

on the following day, the army was drawn up at the foot of the mountain [1] in a part of the plain that was not wholly open—for there were isolated trees in many places—and they joined battle. The purpose was to protect themselves by the high mountains and at the same time prevent the enemy's cavalry, hampered by the scattered trees, from surrounding them with their superior numbers.

Although Datis saw that the position was not favourable to his men, yet he was eager to engage, trusting to the number of his troops; and the more so because he thought it to his advantage to give battle before the Lacedaemonian reinforcements arrived. Therefore he led out his hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse and began the battle. In the contest that ensued the Athenians were so superior in valour that they routed a foe of tenfold their own number and filled them with such fear that the Persians fled, not to their camp, but to their ships. A more glorious victory was never before won; for never did so small a band lay low so great a power.

6. It does not seem out of place to tell what reward was given to Miltiades for that victory, in order that it may the more readily be understood that the nature of all states is the same. For just as among the people of Rome distinctions were formerly few and slight and for that reason glorious, while to-day they are lavish and worthless, so we find it to have been at Athens in days gone by. For the sole honour that our Miltiades received for having won freedom for Athens and for all Greece was this: that when the picture of the battle of Marathon was painted in the colonnade called

in decem praetorum numero prima eius imago
4 poneretur isque hortaretur milites proeliumque committeret. Idem ille populus, postea quam maius imperium est nactus et largitione magistratuum corruptus est, trecentas statuas Demetrio Phalereo decrevit.

7. Post hoc proelium classem LXX navium Athenienses eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas quae barbaros adiuverant bello persequeretur. Quo imperio plerasque ad officium redire coegit, non-
2 nullas vi expugnavit. Ex his Parum insulam opibus clatam cum oratione reconciliare non posset, copias e navibus eduxit, urbem operibus clausit omnique
3 commeatu privavit; dein vineis ac testudinibus constitutis, propius muros accessit. Cum iam in eo esset ut oppido potiretur, procul in continenti lucus qui ex insula conspiciebatur nescio quo casu nocturno tempore incensus est. Cuius flamma ut ab oppidanis
4 et oppugnatoribus est visa, utrisque venit in opinionem signum a classiariis regis datum. Quo factum est ut et Parii a deditione deterrerentur et Miltiades, timens ne classis regia adventaret, incensis operibus quae statuerat, cum totidem navibus atque erat profectus Athenas magna cum offensione civium suorum rediret.

5 Accusatus ergo est proditionis, quod, cum Parum expugnare posset, a rege corruptus infectis rebus

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[1] Literally, "the many-coloured colonnade" (sc. *stoa*). It was adorned with paintings by Polygnotus and other great artists, and later was the place of meeting of the Stoics.

[2] Nepos confuses Athenian and Roman customs. At Athens such largess came from the state and not from the magistrates.

[3] Nepos substitutes for μηχανήματα in the account of Ephorus the Roman devices in use in his own time.

Poicile,[1] his portrait was given the leading place among the ten generals and he was represented in the act of haranguing the troops and giving the signal for battle. But that same people, after it had gained greater power and was corrupted by the largess of the magistrates,[2] voted three hundred statues to Demetrius of Phalerum.

7. After that battle the Athenians again 489 B.C. entrusted Miltiades with a fleet of seventy ships, in order to make war on the islands that had given help to the barbarians. While holding that command he compelled many of the islands to return to their allegiance, but with some he had to resort to force. Among the latter the island of Paros was so confident of its strength that it could not be brought to terms by argument. Therefore Miltiades disembarked his troops, invested the city with siege-works, and completely cut off its supplies. Then he set up his mantlets and tortoise-sheds[3] and advanced against the walls. He was on the point of taking the town, when a grove, which was some distance off on the mainland but visible from the island, by some chance caught fire one night. When the flames were seen by the besiegers and the townspeople, both parties thought it a signal given by the king's marines. The result was that the Parians were kept from surrendering, while Miltiades, fearing that the king's fleet was approaching, set fire to the works that he had constructed, and returned to Athens with all the ships which he had taken with him, to the great vexation of his fellow-citizens.

In consequence, he was accused of treason, on the ground that, when he might have taken the city, he had been bribed by the king and had left without

discessisset. Eo tempore aeger erat vulneribus, quae in oppugnando oppido acceperat. Itaque quoniam [1] ipse pro se dicere non posset, verba fecit
6 frater eius Stesagoras.[2] Causa cognita, capitis absolutus pecunia multatus est, eaque lis quinquaginta talentis aestimata est, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat. Hanc pecuniam quod solvere in praesentia non poterat, in vincla publica coniectus est ibique diem obiit supremum.

8. Hic etsi crimine Pario est accusatus, tamen alia causa fuit damnationis. Namque Athenienses propter Pisistrati tyrannidem, quae paucis annis ante fuerat, nimiam [3] civium suorum potentiam
2 extimescebant. Miltiades, multum in imperiis magnisque [4] versatus, non videbatur posse esse privatus,
3 praesertim cum consuetudine ad imperii cupiditatem trahi videretur. Nam Chersonesi [5] omnes illos quos habitarat annos perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, sed iustus. Non erat enim vi consecutus, sed suorum voluntate, eamque potestatem bonitate retinebat. Omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni, qui potestate sunt
4 perpetua in ea civitate quae libertate usa est. Sed in Miltiade erat cum summa humanitas tum mira communitas, ut nemo tam humilis esset cui non ad

[1] cum, *u*.
[2] Stesagoras, *Longueil*; Sagoras, etc., *MSS*.
[3] nimiam, *Gemss*; omnium, *MSS*.
[4] magistratibusque, *M R u*.
[5] Chersonesi, *some inferior MSS*.; Chersonesso, *A B P R u Can*; in Chersoneso, *Fleck*.

[1] The truth of the statement is doubtful. Herodotus says nothing about it.

accomplishing his purpose. At the time Miltiades was disabled by wounds which he had suffered in the attack on the town, and since for that reason he could not plead his own cause, his brother Stesagoras spoke in his behalf. When the trial was concluded, Miltiades was not condemned to capital punishment, but to pay a fine, the amount of which was fixed at five hundred talents, the sum which had been spent on the fleet under his command. Since he could not pay the fine at once, he was put in the state prison, and there met his end.[1]

8. Although it was the affair of Paros that led to the accusation of Miltiades, there was another reason for his condemnation; for the Athenians, because of the tyranny which Pisistratus had held some years before,[2] dreaded excessive power in the hands of any citizen. They did not think it possible that Miltiades, who had held so many and such important military commands, would be able to conduct himself as a private citizen, especially since habit seemed to have given him a taste for power. In the Chersonesus, for example, during all the years of his residence there he had enjoyed uninterrupted sovereignty. He had been called tyrant, but he was a just one, since he owed his power, not to force, but to the consent of his subjects, and retained it as a result of his virtue. But all men are called tyrants, and regarded as such, who hold permanent rule in a city which has enjoyed a democratic form of government. But in Miltiades there was not only the greatest kindliness, but also such remarkable condescension that no one was so

[2] Pisistratus and his sons Hippias and Hipparchus were tyrants from 560 to 510 B.C.

cum aditus pateret; magna auctoritas apud omnis civitatis, nobile nomen, laus rei militaris maxima. Haec populus respiciens maluit illum innoxium plecti quam se diutius esse in timore.

II. THEMISTOCLES

1. Themistocles, Neocli filius, Atheniensis. Huius vitia ineuntis adulescentiae magnis sunt emendata virtutibus, adeo ut anteferatur huic nemo, pauci
2 pares putentur. Sed ab initio est ordiendus. Pater eius Neocles generosus fuit. Is uxorem Acarnanam civem duxit, ex qua natus est Themistocles. Qui cum minus esset probatus parentibus, quod et liberius vivebat et rem familiarem neglegebat, a
3 patre exheredatus est. Quae contumelia non fregit eum, sed erexit; nam cum iudicasset sine summa industria non posse eam exstingui, totum se dedidit rei publicae, diligentius amicis famaeque serviens. Multum in iudiciis privatis versabatur, saepe in contionem populi prodibat; nulla res maior sine eo gerebatur; celeriter quae opus erant reperiebat,
4 facile eadem oratione explicabat, neque minus in rebus gerendis promptus quam excogitandis erat, quod et de instantibus, ut ait Thucydides, verissime iudicabat et de futuris callidissime coniciebat. Quo factum est ut brevi tempore illustraretur.

humble as not to be admitted to his presence. He had great influence with all the Greek states, a famous name, and great renown as a soldier. Having in mind these advantages of his, the people preferred that he should suffer, though innocent, rather than that they should continue to be in fear.

II. THEMISTOCLES

1. Themistocles, son of Neocles, the Athenian. This man's faults in early youth gave place to such great merits that no one is ranked above him and few are thought to be his equals. But we must begin our account of his life at the beginning. His father Neocles was of high birth. He married an Acarnanian woman possessing the rights of citizenship, who became the mother of Themistocles. The son displeased his parents by living too lawlessly and neglecting his property, and in consequence was disinherited by his father. But this affront, instead of breaking his spirit, aroused his ambition. For believing that such a disgrace could be wiped out only by the greatest industry, he devoted all his time to public life, doing his best to gain friends and distinction. He took a prominent part in civil suits, and often came forward to speak in the public assembly; no business of importance was transacted without him; he was quick to see what was needed and able to express his views clearly. Furthermore, he was no less active in carrying out his plans than he had been in devising them, because, as Thucydides expresses it, he judged present events with great exactness and divined the future with remarkable skill. As a result he soon became famous.

2. Primus autem gradus fuit capessendae rei publicae bello Corcyraeo; ad quod gerendum praetor a populo factus, non solum praesenti bello, sed etiam
2 reliquo tempore ferociorem reddidit civitatem. Nam cum pecunia publica, quae ex metallis redibat, largitione magistratuum quotannis interiret, ille persuasit populo ut ea pecunia classis centum navium
3 aedificaretur. Qua celeriter effecta, primum Corcyraeos fregit, deinde maritimos praedones consectando mare tutum reddidit. In quo cum divitiis ornavit, tum etiam peritissimos belli navalis fecit Athenienses.
4 Id quantae saluti fuerit universae Graeciae bello cognitum est Persico. Nam cum Xerxes et mari et terra bellum universae inferret Europae cum
5 tantis copiis [1] quantas neque ante nec postea habuit quisquam—huius enim classis mille et ducentarum navium longarum fuit, quam duo milia onerariarum sequebantur; terrestres autem exercitus $\overline{\text{DCC}}$
6 peditum, equitum $\overline{\text{CCCC}}$ fuerunt;—cuius de adventu cum fama in Graeciam esset perlata et maxime Athenienses peti dicerentur propter pugnam Marathoniam, miserunt Delphos consultum quidnam facerent de rebus suis.
7 Deliberantibus Pythia respondit ut moenibus ligneis se munirent. Id responsum quo valeret cum intellegeret nemo, Themistocles persuasit consilium esse Apollinis, ut in naves se suaque conferrent:
8 eum enim a deo significari murum ligneum. Tali consilio probato, addunt ad superiores totidem naves

[1] copiis eam invasit (eam copiis, *M F* λ; eam *omitted by R*), M R *u* F λ; copiis venit, *μ V and other inferior MSS.*

[1] The silver mines at Laurium, in the southern part of Attica.

[2] See note 2, p. 384.

2. The first step in his public career came in connection with the war with Corcyra; chosen general by the people to carry on that contest, he inspired the Athenians with greater courage, not only at that time, but also for the future. For while the public funds which came in from the mines [1] every year were being squandered by the magistrates [2] in largess, he persuaded the people to use that money to build a fleet of a hundred ships. The fleet was quickly built, and with it he first humbled the Corcyreans, and then made the sea safe by ridding it of pirates. In that way he made the Athenians not only rich, but highly skilled also in naval warfare. How much this meant to the safety of all Greece became evident during the Persian invasion; for when Xerxes was making war 430 B.C. upon all Europe by land and sea with greater forces than any man ever possessed before or since—he had a fleet of twelve hundred ships of war, attended by two thousand transports, together with a land force of seven hundred thousand foot and four hundred thousand horse;—after the news of his coming had reached Greece, and it was said that Athens was the special object of his attack because of the battle of Marathon, the people sent to Delphi to inquire what measures they ought to take.

The Pythia replied to the envoys that they must defend themselves by wooden walls. When no one could understand what the oracle meant, Themistocles convinced the people that Apollo's advice was that they should take to their ships with all their possessions; for that was what the god meant by a wooden wall. Having adopted that plan, they added to the fleet already mentioned an equal

triremes suaque omnia quae moveri poterant partim Salamina,[1] partim Troezena[2] deportant; arcem sacerdotibus paucisque maioribus natu ad[3] sacra procuranda tradunt, reliquum oppidum relinquunt.

3. Huius consilium plerisque civitatibus displicebat et in terra dimicari magis placebat. Itaque missi sunt delecti cum Leonida, Lacedaemoniorum rege, qui Thermopylas occuparent longiusque barbaros progredi non paterentur. Hi vim hostium non
2 sustinuerunt eoque loco omnes interierunt. At classis communis Graeciae trecentarum navium, in qua ducentae erant Atheniensium, primum apud Artemisium inter Euboeam continentemque terram cum classiariis regis conflixit. Angustias enim Themistocles quaerebat, ne multitudine circuiretur.
3 Hic etsi pari proelio discesserant, tamen eodem loco non sunt ausi manere, quod erat periculum ne, si pars navium adversariorum Euboeam superasset,
4 ancipiti premerentur periculo. Quo factum est ut ab Artemisio discederent et exadversum Athenas apud Salamina classem suam constituerent.

4. At Xerxes, Thermopylis expugnatis, protinus accessit astu[4] idque nullis defendentibus, interfectis
2 sacerdotibus quos in arce invenerat, incendio delevit. Cuius flamma perterriti classiarii cum manere non auderent et plurimi hortarentur ut domos suas discederent moenibusque se defenderent, Themisto-

[1] Salaminam, *MSS.*, *and so elsewhere.*
[2] Troezenam, *MSS.*
[3] ad, *an unknown critic in Lambin*; ac, *MSS.*
[4] astu, *Mon.* 433; astum, *A B M P R u*; ad astu, *suggested by Halm.*

number of triremes, and transported all their movable property either to Salamis or Troezene. The citadel they left in charge of the priests and a few of the older citizens, who were to attend to the sacred rites; the rest of the city they abandoned.

3. Many of the states did not approve of Themistocles' plan, but preferred to fight on land. Accordingly, a band of picked men was sent with Leonidas, king of the Lacedaemonians, to hold Thermopylae and prevent any further advance of the barbarians. They, however, could not resist the enemy's attack, but in that pass they all perished. But the common fleet of Greece, consisting of three hundred ships, of which two hundred belonged to Athens, first engaged with the king's marines off Artemisium, between Euboea and the mainland. For Themistocles chose a narrow place, in order not to be surrounded by superior numbers. Although the result of that battle was indecisive, the Greeks nevertheless did not venture to hold their ground, because there was reason to fear that if a part of the ships of their opponents should round Euboea, they would be exposed to attack on both sides. They therefore retired from Artemisium and stationed their fleet at Salamis, over against Athens.

4. Now Xerxes, having forced the pass at Thermopylae, at once marched upon Athens, and since it was without defenders, he massacred the priests whom he found on the citadel and destroyed the city by fire. The flames of the burning town so terrified the soldiers on the fleet, that they did not dare to hold their position, but the greater number recommended withdrawing to their homes and taking refuge within their walls. Themistocles

cles unus restitit et universos pares esse posse aiebat, dispersos testabatur perituros, idque Eurybiadi, regi Lacedaemoniorum, qui tum summae imperii prae-
3 erat, fore adfirmabat. Quem cum minus quam vellet moveret, noctu de servis suis quem habuit fidelissimum ad regem misit, ut ei nuntiaret suis
4 verbis adversarios eius in fuga esse: qui si discessissent, maiore cum labore et longinquiore tempore bellum confecturum, cum singulos consectari cogeretur; quos si statim aggrederetur, brevi universos oppressurum. Hoc eo valebat, ut ingratiis ad
5 depugnandum omnes cogerentur. Hac re audita, barbarus, nihil doli subesse credens, postridie alienissimo sibi loco, contra opportunissimo hostibus, adeo angusto mari conflixit, ut eius multitudo navium explicari non potuerit. Victus ergo est magis etiam consilio Themistocli [1] quam armis Graeciae.

5. Hic etsi male rem gesserat, tamen tantas habebat reliquias copiarum, ut etiam tum iis opprimere posset hostes. Iterum ab eodem gradu depulsus est. Nam Themistocles, verens ne bellare perseveraret, certiorem eum fecit id agi, ut pons quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat dissolveretur ac
2 reditu in Asiam excluderetur, idque ei persuasit. Itaque qua sex mensibus iter fecerat, eadem minus

[1] Themistocli, *A*; -clei, *P*; Themistoclis, *the other MSS.*

[1] In xvii. 4. 4 Nepos gives the time as a year. It actually was four months (Hdt. viii. 51) and the return took forty-five days (*id.* viii. 115).

alone objected, saying that united they could be a match for the Persians, but insisting that if they should separate, they would all be lost; and he assured Eurybiades, king of the Lacedaemonians, who held the chief command at the time, that what he said was true. And when he had less influence on the Spartan than he hoped, he sent the most faithful of his slaves by night to the king, to take word to him in the name of Themistocles that his enemies were on the point of flight: if they should disperse, it would require longer time and greater effort to end the war, since he would be obliged to attack each city separately; but if he advanced upon them at once, he would quickly destroy them all. Themistocles' design was to compel all the Greeks to fight a decisive battle against their will. When the barbarian received the message, he did not suspect any deception, and although the position was most unfavourable for him, but highly advantageous for the enemy, he joined battle on the following day in so narrow a part of the sea that it was impossible to manœuvre his immense number of ships. Hence he was defeated, thanks to Themistocles' strategy even more than to the arms of Greece.

5. Although the king lost that battle, he still had so many troops left that with them he might even then have overwhelmed the Greeks. A second time he was baffled by the same man; for Themistocles, fearing that Xerxes would continue the war, informed him that a plan was on foot to destroy the bridge which he had made over the Hellespont and thus cut off his return to Asia. The king was convinced of the truth of the report, and so, while he had taken six months to make the journey,[1] he

diebus triginta in Asiam reversus est seque a Themistocle non superatum, sed conservatum iudicavit.
3 Sic unius viri prudentia Graecia liberata est Europaeque succubuit Asia. Haec altera victoria, quae cum Marathonio possit comparari tropaeo. Nam pari modo apud Salamina parvo numero navium maxima post hominum memoriam classis est devicta.

6. Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit neque minor in pace. Cum enim Phalerico portu neque magno neque bono Athenienses uterentur, huius consilio triplex Piraei portus constitutus est iisque [1] moenibus circumdatus ut ipsam urbem dignitate
2 aequiperaret, utilitate superaret. Idem muros Atheniensium restituit praecipuo suo periculo. Namque Lacedaemonii, causam idoneam nacti propter barbarorum excursiones qua negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem muros [2] habere, ne essent loca munita, quae hostes possi-
3 derent, Athenienses aedificantes prohibere sunt conati. Hoc longe alio spectabat atque videri volebant. Athenienses enim duabus victoriis, Marathonia et Salaminia, tantam gloriam apud omnes gentis erant consecuti, ut intellegerent Lacedaemonii
4 de principatu sibi cum iis certamen fore. Qua re eos quam infirmissimos esse volebant. Postquam autem audierunt muros instrui, legatos Athenas miserunt, qui id fieri vetarent. His praesentibus

[1] iisque, *Scheffer*; isque, *MSS.*
[2] muros, *B, Leid. II*; *the other MSS. omit.*

[1] That is, the first rank among the Greek states and the chief command in time of war, then held by the Lacedaemonians.

returned to Asia over the same route in less than thirty days, convinced that he had not been conquered, but saved, by Themistocles.

Thus through the cleverness of one man the liberty of Greece was assured and Asia succumbed to Europe. This is a second victory which may be matched with the triumph at Marathon; for at Salamis in like manner a small number of ships completely vanquished the greatest fleet within the memory of man.

6. Themistocles showed greatness in that war and no less greatness when peace came. For while the Athenians were using the harbour of Phalerum, which was neither large nor good, through his advice the triple port of the Piraeus was constructed, and fortified with such strong walls that it equalled Athens herself in splendour and surpassed her in utility. Themistocles also rebuilt the walls of Athens at great personal risk. For the Lacedaemonians, having found a specious reason in the invasions of the barbarians for saying that no city outside of the Peloponnesus ought to have walls, namely, that there might be no fortified places for the enemy to get into their hands, tried to interrupt the Athenians in their work. Their motive was not at all what they wished it to appear. The fact was that the Athenians by their two victories at Marathon and Salamis had gained such prestige all over Greece that the Lacedaemonians knew that it was with them that they must contend for the hegemony.[1] Therefore they wished the Athenians to be as weak as possible, and as soon as they learned that the walls were rising, they sent envoys to Athens, to put a stop to the work. While the deputation was

479–8 B.C.

desierunt ac se de ea re legatos ad eos missuros dixerunt. Hanc legationem suscepit Themistocles et solus primo profectus est; reliqui legati ut tum exirent, cum satis alti tuendo muri exstructi viderentur,[1] praecepit: interim omnes, servi atque liberi opus facerent neque ulli loco parcerent, sive sacer sive privatus esset sive publicus,[2] et undique quod idoneum ad muniendum putarent congererent. Quo factum est ut Atheniensium muri ex sacellis sepulcrisque constarent.

7. Themistocles autem ut Lacedaemonem venit, adire ad magistratus noluit et dedit operam ut quam longissime tempus duceret, causam inter-
2 ponens se collegas exspectare. Cum Lacedaemonii quererentur opus nihilo minus fieri eumque in ea re conari fallere, interim reliqui legati sunt consecuti. A quibus cum audisset non multum superesse munitionis, ad ephoros Lacedaemoniorum accessit, penes quos summum erat imperium, atque apud eos contendit falsa iis esse delata: qua re aequum esse illos viros bonos nobilesque mittere quibus fides haberetur, qui rem explorarent; interea se obsidem
3 retinerent. Gestus est ei mos, tresque legati functi summis honoribus Athenas missi sunt. Cum his collegas suos Themistocles iussit proficisci iisque praedixit ut ne prius Lacedaemoniorum legatos dimitterent quam ipse esset remissus.

[1] satis . . . viderentur, *Heerwagen*; satis altitudo muri extructa videretur, *MSS.*

[2] sive sacer sive prophanus sive privatus esset sive publicus, *M and some inferior MSS.*

[1] *Sacer* is contrasted with *privatus* and *publicus* (= *profanus*), but perhaps the reading of cod. M (see crit. note) is right; cf. Cic. *Verr.* iv. 2 and v. 1.

present, the Athenians desisted, saying that they would send envoys to Lacedaemon to discuss the matter. That mission Themistocles undertook and set out at first alone, giving orders that the rest of the envoys should not follow until the walls seemed to have risen high enough to defend: that in the meantime all, bond and free, should push the work, sparing no place, whether sacred or public or private,[1] but getting together from every hand whatever they thought suitable for a fortification. That is the reason why the walls of Athens were made of shrines and tombs.

7. But when Themistocles came to Lacedaemon, he at first refused to appear before the magistrates, and did his best to gain as much time as possible, pretending that he was waiting for his colleagues. While the Lacedaemonians were protesting that the work was going on just the same, and that he was trying to deceive them about it, meanwhile the rest of the envoys arrived. When Themistocles heard from them that not much of the fortification remained unfinished, he went before the ephors of the Lacedaemonians, in whose hands was the supreme power, and declared in their presence that they had been misinformed: therefore it was just that they should send reliable men of high position, in whom they had confidence, to investigate the matter; in the meantime they might hold him as a hostage. His proposition was accepted, and three deputies, who had held the highest offices, were sent to Athens. Themistocles directed his colleagues to return with them and charged them not to allow the envoys of the Lacedaemonians to return, until he himself had been sent back.

4 Hos postquam Athenas pervenisse ratus est, ad magistratum senatumque Lacedaemoniorum adiit et apud eos liberrime professus est Athenienses suo consilio, quod communi iure gentium facere possent, deos publicos suosque patrios ac Penates, quo facilius ab hoste possent defendere, muris saepsisse
5 neque in eo quod inutile esset Graeciae fecisse. Nam illorum urbem ut propugnaculum oppositum esse barbaris, apud quam iam bis classes regias
6 fecisse naufragium. Lacedaemonios autem male et iniuste facere, qui id potius intuerentur quod ipsorum dominationi quam quod universae Graeciae utile esset. Qua re, si suos legatos recipere vellent quos Athenas miserant, se remitterent; aliter illos numquam in patriam essent recepturi.

8. Tamen non effugit civium suorum invidiam. Namque ob eundem timorem quo damnatus erat Miltiades testularum suffragiis e civitate eiectus,
2 Argos habitatum concessit. Hic cum propter multas eius virtutes magna cum dignitate viveret, Lacedaemonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem

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[1] Here and in iv. 4. 3 Nepos uses the singular *magistratum* of the college of five ephors or "overseers." The "senate" is the γερουσία, the corresponding body at Sparta, consisting of twenty-eight elders (γέροντες) and the two kings. Other Roman terms applied to Greek institutions are *nobiles* (7. 2) and *honoribus* (7. 3).

[2] An institution established by Cleisthenes after the expulsion of the Pisistratidae. The Prytanies and the popular assembly (ἐκκλησία) must first determine whether such a step was necessary. If they decided in the affirmative, each citizen wrote on a potsherd (ὄστρακον, whence the term "ostracism") the name of the man whom he wished to banish. The one who had the greatest number of votes recorded against him, provided the total number of voters was 6000, was obliged to leave the city within ten days for an

As soon as he thought that the deputation had reached Athens, he appeared before the magistrates [1] and the senate of the Lacedaemonians and confessed to them with the utmost frankness that the Athenians, by his advice, and taking advantage of the rights granted by the common law of nations, had encircled with walls the gods of all Greece, of their native city and of their homes, in order the more easily to defend them against the enemy; and that in so doing they had acted for the best interests of Greece. For their city, he said, was like an outpost in the path of the barbarians, and upon it the king's fleets had already twice suffered shipwreck. But the Lacedaemonians were acting wrongfully and unjustly in having in view rather what contributed to their own supremacy than to the welfare of Greece as a whole. Therefore, if they wished to recover their envoys which they had sent to Athens, they must let him go; otherwise they would never get them back again in their native land.

8. In spite of all, Themistocles could not escape the distrust of his fellow-citizens; but because of the same feeling of apprehension that had led to the condemnation of Miltiades he was banished from the city by the shard-vote [2] and went to live in Argos. There because of his many accomplishments he lived in great distinction, until the Lacedaemonians sent envoys to Athens,[3] to accuse him

exile of ten, later of five, years, but without loss of rank or property. If the number of votes did not amount to 6000, no action was taken. Cf. v. 3. 1, where the Greek name *ὀστρακισμός* is given.

[3] In 471 B.C., or according to others in 468 or 467.

accusarent, quod societatem cum rege Perse ad
3 Graeciam opprimendam fecisset. Hoc crimine absens proditionis damnatus est.

Id ut audivit, quod non satis tutum se Argis videbat, Corcyram demigravit. Ibi cum cives[1] principes animadvertisset timere ne propter se bellum iis Lacedaemonii et Athenienses indicerent, ad Admetum, Molossum regem, cum quo ei hospitium
4 erat, confugit. Huc cum venisset et in praesentia rex abesset, quo maiore religione se receptum tueretur, filiam eius parvulam adripuit et cum ea se in sacrarium quod summa colebatur caerimonia coniecit. Inde non prius egressus est, quam rex
5 eum data dextra in fidem reciperet, quam praestitit. Nam cum ab Atheniensibus et Lacedaemoniis exposceretur publice, supplicem non prodidit monuitque ut consuleret sibi: difficile enim esse in tam propinquo loco tuto eum versari. Itaque Pydnam eum deduci iussit et quod satis esset praesidii dedit.
6 Hic in navem omnibus ignotus nautis escendit. Quae cum tempestate maxima Naxum ferretur, ubi tum Atheniensium erat exercitus, sensit Themistocles, si eo pervenisset, sibi esse pereundum. Hac necessitate coactus domino navis quis sit aperit,

[1] cives, *H. J. Müller*; eius, *MSS.*; eius principes civitatis, *u M.*

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[1] This imposed a sacred and binding obligation to protect a guest against his enemies. Thucydides says that Admetus was not a friend of Themistocles, whence some editors insert *non* after *erat*.

[2] Thucydides says that it was a son, and some editors change *filiam* to *filium*; but the deviations of Nepos from the historical sources are too numerous to mention in detail.

[3] In 473 B.C., warring against the cities that had revolted from the Athenian league.

behind his back of having conspired with the king of Persia to enslave Greece. On this charge he was found guilty of high treason without a hearing.

As soon as he learned of this, Themistocles decided that he was not sufficiently safe in Argos and withdrew to Corcyra. When he perceived that the leading citizens of that place were fearful that the Lacedaemonians and Athenians would declare war upon them because of his presence, he took refuge with Admetus, king of the Molossians, with whom he had relations of guest-friendship.[1] Having arrived there when Admetus was away from home, in order that his host might be under the greater obligation to receive and protect him he caught up the king's little daughter[2] and hastened with her into the household shrine, which was regarded with the greatest veneration; and he would not come out again until the king gave him his right hand and received him under his protection. And Admetus kept his promise; for when the Athenians and Lacedaemonians made an official demand for Themistocles, Admetus did not surrender the suppliant; he advised him, however, to take measures to protect himself, saying that it would be difficult for him to remain in safety in a place so near to Greece. Accordingly, the king had him taken to Pydna, giving him such escort as he deemed sufficient.

There Themistocles embarked on a ship without being known to any of the crew. When the vessel was driven by a violent storm towards Naxos, where the Athenian army was at the time,[3] Themistocles understood that if he landed there he was lost. Therefore of necessity he made himself known to the captain of the ship, adding many promises if he

7 multa pollicens, si se conservasset. At ille clarissimi viri captus misericordia, diem noctemque procul ab insula in salo navem tenuit in ancoris neque quemquam ex ea exire passus est. Inde Ephesum pervenit ibique Themistoclen exponit. Cui ille pro meritis postea gratiam rettulit.

9. Scio plerosque ita scripsisse, Themistoclen Xerxe regnante in Asiam transisse. Sed ego potissimum Thucydidi credo, quod aetate proximus de iis qui illorum temporum historiam reliquerunt, et eiusdem civitatis fuit. Is autem ait ad Artaxerxen eum venisse atque his verbis epistulam misisse:
2 " Themistocles veni ad te, qui plurima mala omnium Graiorum in domum tuam intuli, quam diu mihi necesse fuit adversum patrem tuum bellare patriam-
3 que meam defendere. Idem multo plura bona feci, postquam in tuto ipse et ille in periculo esse coepit; nam cum in Asiam reverti vellet, proelio apud Salamina facto, litteris eum certiorem feci id agi, ut pons quem in Hellesponto fecerat dissolveretur atque ab hostibus circumiretur; quo nuntio ille
4 periculo est liberatus. Nunc autem confugi ad te, exagitatus a cuncta Graecia, tuam petens amicitiam; quam si ero adeptus, non minus me bonum amicum habebis, quam fortem inimicum ille expertus est. Te [1] autem rogo, ut de iis rebus, quas tecum conloqui volo, annuum mihi tempus des eoque transacto ad te venire patiaris."

[1] te, *Fleck*; id *B*, *Leid. II*; ea, *the other MSS.*

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[1] i. 137. 3 ff.

[2] Artaxerxes Macrochir; see xxi. 1. 3.

[3] Thucydides says, διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν, " because of my friendship for you."

would save his life. The sailor, filled with pity for so distinguished a man, for a day and a night kept his ship at anchor out at sea far off from the island, and would not allow anyone to leave her. Then he went on to Ephesus and there landed Themistocles, who afterwards requited him for his services

9. I am aware that many have written that Themistocles passed over into Asia during the reign of Xerxes, but I prefer to believe Thucydides, because among the writers who have left a history of those times he was most nearly contemporary with Themistocles, besides being a native of the same city. Now he says [1] that it was to Artaxerxes [2] that Themistocles came, and that he sent a letter to the king in the following words: "I, Themistocles, have come to you, the man of all the Greeks who brought the most ills upon your house, so long as it was necessary for me to war against your father and defend my native land. But I also did him many more favours, so soon as I began to find myself in safety and he was in danger. For when he wished to return to Asia after having fought the battle at Salamis, I informed him by letter of the enemy's plot to destroy the bridge which he had made over the Hellespont and to cut off his retreat; and it was that message which saved him from danger. But now I have sought refuge with you, hounded as I am by all Greece, seeking your friendship; [3] if I obtain it, you will have in me as good a friend as I was a courageous foeman of Xerxes. But with regard to the matters about which I wish to confer with you, I ask you to allow me a year's delay and let me come to you at the end of that time."

10. Huius rex animi magnitudinem admirans cupiensque talem virum sibi conciliari, veniam dedit. Ille omne illud tempus litteris sermonique Persarum se dedidit; quibus adeo eruditus est, ut multo commodius dicatur apud regem verba fecisse quam
2 ii poterant qui in Perside erant nati. Hic cum multa regi esset pollicitus gratissimumque illud, si suis uti consiliis vellet, illum Graeciam bello oppressurum, magnis muneribus ab Artaxerxe donatus, in Asiam rediit domiciliumque Magnesiae sibi con-
3 stituit. Namque hanc urbem ei rex donarat, his quidem verbis, quae ei panem praeberet—ex qua regione quinquaginta talenta quotannis redibant—Lampsacum autem, unde vinum sumeret, Myunta,[1] ex qua obsonium haberet.

Huius ad nostram memoriam monumenta manserunt duo: sepulcrum prope oppidum, in quo est
4 sepultus, statua[2] in foro Magnesiae. De cuius morte multimodis apud plerosque scriptum est, sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum ait Magnesiae morbo mortuum neque negat fuisse famam, venenum sua sponte sumpsisse, cum se quae regi de Graecia opprimenda
5 pollicitus esset praestare posse desperaret. Idem ossa eius clam in Attica ab amicis sepulta, quoniam legibus non concederetur, quod proditionis esset damnatus, memoriae prodidit.

[1] Myunta, *Aldus*; *the MSS. usually have corruptions of proper names, which will not always be noted.*
[2] statua, *Fleck*; statuae, *MSS.*

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[1] This is one of Nepos' frequent exaggerations; cf. Thuc. i. 138 and Plut. *Them.* 29.
[2] Used in the Roman sense of a part of Asia Minor.
[3] *Obsonium* included everything that was eaten with bread by way of relish; with the Greeks, especially fish.

10. The king, admiring his high spirit, and eager to win the friendship of such a man, granted his request. Themistocles devoted all that time to the literature and language of the Persians, in which he became so well versed that he is said to have spoken in much better style before the king than those could who were natives of Persia.[1] Themistocles made many promises to the king, of which the most welcome was, that if Artaxerxes would consent to follow his advice, the king's arms would subjugate Greece. Then, after receiving many presents from the monarch, he returned to Asia[2] and took up his residence at Magnesia; for the king had given him that city, with the remark that it would furnish him with bread (the annual revenue of the district was five hundred talents), also Lampsacus, to supply him with wine, and Myus, to furnish the rest of his fare.[3]

Two memorials of this man have endured to our own day: his tomb near the town in which he was buried,[4] and his statue in the Forum at Magnesia. Of his death many different accounts are given by numerous writers, but once more I prefer to accept the testimony of Thucydides. That historian says that Themistocles died a natural death at Magnesia, admitting, however, that there was a report that he had poisoned himself, because he despaired of being able to keep his promises to the king with regard to the subjugation of Greece. Thucydides has also stated that Themistocles' bones were buried in Attica by his friends secretly, since his interment there was contrary to law, because he had been found guilty of treason.

[4] That is, Magnesia.

III. ARISTIDES

1. Aristides, Lysimachi filius, Atheniensis, aequalis fere fuit Themistocli itaque cum eo de principatu
2 contendit; namque obtrectarunt inter se. In his autem cognitum est quanto antistaret eloquentia innocentiae. Quamquam enim adeo excellebat Aristides abstinentia, ut unus post hominum memoriam, quem quidem nos audierimus, cognomine Iustus sit appellatus, tamen a Themistocle conlabefactus, testula illa exsilio decem annorum multatus est.
3 Qui quidem cum intellegeret reprimi concitatam multitudinem non posse, cedensque animadvertisset quendam scribentem ut patria pelleretur, quaesisse ab eo dicitur qua re id faceret aut quid Aristides
4 commisisset cur tanta poena dignus duceretur. Cui ille respondit se ignorare Aristiden, sed sibi non placere quod tam cupide elaborasset ut praeter
5 ceteros Iustus appellaretur. Hic decem annorum legitimam poenam non pertulit. Nam postquam Xerxes in Graeciam descendit, sexto fere anno quam erat expulsus, populi scito in patriam restitutus est.

2. Interfuit autem pugnae navali apud Salamina, quae facta est prius quam poena liberaretur. Idem praetor fuit Atheniensium apud Plataeas in proelio quo Mardonius fusus barbarorumque exercitus inter-
2 fectus est. Neque aliud est ullum huius in re

[1] See note 2, p. 400.

[2] According to one version of the story, the man could not write and Aristides wrote his own name for him on the shard.

III. ARISTIDES

1. Aristides the Athenian, son of Lysimachus, was of about the same age as Themistocles, and consequently disputed with him the first rank in the state; for they were rivals. In fact, the history of these two men makes clear the extent to which eloquence has the advantage of integrity. For although Aristides so excelled in honesty that he is the only one within the memory of man—at least, so far as we have heard—who was given the title of "the Just," yet his influence was undermined by Themistocles and he was exiled for ten years by that well-known process known as the shard-vote.[1] Aristides himself, when he realized that the excited populace could not be quieted, and, as he was withdrawing, saw a man in the act of voting that he should be banished, is said to have asked him why he did so, and what Aristides had done to be thought deserving of such a punishment. To which the man replied that he did not know Aristides, but that he was displeased because he had worked so hard to be distinguished from other men by the surname of "the Just."[2] Aristides did not complete the legal penalty of ten years; for when Xerxes descended upon Greece, in about the sixth year of his exile, he was restored to his native land by decree of the people.

2. Aristides took part besides in the naval battle at Salamis, although it was fought before his recall. He was also general of the Athenians at Plataea 479 B.C. in the battle in which Mardonius was defeated and the army of the barbarians was slaughtered. Although there is no other brilliant exploit in his

militari illustre factum quam huius[1] imperii memoria, iustitiae vero et aequitatis et innocentiae multa, in primis quod eius aequitate factum est, cum in communi classe esset Graeciae simul cum Pausania—quo duce Mardonius erat fugatus—ut summa imperii maritimi ab Lacedaemoniis transferretur ad
3 Athenienses; namque ante id tempus et mari et terra duces erant Lacedaemonii. Tum autem et intemperantia Pausaniae et iustitia factum est Aristidis, ut omnes fere civitates Graeciae ad Atheniensium societatem se applicarent et adversus barbaros hos duces deligerent sibi.

3. Quos quo facilius repellerent, si forte bellum renovare conarentur, ad classis aedificandas exercitusque comparandos quantum pecuniae quaeque civitas daret Aristides delectus est qui constitueret, eiusque arbitrio quadringena et sexagena talenta quotannis Delum sunt conlata; id enim commune aerarium esse voluerunt. Quae omnis pecunia
2 postero tempore Athenas translata est. Hic qua fuerit abstinentia, nullum est certius indicium quam quod,[2] cum tantis rebus praefuisset, in tanta pauper-
3 tate decessit, ut qui efferretur vix reliquerit. Quo factum est ut filiae eius publice alerentur et de communi aerario dotibus datis conlocarentur. Decessit autem fere post annum quartum quam Themistocles Athenis erat expulsus.

[1] eius, *Halm.*
[2] quod, *added by Lambin.*

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[1] He was one of the generals at Marathon, and later against the Persians in Cyprus and on the Hellespont; cf. iv. 2. 1.

military career except the memory of that command,[1] there are many instances of his justice, equity and integrity; in particular, that it was due to his equity, when he was on the fleet of the Greek allies in company with Pausanias, the general who had routed Mardonius, that the supremacy of the sea passed from the Lacedaemonians to the Athenians. Until then, indeed, the Lacedaemonians had held the lead on land and sea, but at that time the arrogance of Pausanias and the justice of Aristides led almost all the Greek cities to seek alliance with the Athenians and choose them as their leaders against the barbarians.

3. In order to repel the Persians more easily, if by any chance they should attempt to renew the war, Aristides was appointed to determine how much money each state should contribute for the purpose of building fleets and raising armies; and in accordance with his decision four hundred and sixty talents were deposited each year at Delos. That place was selected as the treasury of the league, but later [2] all that money was transported to Athens. There is no more certain proof of Aristides' integrity than the fact that, although he was entrusted with the management of such important affairs, he left so little money at his death, that there was hardly enough to pay his funeral expenses. The result was that his daughters were supported by the state and, when they married, were provided with dowries from the public treasury. Aristides died about four years after Themistocles had been banished from Athens. 468 B.C.

[2] In the time of Pericles; *quae omnis pecunia* means the contributions as a whole, except what had been expended.

IV. PAUSANIAS

1. Pausanias Lacedaemonius magnus homo, sed varius in omni genere vitae fuit; nam ut virtutibus
2 eluxit, sic vitiis est obrutus. Huius illustrissimum est proelium apud Plataeas. Namque illo duce Mardonius, satrapes regius, natione Medus, regis gener, in primis omnium Persarum et manu fortis et consilii plenus, cum CC milibus peditum, quos viritim legerat, et XX equitum haud ita magna manu Graeciae fugatus est, eoque ipse dux cecidit
3 proelio. Qua victoria elatus, plurima miscere coepit et maiora concupiscere. Sed primum in eo est reprehensus, quod[1] ex praeda tripodem aureum Delphis posuisset epigrammate scripto,[2] in quo haec erat sententia: suo ductu barbaros apud Plataeas esse deletos eiusque victoriae ergo Apollini id[3] donum dedisse. Hos versus Lacedaemonii exsculpserunt neque aliud scripserunt quam nomina earum civitatum quarum auxilio Persae erant victi.

2. Post id proelium eundem Pausaniam cum classe communi Cyprum atque Hellespontum miserunt, ut ex iis regionibus barbarorum praesidia
2 depelleret. Pari felicitate in ea re usus, elatius se gerere coepit maioresque appetere res. Nam cum Byzantio expugnato cepisset complures Persarum

[1] quod, *u and some inferior MSS.*; quod cum, *A B M P R*; cum, *Nipp.*

[2] inscripto, *cod. Vat.* 3170, *Fleck.*

[3] id, *added by Fleck.*

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[1] In reality he was a Persian and son-in-law of Darius, father of Xerxes.

[2] The bronze serpent that supported the tripod, inscribed on its coils with the names of the cities, is now in Constantin-

IV. PAUSANIAS

1. Pausanias the Lacedaemonian was a great man, but untrustworthy in all the relations of life; for while he possessed conspicuous merits, yet he was overloaded with defects. His most famous exploit was the battle of Plataea; for it was under his command that Mardonius, a Mede by birth, satrap and son-in-law of the king,[1] among the first of all the Persians in deeds of arms and wise counsel, with an army of two hundred thousand foot-soldiers that he himself had selected man by man, and twenty thousand horsemen, was routed by a comparatively small force of Greeks; and in that battle the leader himself fell. Puffed up by this victory, Pausanias began to engage in numerous intrigues and form ambitious designs. But first of all he incurred criticism by consecrating at Delphi from the spoils a golden tripod, on which was a metrical inscription to this purport: that it was under his lead that the barbarians had been destroyed at Plataea and that because of that victory he gave that gift to Apollo. Those verses the Lacedaemonians erased and put in their place only the names of the cities with whose help the Persians had been defeated.[2]

2. After that battle Pausanias again commanded the allied Greeks, being sent with a fleet to Cyprus and the Hellespont to dislodge the garrisons of the barbarians from those regions. Having enjoyed equal good fortune in that expedition, he began to act still more arrogantly and to entertain still loftier ambitions. In fact, having at the taking of Byzantium captured several Persian nobles, including some

ople. Thucydides (i. 132. 2) does not say that the tripod was of gold; that adjective is from Diodorus (xi. 33).

nobiles atque in his nonnullos regis propinquos, hos clam Xerxi remisit, simulans ex vinclis publicis effugisse, et cum his Gongylum Eretriensem, qui litteras regi redderet, in quibus haec fuisse scripta
3 Thucydides memoriae prodidit: "Pausanias, dux Spartae, quos Byzanti ceperat, postquam propinquos tuos cognovit, tibi muneri misit seque tecum adfinitate coniungi cupit; qua re, si tibi videtur, des ei
4 filiam tuam nuptum. Id si feceris, et Spartam et ceteram Graeciam sub tuam potestatem se adiuvante te[1] redacturum pollicetur. His de rebus si quid geri volueris, certum hominem ad eum mittas face, cum quo conloquatur."
5 Rex, tot hominum salute tam sibi necessariorum magno opere gavisus, confestim cum epistula Artabazum ad Pausaniam mittit, in qua eum conlaudat ac[2] petit ne cui rei parcat ad ea efficienda quae
6 pollicetur: si perfecerit, nullius rei a se repulsam laturum. Huius Pausanias voluntate cognita, alacrior ad rem gerendam factus, in suspicionem cecidit Lacedaemoniorum. Quo[3] facto domum revocatus, accusatus capitis absolvitur, multatur tamen pecunia; quam ob causam ad classem remissus non est.

3. At ille post non multo sua sponte ad exercitum rediit et ibi non callida, sed dementi[4] ratione cogitata patefecit; non enim mores patrios solum, sed

[1] te, *added by Bosius*; se adiuvante se, *Can.*
[2] ac, *added by Fleck*; petit, *omitted by Gemss.*
[3] quo, *u*; in quo, *MSS.*
[4] non stolida sed dementi, *Fleck*; non callida *without* sed dementi, *Gemss*; non modo non c. sed d., *Wagner.*

[1] That is, without being appointed commander.

relatives of the king, he secretly sent them back to Xerxes, pretending that they had escaped from the state prison; and with them he dispatched Gongylus the Eretrian, who was to deliver to the king a letter, which, as Thucydides has told us, contained the following message: "Pausanias, the Spartan general, as soon as he learned that certain prisoners that he took at Byzantium were your relatives, has sent them to you as a gift, and desires to ally himself with your family. Therefore, if it please you, give him your daughter to wife. If you do so, he guarantees that with your help he will bring Sparta and all Greece under your sway. If you desire to consider this proposal, see that you send him a trustworthy man with whom he may confer."

The king, greatly pleased at the recovery of so many intimate relatives, at once sent Artabazus to Pausanias with a letter, in which he thanked the Spartan and begged him to spare no pains to accomplish what he promised, saying that if he succeeded, there was nothing that the king would refuse him. When Pausanias knew the monarch's intentions, he devoted himself with greater energy to perfecting his plans, and thus excited the suspicions of the Lacedaemonians. In consequence, he was recalled and tried for his life, and although he escaped death, he was compelled to pay a fine, and because of that he was not sent back to the fleet.

3. But not long afterwards Pausanias returned to the army on his own account,[1] and there he revealed his designs in a manner that was rather insane than adroit.[2] For he abandoned, not only the customs

[2] Nepos' striving for antithesis carries him too far, but no change seems necessary; cf. the crit. note.

2 etiam cultum vestitumque mutavit. Apparatu regio utebatur, veste Medica; satellites Medi et Aegyptii sequebantur; epulabatur more Persarum luxuriosius
3 quam qui aderant perpeti possent; aditum petentibus conveniundi non dabat, superbe respondebat, crudeliter imperabat. Spartam redire nolebat; Colonas, qui locus in agro Troade est, se contulerat; ibi consilia cum patriae tum sibi inimica capiebat.
4 Id postquam Lacedaemonii rescierunt, legatos cum clava ad eum miserunt, in qua more illorum erat scriptum: nisi domum reverteretur, se capitis eum
5 damnaturos. Hoc nuntio commotus, sperans se etiam tum pecunia et potentia instans periculum posse depellere, domum rediit. Huc ut venit, ab ephoris in vincla publica est coniectus; licet enim legibus eorum cuivis ephoro hoc facere regi. Hinc tamen se expedivit, neque eo magis carebat suspicione; nam opinio manebat eum cum rege habere societatem.
6 Est genus quoddam hominum quod Hilotae vocatur, quorum magna multitudo agros Lacedaemoniorum colit servorumque munere fungitur. Hos
7 quoque sollicitare spe libertatis existimabatur. Sed quod harum rerum nullum erat apertum crimen quo

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[1] The σκυτάλη, a means of secret communication used by the Spartan ephors. When a king or general left home, he was given a staff, or cylindrical piece of wood, exactly similar to one in the possession of the ephors. When they wished to communicate with him, they wound a narrow strip of leather in a spiral around the staff, and wrote their message on it along the length of the staff. When the thong was unrolled, only detached letters or fragments of words were seen; but the person addressed could read the message by using his staff. See Gellius, xvii. 9. 6 ff.

of his country, but even its manner of life and dress. He assumed royal splendour, the Medic garb; Persian and Egyptian attendants followed him. He dined in the Persian fashion, more extravagantly than his associates could tolerate. He refused to give audience to those who wished to meet him, returned haughty answers, and exercised his authority cruelly. He refused to return to Sparta, but went to Colonae, a place in the region of the Troad; there he nourished plans that were ruinous not only to his country but to himself.

As soon as the Lacedaemonians learned of his conduct, they sent envoys to him with the staff,[1] on which it was written after their fashion that if he did not return home, they would condemn him to death. Troubled by this message, and hoping that even then he could avert the threatening danger by his money and his prestige, he returned to Sparta. On his arrival he was imprisoned by the ephors; for according to the laws of Sparta any ephor[2] may so treat a king.[3] However, he succeeded in effecting his release, but he was none the less under suspicion; for the opinion persisted that he had an understanding with the Persian king.

There is a class of men called Helots, who are very numerous; they till the fields of the Lacedaemonians and perform the duties of slaves. These too Pausanias was believed to be tempting by the promise of freedom. But because, in spite of these circumstances, there was no direct charge which

[2] It could be done only by the entire college of ephors (five in number), and at the time when Nepos wrote there were no kings at Sparta.

[3] Pausanias was guardian of the young king Pleistachus, and hence acting as regent.

coargui posset, non putabant de tali tamque claro viro suspicionibus oportere iudicari et exspectandum, dum se ipsa res aperiret.

4. Interim Argilius quidam adulescentulus, quem puerum Pausanias amore venerio dilexerat, cum epistulam ab eo ad Artabazum accepisset eique in suspicionem venisset aliquid in ea de se esse scriptum, quod nemo eorum redisset qui super tali causa [1] eodem missi erant, vincla epistulae laxavit signoque detracto cognovit, si pertulisset, sibi esse pereun-
2 dum. Erant in eadem epistula quae ad ea pertinebant quae inter regem Pausaniamque convenerant. Has ille litteras ephoris tradidit.
3 Non est praetereunda gravitas Lacedaemoniorum hoc loco; nam ne huius quidem indicio impulsi sunt ut Pausaniam comprehenderent, neque prius vim adhibendam putaverunt, quam se ipse indicasset. Itaque huic indici quid fieri vellent praeceperunt.
4 Fanum Neptuni est Taenari, quod violari nefas putant Graeci. Eo ille index [2] confugit in araque consedit. Hanc iuxta locum fecerunt sub terra, ex quo posset exaudiri, si quis quid loqueretur cum
5 Argilio. Huc ex ephoris quidam descenderunt. Pausanias ut audivit Argilium confugisse in aram, perturbatus venit eo. Quem cum supplicem dei videret in ara sedentem, quaerit causae quid sit

[1] (cum) suber(a)t ali(qua) causa, *Wagner.*
[2] index, *omitted by Heerwagen.*

[1] *Super,* = *de,* is suspicious; Wagner's emendation ("whenever there was any occasion") is attractive; see crit. note.

could be brought against him, the Lacedaemonians thought that a man of his position and distinction ought not to be brought to trial because of mere suspicions, but that they ought to wait until the truth revealed itself.

4. Meanwhile a young man of Argilus, with whom when a boy Pausanias had had a love affair, having received from him a letter for Artabazus, suspected that it contained some allusion to himself, since none of the messengers who had been sent on similar errands [1] had ever returned. Accordingly, he loosened the cord of the letter, broke the seal, and found that if he should deliver it, he was doomed to death; the letter also contained references to the agreement between Pausanias and the king. This letter the young man handed over to the ephors.

We must not fail to observe the deliberateness of the Lacedaemonians on this occasion. Even this man's testimony did not lead them to arrest Pausanias, but they thought that no violence ought to be offered him until he actually betrayed himself. Accordingly, they made known to this informer what he was to do. There is at Taenarum a temple of Neptune, which the Greeks deem it impious to violate. To this that informer fled and seated himself upon the altar. Near by they made a subterranean chamber, from which anyone who talked with the Argilian could be overheard, and there some of the ephors concealed themselves. When Pausanias heard that the Argilian had taken refuge at the altar, he went there in a state of great anxiety; and finding him seated on the altar in the attitude of a suppliant of the god, he asked his reason for

tam repentini consilii. Huic ille quid ex litteris
6 comperisset aperit. Modo[1] magis Pausanias perturbatus orare coepit ne enuntiaret nec se meritum de illo optime proderet: quod si eam veniam sibi dedisset tantisque implicatum rebus sublevasset, magno ei praemio futurum.

5. His rebus ephori cognitis, satius putarunt in urbe eum comprehendi. Quo cum essent profecti et Pausanias placato Argilio, ut putabat, Lacedaemonem reverteretur, in itinere, cum iam in eo esset ut comprehenderetur, ex vultu cuiusdam ephori, qui eum admoneri cupiebat, insidias sibi fieri intel-
2 lexit. Itaque paucis ante gradibus quam qui eum sequebantur, in aedem Minervae quae Chalcioicos vocatur confugit. Hinc ne exire posset, statim ephori valvas eius aedis obstruxerunt tectumque
3 sunt demoliti, quo celerius sub divo interiret. Dicitur eo tempore matrem Pausaniae vixisse eamque iam magno natu, postquam de scelere filii comperit, in primis ad filium claudendum lapidem ad introitum
4 aedis attulisse. Hic cum semianimis de templo elatus esset, confestim animam efflavit.[2] Sic Pausanias magnam belli gloriam turpi morte maculavit.
5 Cuius mortui corpus cum eodem nonnulli dicerent

[1] tanto *or* multo, *Lambin*; quo, *Fleck*.
[2] Hic . . . efflavit *after* maculavit *in MSS.*; *transposed by Fleck*.

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[1] For this use of *modo* Halm compared Sallust, *Jug.* 47. 3 and 75. 1; or it may simply mean "then" ("now" transferred to the past).

[2] Since they did not venture to violate the shrine; see 4. 4.

[3] Lady of the Brazen House, so called because her temple was overlaid with plates of bronze. The goddess was Athena,

such a sudden determination. The youth told him what he had learned from the letter. Pausanias, still more [1] disturbed, began to beg him not to betray one who had always deserved well of him; adding that if he would do him that favour and aid him in the great difficulty in which he found himself, he would reward him generously.

5. Upon getting this evidence the ephors thought it would be better to arrest him in Sparta.[2] When they had left the place, and Pausanias, having won over the Argilian, as he thought, was on his way to Lacedaemon, in the course of the journey, just as he was on the point of being arrested, from the expression of one of the ephors, who wished to warn him, he perceived that they had designs upon him. Accordingly, he took refuge in the temple of Minerva, surnamed Chalcioikos,[3] outstripping his pursuers by only a few steps. To prevent his leaving the place, the ephors at once blocked up the doors of the temple and destroyed its roof,[4] in order that he might the sooner die from exposure to the open heavens. It is said that Pausanias' mother was living at the time, and that having learned of her son's guilt, in spite of her great age she was among the first to bring a stone to the entrance of the temple, to immure her own child. He was half dead when taken from the precinct and at once breathed his last. Thus it was that Pausanias dishonoured his glorious career by a shameful end. After his death some said that his body

but Nepos, as usual, uses the Roman equivalent; see note 4, p. 373.

[4] According to Thucydides (i. 134), it was not the temple, but a building within the sacred precinct, in which Pausanias sought asylum.

inferri oportere quo ii qui ad supplicium essent dati, displicuit pluribus, et procul ab eo loco infoderunt quo erat mortuus. Inde posterius dei[1] Delphici responso erutus atque eodem loco sepultus est[2] ubi vitam posuerat.

V. CIMON

1. Cimon, Miltiadis filius, Atheniensis, duro admodum initio usus est adulescentiae; nam cum pater eius litem aestimatam populo solvere non potuisset ob eamque causam in vinclis publicis decessisset, Cimon eadem custodia tenebatur neque legibus Atheniensium[3] emitti poterat, nisi pecuniam qua
2 pater multatus erat solvisset. Habebat autem in matrimonio sororem germanam suam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore quam more ductus; namque Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas uxores ducere.
3 Huius coniugii cupidus Callias quidam, non tam generosus quam pecuniosus, qui magnas pecunias ex metallis fecerat, egit cum Cimone ut eam sibi uxorem daret: id si impetrasset, se pro illo pecuniam
4 soluturum. Is cum talem condicionem aspernaretur, Elpinice negavit se passuram Miltiadis progeniem in vinclis publicis interire, quoniam prohibere posset,

[1] dei, *added by Lambin.* [2] est, *added by Fleck.*
[3] Atheniensium, *Lambin*; Atheniensibus, *MSS.*

[1] A ravine near Sparta, called καιάδας.

[2] The passage is obscure and perhaps corrupt. Since Thucydides says that Pausanias was first buried near the καιάδας, *procul* may mean "hard by," as in Horace, *Sat.* ii. 6. 105 and *Epist.* i. 7. 32, and *quo erat mortuus* may be a gloss. The death of Pausanias took place soon after the condemnation of Themistocles; see ii. 8. 2, and note 3.

ought to be taken to the spot set apart for the burial of criminals;[1] but the majority opposed this, and he was buried at a distance from the place where he had died.[2] Later, in consequence of an oracle of Delphic Apollo, he was exhumed and interred on the very spot where he had ended his life.

V. CIMON

1. Cimon, the Athenian, son of Miltiades, in his early youth suffered great trouble; for since his father had been unable to pay the fine imposed upon him by the people, and therefore had died in the state prison,[3] the son also was kept in confinement; and the laws of Athens did not allow him to be set at liberty unless he paid the amount of his father's fine.[4] Now, he had married his own sister Elpinice, led as much by the custom of his country as by affection;[5] for it is lawful for the Athenians to marry sisters born of the same father.[6] His wife's hand was sought by a certain Callias, who was rich but not of high birth and had made a great deal of money from the mines.[7] He pleaded with Cimon to give Elpinice to him as his wife, saying that on that condition he would pay the fine. Callias scorned such a proposal, but Elpinice declared that she would not allow the son of Miltiades to die in the state prison, when she had the power to pre-

[3] See i. 7. 6, and the note.

[4] This is not true; he suffered ἀτιμία, which deprived him of most of the privileges of citizenship.

[5] It seems impossible to reproduce the word-play, *amore . . . more.*

[6] Cf. Praef. 4.

[7] See note 1, p. 390.

seque Calliae nupturam, si ea quae polliceretur praestitisset.

2. Tali modo custodia liberatus, Cimon celeriter ad principatum pervenit. Habebat enim satis eloquentiae, summam liberalitatem, magnam prudentiam cum iuris civilis tum rei militaris, quod cum patre a puero in exercitibus fuerat versatus. Itaque hic et populum urbanum in sua tenuit potestate et apud exercitum plurimum valuit auctoritate.

2 Primum imperator apud flumen Strymona magnas copias Thraecum fugavit, oppidum Amphipolim constituit eoque decem milia Atheniensium in coloniam misit. Idem iterum apud Mycalen Cypriorum et Phoenicum ducentarum navium classem devictam cepit eodemque die pari fortuna in terra usus est.

3 Namque hostium navibus captis, statim ex classe copias suas eduxit barbarorumque maximam vim

4 uno concursu prostravit. Qua victoria magna praeda potitus cum domum reverteretur, quod iam nonnullae insulae propter acerbitatem imperii defecerant, bene animatas confirmavit, alienatas ad officium redire

5 coegit. Scyrum,[1] quam eo tempore Dolopes incolebant, quod contumacius se gesserant, vacuefecit, sessores veteres urbe insulaque eiecit, agros civibus divisit. Thasios opulentia fretos suo adventu fregit.

[1] Scyrum, *u, and some inferior MSS.*; Cyprum, *MSS.*

[1] This was not at Mycale, but at the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia in 468 B.C.; the victory at Mycale was won by Leotychides and Xanthippus in 479 B.C.

vent it, but that she would marry Callias, if he would keep his promise.

2. Having in this way gained his freedom, Cimon quickly rose to the first rank in the state; for he had a fair amount of eloquence, extreme generosity, and wide knowledge both of civil law and of the military art, since from boyhood he had accompanied his father on his campaigns. He therefore gained control over the city populace and had great influence with the army.

In his first command he routed a large force of Thracians at the river Strymon, and founded the town of Amphipolis, to which he sent ten thousand Athenians to establish a colony. On a second occasion, off Mycale,[1] he totally defeated a fleet of two hundred Cypriote and Phoenician ships, and captured them. On the same day he had equal good fortune on land; for after taking the ships of the enemy, he at once landed his soldiers and in a single onset annihilated a huge force of barbarians. As he was on his way home, having acquired a great amount of booty by his victory, he found that some of the islands had already revolted because of the severity of the Athenian rule; whereupon he assured the loyalty of those that were well disposed and compelled the disaffected to renew their allegiance. Scyros, which at that time was inhabited by the Dolopians, he emptied of its population, because of their arrogant conduct, driving the earlier occupants from the city and from the island and dividing their lands among citizens of Athens. He broke the power of the Thasians, self-confident because of their wealth, by his mere arrival,[2] and from the proceeds

c. 473 B.C.

[2] As a matter of fact they resisted from 467 to 465 B.C.

His ex manubiis arx Athenarum, qua [1] ad meridiem vergit, est ornata.

3. Quibus rebus cum unus in civitate maxime floreret, incidit in eandem invidiam quam pater suus ceterique Atheniensium principes; nam testarum suffragiis, quod illi ὀστρακισμὸν vocant, X annorum
2 exsilio multatus est. Cuius facti celerius Athenienses quam ipsum paenituit; nam cum ille animo forti invidiae ingratorum civium cessisset bellumque Lacedaemonii Atheniensibus indixissent, confestim notae
3 eius virtutis desiderium consecutum est. Itaque post annum quintum quam expulsus erat in patriam revocatus est. Ille, quod hospitio Lacedaemoniorum utebatur, satius existimans contendere [2] Lacedaemonem sua sponte est profectus pacemque inter
4 duas potentissimas civitates conciliavit. Post, neque ita multo, Cyprum cum ducentis navibus imperator missus, cum eius maiorem partem insulae devicisset, in morbum implicitus in oppido Citio est mortuus.

4. Hunc Athenienses non solum in bello, sed etiam in pace diu desideraverunt. Fuit enim tanta liberalitate, cum compluribus locis praedia hortosque haberet, ut numquam in iis custodem posuerit [3] fructus servandi gratia, ne quis impediretur quo minus eius rebus, quibus quisque vellet, frueretur.
2 Semper eum pedisequi cum nummis sunt secuti, ut,

[1] qua, *Magius*; quae, *MSS.*

[2] concedere, B^2; verbis contendere, *Sloane* 327 *and Cantabr.*; concedere quam armis contendere, *Halm*; verbis quam armis contendere, *Gitlbauer.*

[3] posuerit, *Cobet*; imposuerit, *MSS.*

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[1] On the difference between *praeda* and *manubiae* see Gellius xiii. 25.

[2] See note 2, p. 400. [3] See note 1, p. 402.

of the booty [1] he fortified the south side of the Athenian Acropolis.

3. Having become through these exploits the most distinguished man of his city, he incurred the same distrust as his father and the other leading men of Athens, and by the shard-vote,[2] which they call ostracism, he was banished for a term of ten years. But the Athenians repented of their action sooner than he did himself; for after he had shown his fortitude by yielding to the suspicions of his ungrateful fellow-citizens, the Lacedaemonians began war with the Athenians, who at once felt the need of Cimon's well-known prowess. Therefore Cimon was recalled to his native land only four years after his banishment. Then, having a guest-friendship [3] with the Lacedaemonians, and thinking it better to go to Lacedaemon, he set out on his own responsibility and brought about peace between two powerful states.[4] Afterwards, but not much later, being sent as commander-in-chief to Cyprus with two hundred ships, after conquering the greater part of the island he was taken ill and died in the town of Citium.[5] c. 461 B.C.

4. For a long time the Athenians missed Cimon, not only in war, but in peace as well. For he was so generous that, having estates and gardens in numerous places, he never set a guard over them to protect the fruits, since he did not wish to prevent anyone from enjoying any part of his property that he wished.[6] Pages always followed him with money,

[4] Cimon's recall was in 457 B.C., the peace with Lacedaemon not until 451.

[5] It was during the siege of that town in 449 B.C.

[6] The same story is told by Aristotle, Ἀθ. Πολ. 27. 3, who says that this liberality was a political device, to strengthen him against his chief rival, Pericles.

si quis opis eius indigeret, haberet quod statim daret, ne differendo videretur negare. Saepe, cum aliquem offensum fortuna [1] videret minus bene vestitum, suum
3 amiculum dedit. Cotidie sic cena ei coquebatur, ut, quos invocatos vidisset in foro, omnis devocaret, quod facere nullo die [2] praetermittebat. Nulli fides eius, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit; multos locupletavit; complures pauperes mortuos, qui unde effer-
4 rentur non reliquissent, suo sumptu extulit. Sic se gerendo minime est mirandum, si et vita eius fuit secura et mors acerba.

VI. LYSANDER

1. Lysander Lacedaemonius magnam reliquit sui famam, magis felicitate quam virtute partam; Atheniensis enim in Peloponnesios sexto et vicesimo
2 anno bellum gerentes confecisse apparet. Id qua ratione consecutus sit haud [3] latet; non enim virtute sui exercitus, sed immodestia factum est adversariorum, qui, quod dicto audientes imperatoribus suis non erant, dispalati in agris relictis navibus in hostium venerunt potestatem. Quo facto Athenienses se Lacedaemoniis dediderunt.

[1] fortunae, *Fleck.*; fortuito, *Nipperdey*; forte tunica, *O. Wagner.*

[2] nullo die, *Nipperdey*; nullum diem, *MSS.*

[3] haud *added by Halm*; neque id qua . . . latet, *Nipperdey*; latet neminem, *Kellerbauer.*

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[1] Another exaggeration; according to Plut. *Cim.* 10, he entertained only the poor of his own deme (Lakiadai) who came to Athens; cf. Aristotle, *l. c.*

so that if anyone had need of immediate help he might have something to give at once, for fear that by delay he might seem to refuse. Often, when he chanced to have met a man who was ill-treated by fortune and poorly clad, he gave him his cloak. Every day he had such an abundant dinner pre pared that he could entertain all whom he saw in the market-place who had not been invited by others [1]; and this he never failed to do each day. No one asked in vain for his protection, no one for his services, no one for his financial aid; he enriched many, and buried at his own expense a great number who had died so poor that they had left nothing to pay for their funerals. Such being his conduct, it is not surprising that his life was free from trouble and his death deeply regretted.

VI. LYSANDER

1. Lysander the Lacedaemonian left a great reputation, gained rather by good fortune than by merit. There is no doubt, indeed, that he put an end to the power of the Athenians, who had been warring against the Peloponnesians for twenty-six years,[2] but how it was that he effected it is no secret. As a matter of fact, it was due, not to the valour of his army, but to the lack of discipline of his opponents, who did not obey their generals, but, leaving their ships and scattering about the country, fell into the power of the enemy.[3] As a result, the Athenians surrendered to the Lacedaemonians.

[2] It was the twenty-seventh year of the war.
[3] At the battle of Aegospotamoi, 404 B.C.

3 Hac victoria Lysander elatus, cum antea semper factiosus audaxque fuisset, sic sibi indulsit, ut eius opera in maximum odium Graeciae Lacedaemonii 4 pervenerint. Nam cum hanc causam Lacedaemonii dictitassent[1] sibi esse belli, ut Atheniensium impotentem dominationem refringerent, postquam apud Aegos flumen Lysander classis hostium est potitus, nihil aliud molitus est quam ut omnes civitates in sua teneret potestate, cum id se Lacedaemoniorum 5 causa facere simularet. Namque undique qui Atheniensium rebus studuissent eiectis, decem delegerat in una quaque civitate, quibus summum imperium potestatemque omnium rerum committeret. Horum in numerum[2] nemo admittebatur, nisi qui aut eius hospitio contineretur aut se illius fore proprium fide confirmarat.

2. Ita decemvirali potestate in omnibus urbibus constituta, ipsius nutu omnia gerebantur. Cuius de crudelitate ac perfidia satis est unam rem exempli gratia proferre, ne de eodem plura enumerando 2 defatigemus lectores. Victor ex Asia cum reverteretur Thasumque divertisset, quod ea civitas praecipua fide fuerat erga Athenienses, proinde ac si non[3] iidem firmissimi solerent esse amici qui constantes fuissent 3 inimici, pervertere eam concupivit. Vidit autem, nisi in eo occultasset voluntatem, futurum ut Thasii dilaberentur consulerentque rebus suis. . . .[4]

3. Itaque hi decemviralem illam[5] potestatem ab

[1] dictitassent, *u*; dictassent, *MSS.*
[2] numerum, *u*; numero, *MSS.*
[3] non, *u in the margin*; *the MSS. omit.*
[4] *u indicates a lacuna*; *see Introd. p.* 364.
[5] illam, *P u*; *omitted by Halm*; pot. illam, *Leid.*; suam pot., *A B R F θ*; suam pot. sui, *M.*

Lysander was elated by that victory, and while even before that he had always been reckless and given to intrigue, he now went so far that owing to him the Lacedaemonians came to be bitterly hated by all Greece. For although they had insisted that their reason for making war was to put an end to the tyrannical rule of Athens, no sooner had Lysander captured the enemy's fleet at Aegospotamoi [1] than it became his sole aim to hold all the Greek states under his control, pretending that he was acting in the interests of the Lacedaemonians. To that end, having everywhere expelled those who favoured the Athenians, he had chosen in each state ten men to be entrusted with the chief power and the direction of all affairs; among that number only those were included who were connected with Lysander by ties of hospitality, or had taken oath that they would be his men.

2. When decemviral authority had thus been established in all the cities, everything was done in accordance with Lysander's will. Of his cruelty and treachery it is enough to cite a single instance by way of illustration, rather than weary my readers by enumerating more of the same kind. When he was returning from Asia after his victory, he turned aside to go to Thasos, because that city had been especially loyal to the Athenians; and quite forgetting that those who have been the most determined enemies are usually the strongest friends, he wished to destroy the city. But he realized that unless he concealed his design, the Thasians would take flight and try to save their property.[2] . . .

3. Therefore the Lacedaemonians abolished that

[1] Or Goat's River. [2] See Introd. p. 364.

illo constitutam sustulerunt. Quo dolore incensus, iniit consilia reges Lacedaemoniorum tollere. Sed sentiebat id se sine ope deorum facere non posse, quod Lacedaemonii omnia ad oracula referre consuerant.
2 Primum Delphicum [1] corrumpere est conatus. Cum id non potuisset, Dodonam adortus est. Hinc quoque repulsus, dixit se vota suscepisse quae Iovi Hammoni solveret, existimans se Afros facilius corrupturum.
3 Hac spe cum profectus esset in Africam, multum eum antistites Iovis fefellerunt; nam non solum corrumpi non potuerunt, sed etiam legatos Lacedaemonem miserunt, qui Lysandrum accusarent quod sacerdotes fani corrumpere conatus esset.
4 Accusatus hoc crimine iudicumque absolutus sententiis, Orchomeniis missus subsidio occisus est a Thebanis apud Haliartum.
5 Quam vere de eo foret iudicatum, oratio indicio fuit quae post mortem in domo eius reperta est, in qua suadet Lacedaemoniis ut regia potestate dissoluta ex omnibus dux deligatur ad bellum gerendum, sed sic [2] scripta, ut deum videretur congruere sententiae, quam ille se habiturum pecunia fidens non dubitabat. Hanc ei scripsisse Cleon Halicarnasius dicitur.

4. Atque hoc loco non est praetereundum factum Pharnabazi, satrapis regii. Nam cum Lysander praefectus classis in bello multa crudeliter avareque

[1] Delphicum, *Roth*; Delphi, *Dan. A B M P R F* λ; Delphos, *u* μ; Delphicos, *θπ*.
[2] sic, *Wölfflin*; *the MSS. omit.*

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[1] This happened after the battle at Aegospotamoi in 404 B.C.

decemviral government which he had established; whereupon, inflamed with anger, he plotted to abolish the royal power at Lacedaemon. He was aware, however, that success was impossible without the help of the gods, since it was the custom of the Lacedaemonians to consult the oracles on all matters of state. First he attempted to bribe the Delphic oracle. Failing in that, he made an attempt on Dodona. There too suffering repulse, he alleged that he had made vows which he must pay to Jupiter Hammon, supposing that he could succeed better with the Africans. In that hope he went to Africa, but the priests of Jupiter greatly disappointed him; for far from allowing themselves to be seduced, they even sent envoys to Lacedaemon, to accuse Lysander of attempting to bribe the priests of the temple. Arraigned on that charge, he was acquitted by the vote of the jurors; but being sent to help the people of Orchomenos, he was slain by the Thebans near Haliartus. 396 B.C.

How well founded the charge against him was is shown by a speech which was found in his house after his death. In it he advises the Lacedaemonians to abolish the rule of kings and select a military leader from the whole body of citizens; but the speech was so worded that it appeared to be in conformity with the advice of the gods; and that advice he felt sure of securing, trusting to the power of money. The speech is said to have been written for him by Cleon of Halicarnasus.

4. In this connection I must not fail to mention what was done by Pharnabazus, satrap of the king.[1] After Lysander, while commander of the fleet, had committed many acts of cruelty and greed, and sus-

fecisset deque eis rebus suspicaretur ad cives suos esse perlatum, petiit a Pharnabazo ut ad ephoros sibi testimonium daret, quanta sanctitate bellum gessisset sociosque tractasset, deque ea re accurate scriberet: magnam enim eius auctoritatem in ea re futuram. 2 Huic ille liberaliter pollicetur; librum grandem verbis multis conscripsit, in quibus summis eum effert[1] laudibus. Quem cum hic legisset probassetque, dum signatur, alterum pari magnitudine, tanta similitudine ut discerni non posset, signatum subiecit, in quo accuratissime eius avaritiam perfidiam- 3 que accusarat. Hinc[2] Lysander domum cum redisset, postquam de suis rebus gestis apud maximum magistratum quae voluerat dixerat, testimonii loco librum a Pharnabazo datum tradidit. Hunc submoto Lysandro cum ephori cognossent, ipsi legendum dederunt. Ita ille imprudens ipse suus fuit accusator.

VII. ALCIBIADES

1. Alcibiades, Cliniae filius, Atheniensis. In hoc quid natura efficere possit videtur experta; constat enim inter omnes qui de eo memoriae prodiderunt nihil illo fuisse excellentius vel in vitiis vel in 2 virtutibus. Natus in amplissima civitate summo genere, omnium aetatis suae multo formosissimus; ad omnes res aptus consiliique plenus—namque

[1] effert, *B M R*; fert, *Dan. P A u.*
[2] hinc, *M*; hunc, *the other MSS.*; *deleted by Fleck.*

pected that news of them had reached the ears of his countrymen, he asked Pharnabazus to give him a letter to present to the ephors, testifying to the scrupulous manner in which he had conducted the war and treated the allies, with a detailed account of his conduct; for he declared that the satrap's influence would carry great weight. The Persian readily gave him his promise and wrote a weighty scroll in many words, praising Lysander in the highest terms. This the Spartan read and approved, but while it was being sealed, another scroll of equal size, so similar that the two could not be distinguished, had already been sealed and was substituted for the first one; and this contained a fully detailed account of Lysander's avarice and treachery. When Lysander had returned home from Asia and had submitted his own account of his conduct before the chief magistrates,[1] by way of proof he proffered the letter given him by Pharnabazus. When the ephors, after dismissing Lysander, had read the satrap's screed, they gave it to him to peruse. Thus the man, without knowing it, was his own accuser.

VII. ALCIBIADES

1. Alcibiades, the Athenian, son of Clinias. In this man Nature seems to have tried to see what she could accomplish; for it is agreed by all who have written his biography that he was never excelled either in faults or in virtues. Born in the most famous of cities of a very noble family, he was by far the handsomest man of his time. He was skilled in every accomplishment and of abundant

[1] See note 1, p. 400.

imperator fuit summus et mari et terra—disertus, ut in primis dicendo valeret, quod tanta erat commendatio oris atque orationis, ut nemo ei posset[1] 3 resistere; dives; cum tempus posceret, laboriosus, patiens[2]; liberalis, splendidus non minus in vita quam victu; affabilis, blandus, temporibus calli- 4 dissime serviens: idem, simul ac se remiserat neque causa suberat qua re animi laborem perferret, luxuriosus, dissolutus, libidinosus, intemperans reperiebatur, ut omnes admirarentur in uno homine tantam esse dissimilitudinem tamque diversam naturam.

2. Educatus est in domo Pericli—privignus enim eius fuisse dicitur—eruditus a Socrate. Socerum habuit Hipponicum, omnium Graeca lingua loquentium[3] ditissimum; ut, si ipse fingere vellet, neque plura bona eminisci[4] neque maiora posset consequi, 2 quam vel natura vel fortuna tribuerat. Ineunte adulescentia amatus est a multis amore Graecorum, in iis Socrate, de quo mentionem facit Plato in Symposio. Namque eum induxit commemorantem se pernoctasse cum Socrate neque aliter ab eo 3 surrexisse ac filius a parente debuerit. Posteaquam robustior est factus, non minus multos amavit, in quorum amore, quoad licitum est odiosa,[5] multa

[1] posset, *Nipp.*; dicendo posset, *MSS.*; dicenti, *Bardili.*
[2] cum . . . patiens, *put after* idem *by Guill.*
[3] Graeca lingua loquentium, *Heusinger*; Graecae linguae eloquentia, *MSS.*
[4] eminisci, *Heusinger*; reminisci, *MSS.*; comminisci, *Nipp.*
[5] quoad . . . odiosa (odiose, *u*) *put after* referremus *by Guill.*

[1] The relationship was not so close as that.

ability (for he was a great commander both on land and sea); in eloquence he was numbered among the best orators, since his delivery and his style were so admirable that no one could resist him. He was rich; energetic too, when occasion demanded, and capable of endurance; generous, magnificent not only in public, but in private, life; he was agreeable, gracious, able to adapt himself with the greatest tact to circumstances: but yet, so soon as he relaxed his efforts and there was nothing that called for mental exertion, his extravagance, his indifference, his licentiousness and his lack of self-control were so evident, that all men marvelled that one man could have so varied and contradictory a character.

2. He was brought up in the home of Pericles (for he is said to have been his step-son [1]), his teacher was Socrates. His father-in-law was Hipponicus, the richest man of all Greek-speaking lands. In fact, if he himself had tried to determine the conditions of his life, he could not have imagined more blessings, or acquired greater advantages, than either Nature or Fortune had bestowed upon him. In early youth he was beloved by many, after the Greek fashion, including Socrates, as Plato mentions in his *Banquet*. For Plato represented him as saying that he had spent the night with Socrates, and had left his bed as a son ought to leave that of his father. When he grew older, he had an equally great number of love affairs, in which he showed great elegance and wit, so far as that was possible in hateful practices; [2] I

[2] Guill.'s transfer of this phrase after *referremus* is ingenious, but calls for *licet* instead of *licitum est*; *odiosa* is doubtless corrupt.

delicate iocoseque fecit; quae referremus, nisi maiora potiora haberemus.

3. Bello Peloponnesio huius consilio atque auctoritate Athenienses bellum Syracusanis indixerunt. Ad quod gerendum ipse dux delectus est, duo praeterea
2 collegae dati, Nicias et Lamachus. Id cum appararetur, prius quam classis exiret, accidit ut una nocte omnes Hermae qui in oppido erant Athenis deicerentur praeter unum, qui ante ianuam erat Andocidi [1]—itaque ille postea Mercurius Andocidi [2] voci-
3 tatus est. Hoc cum appareret non sine magna multorum consensione esse factum, quae non ad privatam, sed publicam rem pertineret, magnus multitudini timor est iniectus ne qua repentina vis
4 in civitate exsisteret, quae libertatem opprimeret populi.

Hoc maxime convenire in Alcibiadem videbatur, quod et potentior et maior quam privatus existimabatur; multos enim liberalitate devinxerat, plures
5 etiam opera forensi suos reddiderat. Qua re fiebat ut omnium oculos, quotienscumque in publicum prodisset, ad se converteret neque ei par quisquam in civitate poneretur. Itaque non solum spem in eo habebant maximam, sed etiam timorem, quod et
6 obesse plurimum et prodesse poterat. Aspergebatur

[1] Andocidi, *Bosius*; *the MSS. have various corruptions.*
[2] Andocidi, *Halm*; *cf. note* 1.

[1] Square pillars surmounted by a bust of Hermes, as god of traffic, and placed on the streets in various parts of the city.

would give an account of these if I did not have other and more important topics.

3. In the Peloponnesian war it was due to his 415 B.C. influence and advice that the Athenians declared war on Syracuse; and to conduct that war he himself was appointed general, along with two colleagues, Nicias and Lamachus. In the midst of the preparations, before the fleet sailed, it happened that on one and the same night all the Hermes-pillars [1] in the city of Athens were thrown down except one; that one was before the door of Andocides, and hence it was afterwards called the Mercury [2] of Andocides. Since it was obvious that such an outrage could have been committed only by the common effort of numerous accomplices, and since this seemed to be directed rather against the state than against individuals, the people were filled with great apprehension, fearing the outbreak of some sudden disturbance in the state, designed to overthrow their freedom.

These suspicions seemed to point especially to Alcibiades, because he was regarded as too powerful and too great to be content with a private station; for he had won the devotion of many men by his generosity, and had made a still greater number his debtors by help in the courts. The result was, that whenever he appeared in public, he drew all eyes upon himself, and no one of the citizens was considered his equal. And so he not only filled them with the highest hopes, but also with profound apprehension, because he was capable of doing a great deal of harm, as well as a great deal of good. His reputa-

[2] The Roman god who was identified with Hermes; cf. note 4, p. 373.

etiam infamia, quod in domo sua facere mysteria dicebatur, quod nefas erat more Atheniensium; idque non ad religionem, sed ad coniurationem pertinere existimabatur.

4. Hoc crimine in contione [1] ab inimicis compellabatur. Sed instabat tempus ad bellum proficiscendi. Id ille intuens neque ignorans civium suorum consuetudinem, postulabat, si quid de se agi vellent, potius de praesente quaestio haberetur quam absens
2 invidiae crimine accusaretur. Inimici vero eius quiescendum in praesentia, quia noceri ei [2] non posse intellegebant, et illud tempus exspectandum decreverunt quo is [3] exisset, ut absentem aggre-
3 derentur; itaque fecerunt. Nam postquam in Siciliam eum pervenisse crediderunt, absentem quod sacra violasset reum fecerunt.

Qua de re cum ei nuntius a magistratu in Siciliam missus esset, ut domum ad causam dicendam rediret, essetque in magna spe provinciae bene administrandae, non parere noluit et in trierem quae ad eum erat
4 deportandum missa ascendit. Hac Thurios in Italiam pervectus, multa secum reputans de immoderata civium suorum licentia crudelitateque erga nobiles, utilissimum ratus impendentem evitare tempestatem, clam se ab custodibus subduxit et inde primum

[1] *The best MSS. have* contentione (-em).
[2] noceri ei, *Bardili*; nocere, *M u*; noceri, *the other MSS.*
[3] quo, *Lambin, omitting* is; quo si, *MSS.*; quo classis, *Fleck.*

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[1] The Eleusinian mysteries, which were celebrated at Eleusis in Attica with great secrecy, in honour of Demeter and Persephone.

[2] That is, he used the secrecy of the meetings for plots of revolution.

tion was also assailed because it was said that he celebrated the mysteries [1] in his own house, which was impious by the tradition of the Athenians; and it was thought that he did so, not from religious, but revolutionary, motives.[2]

4. It was this charge that was brought against him by his enemies in the public assembly. But the time was at hand for beginning the campaign, and Alcibiades, having that circumstance in mind, and knowing the ways of his fellow-citizens,[3] begged them, in case they intended to take any action against him, to conduct the investigation while he was present, rather than bring forward in his absence charges inspired by malice. His enemies, however, thought it best to keep quiet for the present, since they knew that they could not harm him, and wait for the time of his departure, in order to attack him behind his back. And that is what they did; for as soon as they believed that he had reached Sicily, they charged him in his absence with profanation of sacred rites.

Because of this, a message was sent to Alcibiades in Sicily by the authorities, ordering him to return home and present his defence; and although he had high hopes of success in his mission, he was unwilling to disobey the order and embarked on the trireme that had been sent to bring him back. In this he was taken to Thurii in Italy, and there pondering deeply on the unbridled licence of his fellow-citizens, and their cruelty to men of high rank, he deemed it best to avoid the threatening storm; so he eluded his guards and made his escape, first to Elis, and

[3] Cf. i. 8 and ii. 8. 1.

5 Elidem, dein Thebas venit. Postquam autem se capitis damnatum bonis publicatis audivit, et, id quod usu [1] venerat, Eumolpidas [2] sacerdotes a populo coactos ut se devoverent, eiusque devotionis quo testatior esset memoria, exemplum in pila lapidea incisum esse positum in publico, Lacedaemonem demigravit.

6 Ibi, ut ipse praedicare consuerat, non adversus patriam, sed inimicos suos bellum gessit, qui [3] iidem hostes essent civitati; nam cum intelligerent se plurimum prodesse posse rei publicae, ex ea eiecisse plusque
7 irae suae quam utilitati communi paruisse. Itaque huius consilio Lacedaemonii cum Perse rege amicitiam fecerunt, dein Deceleam in Attica munierunt, praesidioque ibi perpetuo posito, in obsidione Athenas tenuerunt. Eiusdem opera Ioniam a societate averterunt Atheniensium. Quo facto multo superiores bello esse coeperunt.

5. Neque vero his rebus tam amici Alcibiadi sunt facti quam timore ab eo alienati; nam cum acerrimi viri praestantem prudentiam in omnibus rebus cognoscerent, pertimuerunt ne caritate patriae ductus aliquando ab ipsis descisceret et cum suis in gratiam rediret. Itaque tempus eius interficiundi quaerere
2 instituerunt. Id Alcibiades [4] diutius celari non potuit; erat enim ea sagacitate ut decipi non posset,

[1] quod numquam antea usu, *Cobet.*
[2] Eumolpidas, *u*; Olympidas, *etc.*, *MSS.*
[3] qui, *P*; quod, *the other MSS.*
[4] Alcibiades, *Gesner*; Alcibiadi, *MSS.*

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[1] Priests employed in the Eleusinian mysteries, descendants of Eumolpus, the reputed founder of the mysteries.

then to Thebes. But as soon as he learned that he had been condemned to death and his property confiscated, and that the priests known as Eumolpidae[1] —an action for which there was precedent—had been compelled by the people to pronounce a curse upon him, and that to perpetuate the memory of that curse a copy had been inscribed upon a stele of stone and set up in a public place, he went to live in Lacedaemon.

There, as he himself used to declare, Alcibiades waged war, not against his country, but against his personal enemies, since they were also the enemies of their country; for although they knew that he could be of great service to the state, they had caused his banishment, having an eye rather to their own resentment than to the public welfare. Thus it was by his advice that the Lacedaemonians made 412 B.C. friends with the king of Persia, and then fortified Decelea in Attica and placed a permanent garrison 413 B.C. there, thus holding Athens in a state of siege. It was through him too that the Lacedaemonians separated the Ionian cities from their alliance with the Athenians, after which Sparta began to have great advantage in the war.

5. Yet by these services the Lacedaemonians were not so much attached to Alcibiades as they were led to fear and dislike him. Indeed, realizing the surpassing and many-sided ability of that most energetic of men, they feared that one day, led by love of country, he might turn from them and become reconciled with his own citizens. They therefore resolved to seek an opportunity for assassinating him. That design could not long be concealed from Alcibiades; for his keenness was

praesertim cum animum attendisset ad cavendum. Itaque ad Tissaphernem, praefectum regis Darii, se
3 contulit. Cuius cum in intimam amicitiam pervenisset et Atheniensium, male gestis in Sicilia rebus, opes senescere, contra Lacedaemoniorum crescere videret, initio cum Pisandro praetore, qui apud Samum exercitum habebat, per internuntios conloquitur et de reditu suo facit mentionem. Erat enim eodem quo Alcibiades sensu, populi potentiae
4 non amicus et optimatium fautor. Ab hoc destitutus, primum per Thrasybulum, Lyci filium, ab exercitu recipitur praetorque fit apud Samum; post, suffragante Theramene, populi scito restituitur parique absens imperio praeficitur simul cum Thrasybulo et Theramene.

5 Horum in imperio tanta commutatio rerum facta est, ut Lacedaemonii, qui paulo ante victores viguerant, perterriti pacem peterent. Victi enim erant quinque proeliis terrestribus, tribus navalibus, in quibus ducentas naves triremes amiserant, quae
6 captae in hostium venerant potestatem. Alcibiades simul cum collegis receperat Ioniam, Hellespontum, multas praeterea urbes Graecas, quae in ora sitae sunt Asiae,[1] quarum expugnarant complures, in iis Byzantium, neque minus multas consilio ad amicitiam adiunxerant, quod in captos clementia fuerant
7 usi. Ita praeda onusti, locupletato exercitu, maximis rebus gestis, Athenas venerunt.

[1] Thraciae, *Nipp.*

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[1] He was governor of Lydia and Caria under Darius Nothus (424–405 B.C.).

such that he could not be deceived, especially when he had made up his mind that he must be on his guard. Accordingly, he took refuge with Tissaphernes, one of the prefects of king Darius.[1] Having won the Persian's intimate friendship, and perceiving that the power of Athens was waning after the reverse in Sicily, while that of Lacedaemon was growing, he first conferred through intermediaries with Pisander, a general who had an army at Samos, hinting at the possibility of his return to Athens; for Pisander held the same political opinions as Alcibiades, being no friend to popular government but favouring the aristocrats. Meeting with no encouragement from him, Alcibiades was first 411 B.C.
received by the army through Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, and made general at Samos; later, with the support of Theramenes, he was restored by vote of the people and in his absence was given equal powers with Thrasybulus and Theramenes.

During the command of these three men such a change of fortune took place that the Lacedaemonians, who shortly before were flushed with success, now in terror sued for peace. In fact, they had lost 410 B.C.
five battles on land and three on the sea, and the latter had cost them two hundred triremes, which were captured and came into the hands of the enemy. Alcibiades, acting with his colleagues, had recovered Ionia, the Hellespont, and, besides, many Greek cities situated on the coast of Asia; several of these they had stormed, including Byzantium; but of quite as many they had secured the alliance by their good judgment in showing mercy to their prisoners. So, ladened with booty, and having enriched the army, they returned to Athens in triumph. 408 B.C.

6. His cum obviam universa civitas in Piraeum descendisset, tanta fuit omnium exspectatio visendi Alcibiadis, ut ad eius triremem vulgus confluueret, 2 proinde ac si solus advenisset. Sic enim populo erat persuasum, et adversas superiores et praesentes secundas res accidisse eius opera. Itaque et Siciliae amissum [1] et Lacedaemoniorum victorias culpae suae tribuebant, quod talem virum e civitate expulissent. Neque id sine causa arbitrari videbantur; nam postquam exercitui praeesse coeperat, neque terra 3 neque mari hostes pares esse potuerant. Hic ut e navi egressus est, quamquam Theramenes et Thrasybulus iisdem rebus praefuerant simulque venerant in Piraeum, tamen unum omnes illum prosequebantur,[2] et, id quod numquam antea usu venerat nisi Olympiae victoribus, coronis aureis [3] taeniisque [4] vulgo donabatur. Ille lacrimans talem benevolentiam civium suorum accipiebat, reminiscens pristini temporis acerbitatem.

4 Postquam astu [5] venit, contione advocata sic verba fecit, ut nemo tam ferus fuerit quin eius casui inlacrimarit [6] inimicumque iis se ostenderit quorum opera patria pulsus fuerat, proinde ac si alius populus,

[1] amissum imperium, π *V* Σ, Voss. *A*; exercitum in S. amissum, *Fleck.*

[2] prosequebantur, *Muretus*; persequebantur, *MSS.*

[3] laureis, *Westermann.*

[4] taeniisque, *Muretus*; aeneisque, *MSS.*; *see note*, p. 447. *Perhaps we should read* coronis aureis aeneisque statuis (*cf.* xvi. 5. 5).

[5] astu, *M* θ μ; astum (hastum), *Dan. A B P R u F* λ; in astu, *Nipp.*

[6] casui (causam, *u*; casum, Dan. *P A B R*) inlacrumarit (lacrumarit, *Dan. P u*; lacrimarit, *A B*; lachrymarit, *R*), *Halm*; casu illacumarit, *Nipp.*

6. The whole city went down to the Piraeus to meet them; but so strong and so universal was the desire of seeing Alcibiades that the people gathered about his trireme exactly as if he had come alone. In fact, the people were convinced that it was to him that their former disasters and their present successes were due. Consequently, they blamed themselves for the loss of Sicily [1] and the victories of the Lacedaemonians, because they had banished so great a man from the state. And they seemed to have grounds for that opinion; for no sooner had he been put in command of the army than the enemy had been outmatched by land and by sea. When Alcibiades disembarked, although Thrasybulus and Theramenes had shared in the command and had come to the Piraeus with him, it was Alcibiades alone that all the people escorted, and crowns of gold and fillets [2] were showered upon him everywhere, a thing which had never happened before except to victors at Olympia. He received these tokens of his fellow-citizens' devotion with tears in his eyes, as he recalled their cruelty in the past.

As soon as he arrived in the city, the assembly was convoked and he spoke in such terms that there was none so hard-hearted as not to weep at his lot and give vent to their anger against those who had caused his exile—just as if it had been

[1] *Amissus*, "loss," does not occur elsewhere, and perhaps some word or phrase has been lost; see the crit. note.

[2] All the editors, so far as I know, read either *coronis aureis aeneisque*, or *coronis laureis taeniisque*. Since Plutarch (*Alc.* 33) says that golden crowns were given him in the assembly, and since fillets (or ribbons; Suet. *Nero* 25. 2) were common offerings, while bronze crowns are not mentioned anywhere, I have read *coronis aureis taeniisque*; see crit. note.

non ille ipse qui tum flebat, eum sacrilegii damnasset.
5 Restituta ergo huic sunt publice bona, eidemque illi Eumolpidae sacerdotes rursus resacrare sunt coacti qui eum devoverant, pilaeque illae in quibus devotio fuerat scripta in mare praecipitatae.

7. Haec Alcibiadi laetitia non nimis fuit diuturna Nam cum ei omnes essent honores decreti totaque res publica domi bellique tradita, ut unius arbitrio gereretur, et ipse postulasset ut duo sibi collegae darentur, Thrasybulus et Adimantus, neque id negatum esset, classe in Asiam profectus, quod apud Cymen minus ex sententia rem gesserat, in invidiam recidit; nihil enim eum non efficere posse ducebant.
2 Ex quo fiebat ut omnia minus prospere gesta culpae tribuerent, cum aut eum neglegenter aut malitiose fecisse loquerentur, sicut tum accidit; nam corruptum a rege capere Cymen noluisse arguebant.
3 Itaque huic maxime putamus [1] malo fuisse nimiam opinionem ingenii atque virtutis; timebatur enim non minus quam diligebatur, ne secunda fortuna magnisque opibus elatus, tyrannidem concupisceret. Quibus rebus factum est ut absenti magistratum abrogarent et alium in eius locum substituerent.
4 Id ille ut audivit, domum reverti noluit et se

[1] putamus, *u*; imputamus, *MSS.*

[1] This city was in Asia Minor, near Lesbos. Although it was an ally of Athens, Alcibiades had attacked it and plundered its territories; but he had been unable to take the city itself.

another people, and not those who were then shedding tears, that had condemned him for impiety. Accordingly, his goods were restored to him at the state's expense, and the Eumolpidae, the same priests who had pronounced the curse upon him, were compelled to retract it, while the pillars upon which the curse had been inscribed were thrown into the sea.

7. But this joy of Alcibiades was of none too long duration. When all possible honours had been voted him and all the business of the state at home and abroad had been entrusted to him alone, to be managed as he wished, and he had asked that two colleagues, Thrasybulus and Adimantus, be given him and his request was granted, he set out for Asia with a fleet; and having been less successful at Cyme [1] than was hoped, he again fell into disfavour; for 407 B.C. the people thought that there was nothing that he could not accomplish. Consequently, they attributed all reverses to his fault, declaring that he had shown either negligence or treachery. And that was what happened in this instance; for they said that he had not tried to take Cyme, because he had been bribed by the king. Therefore I am convinced that nothing was more to his disadvantage than the excessive confidence in his ability and valour; for his countrymen feared him no less than they loved him, thinking that he might be carried away by good fortune and great power, and wish to become tyrant. The result of this was, that while he was away from Athens, they deprived him of his office and appointed another [2] in his place.

As soon as Alcibiades heard of that action, he

[2] Namely, Conon.

Pactyen[1] contulit ibique tria castella communiit, Ornos, Bizanthen, Neontichos, manuque conlecta, primus Graecae[2] civitatis in Thraeciam introiit, gloriosius existimans barbarorum praeda locupletari quam Graiorum. Qua ex re creverat cum fama tum opibus, magnamque amicitiam sibi cum quibusdam regibus Thraeciae peperierat.

8. Neque tamen a caritate patriae potuit recedere. Nam cum apud Aegos flumen Philocles, praetor Atheniensium, classem constituisset suam neque longe abesset Lysander, praetor Lacedaemoniorum, qui in eo erat occupatus ut bellum quam diutissime duceret, quod ipsis pecunia a rege suppeditabatur, contra Atheniensibus exhaustis praeter arma et naves nihil erat super, Alcibiades ad exercitum venit Atheniensium ibique praesente vulgo agere coepit: si vellent, se coacturum Lysandrum dimicare aut pacem petere spopondit[3]; Lacedaemonios eo nolle classe confligere, quod pedestribus copiis plus quam navibus valerent; sibi autem esse facile Seuthem, regem Thraecum, deducere ut eum terra depelleret; quo facto, necessario aut classe conflicturum aut bellum compositurum.

Id etsi vere dictum Philocles animadvertebat, tamen postulata facere noluit, quod sentiebat se,

[1] Pactyen, *Ortel*; Ornos, *Lipsius*; Bizanthen, Neontichos, *Is. Voss. The MSS. have various corruptions.*

[2] Graecae, *u*; Graeciae, *MSS.*

[3] spopondit, *Heerwagen*; spondet, *Wiggers*; respondit, *A P*; responderet (-ent, *M*) *B M R θ λ*; *u and Cobet omit.*

gave up any thought of returning home and went to Pactye, where he fortified three strongholds, Orni, Bizanthe and Neontichos; then gathering a band of followers, he was the first member of a Greek state to penetrate Thrace, thinking it more glorious to enrich himself by pillaging the barbarians than the Greeks. Through this enterprise he increased both in fame and in wealth, besides gaining the intimate friendship of some of the kings of Thrace.

8. In spite of all, Alcibiades could not renounce his love for his country; indeed, when Philocles, the Athenian general, had brought his fleet to anchor near Aegospotamoi, and Lysander, the Lacedaemonian commander, who was not far off, was making every effort to prolong the war, because money was being supplied to his countrymen by the Persian king, while the Athenians, at the end of their resources, had nothing left but their arms and their ships, Alcibiades came to the Athenian army. There, in the presence of the common soldiers, he began to plead with them, pledging himself, if they wished, to compel Lysander either to fight or sue for peace; he said that the Lacedaemonians did not wish a naval battle, because their land forces were stronger than their fleet; but that it would be easy for him to induce Seuthes, king of the Thracians, to drive Lysander from the land; and that would oblige the Spartan either to engage with his fleet or end the war.

Although Philocles[1] understood that what Alcibiades said was true, he nevertheless did not choose to

[1] There were five other generals, including Conon, but Philocles held the chief command on that day; Diodorus xiii. 106. 1.

Alcibiade recepto, nullius momenti apud exercitum futurum et, si quid secundi evenisset, nullam in ea re suam partem fore, contra ea, si quid adversi acci-
5 disset, se unum eius delicti futurum reum. Ab hoc discedens, Alcibiades " Quoniam," inquit, " victoriae patriae repugnas, illud moneo, ne[1] iuxta hostem castra habeas nautica; periculum est enim, ne immodestia militum vestrorum[2] occasio detur Lysan-
6 dro vestri opprimendi exercitus." Neque ea res illum fefellit; nam Lysander cum per speculatores comperisset vulgum Atheniensium in terram praedatum exisse navesque paene inanes relictas, tempus rei gerendae non dimisit eoque impetu bellum totum delevit.

9. At Alcibiades, victis Atheniensibus non satis tuta eadem loca sibi arbitrans, penitus in Thraeciam se supra Propontidem abdidit, sperans ibi facillime
2 suam fortunam occuli posse. Falso. Nam Thraeces, postquam eum cum magna pecunia venisse senserunt, insidias fecerunt qui ea quae apportarat abstu-
3 lerunt, ipsum capere non potuerunt. Ille, cernens nullum locum sibi tutum in Graecia propter potentiam Lacedaemoniorum, ad Pharnabazum in Asiam transiit, quem quidem adeo sua cepit humanitate, ut eum nemo in amicitia antecederet. Namque ei Grynium dederat, in Phrygia castrum, ex quo quinquagena talenta vectigalis capiebat.

[1] ne, *added by Ridenauer*; *omitted in MSS.*
[2] vestrorum . . . vestri, *Dan. P A θ π μ*; nostrorum . . . nostri (nostrorum militum, *R*), *the other MSS.*

do what he asked, because he saw that if the exile were taken back, he himself would be of no importance in the army; also that in the event of success he would be given no credit, while if any reverse was suffered, he alone would be held responsible. As he left him, Alcibiades said: "Since you do not wish victory for your country, I give you this bit of advice; do not keep your naval camp near the enemy; for there is reason to fear that the lack of discipline of your soldiers may give Lysander an opportunity of crushing your army." And he was not mistaken; for when Lysander had learned through scouts that a great part of the Athenian soldiers had gone ashore to pillage, leaving the ships almost empty, he did not let the chance for action slip, and by his attack he brought the whole war to an end.

9. But Alcibiades, thinking that after the defeat of the Athenians he was not altogether safe in his present residence, withdrew far into Thrace and went into hiding beyond the Propontis, thinking that there his existence might most easily be concealed. But he was mistaken; for as soon as the Thracians learned that he had come there with a large amount of money, they laid a trap for him; and they were successful in carrying off what he had brought with him, although they could not take the man himself. Then, perceiving that no place in Greece was safe for him because of the power of the Lacedaemonians, he took refuge in Asia with Pharnabazus, whom he so captivated by his personal charm, that he became the Persian's dearest friend. In fact Pharnabazus gave him Grynium, a stronghold of Phrygia, from which he received a yearly revenue of fifty talents.

4 Qua fortuna Alcibiades non erat contentus neque Athenas victas Lacedaemoniis servire poterat pati. Itaque ad patriam liberandam omni ferebatur cogi-
5 tatione. Sed videbat id sine rege Perse non posse fieri ideoque eum amicum sibi cupiebat adiungi, neque dubitabat facile se consecuturum, si modo eius conveniundi habuisset potestatem. Nam Cyrum fratrem ei bellum clam parare Lacedaemoniis adiuvantibus sciebat; id si aperuisset, magnam se initurum gratiam videbat.

10. Hoc cum moliretur peteretque a Pharnabazo ut ad regem mitteretur, eodem tempore Critias ceterique tyranni Atheniensium certos homines ad Lysandrum in Asiam miserant, qui eum certiorem facerent, nisi Alcibiadem sustulisset, nihil earum rerum fore ratum, quas ipse Athenis constituisset; qua re, si suas res gestas manere vellet, illum perse-
2 queretur. His Laco rebus commotus statuit accuratius sibi agendum cum Pharnabazo. Huic [1] ergo renuntiat quae regi cum Lacedaemoniis essent, nisi Alcibiadem vivum aut mortuum sibi tradidisset.
3 Non tulit hunc satrapes et violare clementiam quam regis opes minui maluit.

Itaque misit Susamithren et Bagaeum ad Alcibiadem interficiendum, cum ille esset in Phrygia
4 iterque ad regem compararet. Missi clam vicinitati

[1] huic societatem, *MSS.*; societatem *deleted by Schott*, huic *by Leutsch.*

[1] This was now Artaxerxes II, surnamed Mnemon (405–362 B.C.).

[2] See vi. 1. 5. [3] See 4. 7.

Alcibiades, however, was not contented with his present lot, nor could he endure the idea that Athens was vanquished and enslaved to the Lacedaemonians. In consequence, all his thoughts were set upon freeing his country. It was clear to him, however, that he could accomplish nothing without the aid of the Persian king,[1] and for that reason he desired to win his friendship. And he felt confident of so doing, if only he could have the opportunity of meeting him. For he knew that the king's brother Cyrus was secretly planning to make war upon Artaxerxes with the help of the Lacedaemonians, and he perceived that if he should give information of that plot, he would win great gratitude.

10. At the very time that Alcibiades was making this plan and urging Pharnabazus to send him to the king, Critias and the other tyrants of Athens had sent trusty messengers to Asia, to inform Lysander that unless he got rid of Alcibiades, none of the arrangements which he had made at Athens [2] would be permanent. Therefore, if he wished what he had done to be lasting, he must try to capture the fugitive. These threats disturbed the Laconian, who made up his mind that he must deal more decidedly with Pharnabazus; he therefore threatened to renounce the agreement between the king and the Lacedaemonians,[3] unless Pharnabazus would deliver Alcibiades into his hands alive or dead. The satrap could not hold out against him, and preferred to do violence to the laws of humanity rather than see the king's power lessened.

Pharnabazus therefore sent Susamithres and Bagaeus to kill Alcibiades, while he was in Phrygia and was preparing to go to the king. These emis-

in qua tum Alcibiades erat dant negotium ut eum interficiant. Illi, cum ferro aggredi non auderent, noctu ligna contulerunt circa casam eam,[1] in qua quiescebat, eamque succenderunt, ut incendio con-
5 ficerent, quem manu superari posse diffidebant. Ille autem ut sonitu flammae est excitatus, etsi gladius ei erat subductus, familiaris sui subalare telum eripuit. Namque erat cum eo quidam ex Arcadia hospes, qui numquam discedere voluerat. Hunc sequi se iubet et id quod in praesentia vestimentorum fuit adripit. His in ignem eiectis, flammae
6 vim transiit. Quem ut barbari incendium effugisse viderunt, telis eminus missis interfecerunt caputque eius ad Pharnabazum rettulerunt. At mulier quae cum eo vivere consuerat muliebri sua veste contectum, aedificii incendio mortuum cremavit quod ad vivum interimendum erat comparatum. Sic Alcibiades annos circiter XL natus diem obiit supremum.

11. Hunc infamatum a plerisque tres gravissimi historici summis laudibus extulerunt: Thucydides, qui eiusdem aetatis fuit, Theopompus, post aliquanto natus, et Timaeus; qui quidem duo maledicentissimi nescio quo modo in illo uno laudando consenserunt.[2]
2 Namque ea quae supra scripsimus de eo praedicarunt atque hoc amplius: cum Athenis, splendidissima

[1] casam eam, *Shoppius*; sammeam, *Dan. A P θ*; samineam, *M R λ*; sarmeam, *B*.

[2] consenserunt, *R*; conscierunt, *M u*; consuerunt, *Dan. A u in margin*; consueverunt, *P*; consentiunt, *Halm*; etc.

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[1] Lit., "a weapon carried under the arm."

[2] This friend is mentioned by Nepos alone; cf. Plut. *Alc.* 31.

[3] He was at least forty-five.

saries secretly instructed those who dwelt near the place where Alcibiades then was to slay him. They, however, did not dare to attack him openly, but by night piled wood about the house in which he slept and set fire to it, in order to destroy in that way a man whom they had no hope of being able to overcome by arms. But when Alcibiades was awakened by the crackling flames, although his sword had been filched from him, he seized a dagger [1] belonging to a friend; for he had with him a guest-friend from Arcadia, who had always refused to leave him.[2] This man Alcibiades ordered to follow him, and catching up whatever clothing there was at hand, he threw it upon the fire and dashed through the raging flames. When the barbarians saw that he had escaped the fire, they hurled weapons at him from a distance and thus killed him; then they took his head to Pharnabazus. But a woman who used to live with him covered the corpse with one of her robes and burned it in the fire which consumed the house, the very fire that had been designed to burn the occupant alive. Thus Alcibiades met his end at 404 B.C. the age of about forty years.[3]

11. Although his reputation has been assailed by many writers, Alcibiades has been highly praised by three authoritative historians: Thucydides, who belonged to the same period, Theopompus, who was born somewhat later than he, and Timaeus. These last two, who are strongly inclined to abuse, somehow agree in praising that one man. For it is they that are my authority for what I have previously [4] written about him, as well as for the following appraisement: although he was a native of Athens, most

[4] In chapters 1 and 2.

civitate, natus esset, omnes splendore ac dignitate
3 superasse vitae; postquam inde expulsus Thebas venerit, adeo studiis eorum inservisse, ut nemo eum labore corporisque viribus posset aequiperare—omnes enim Boeotii[1] magis firmitati corporis quam ingenii
4 acumini inserviunt;—eundem apud Lacedaemonios, quorum moribus summa virtus in patientia ponebatur, sic duritiae se dedisse, ut parsimonia victus atque cultus omnes Lacedaemonios vinceret; fuisse apud Thraecas, homines vinolentos rebusque veneriis
5 deditos: hos quoque in his rebus antecessisse; venisse ad Persas, apud quos summa laus esset fortiter venari, luxuriose vivere: horum sic imitatum consuetudinem, ut illi ipsi eum in iis maxime admira-
6 rentur. Quibus rebus effecisse ut, apud quoscumque esset, princeps poneretur habereturque carissimus. Sed satis de hoc; reliquos ordiamur.

VIII. THRASYBULUS

1. Thrasybulus, Lyci filius, Atheniensis. Si per se virtus sine fortuna ponderanda sit, dubito an hunc primum omnium ponam; illud sine dubio: neminem huic praefero fide, constantia, magnitudine animi, in
2 patriam amore. Nam quod multi voluerunt paucique potuerunt ab uno tyranno patriam liberare, huic contigit ut a triginta oppressam tyrannis e servitute

[1] Boetii, *MSS., here and elsewhere.*

magnificent of cities, he surpassed all his fellow-citizens in the elegance and distinction of his manner of life. When he was banished and went to Thebes, he so adapted himself to the ways of that city that no one could equal him in bodily strength and endurance (for the Boeotians as a whole aim to excel in strength of body rather than in keenness of intellect). At Lacedaemon, where custom assigned the greatest merit to endurance, this same man cultivated austerity to such a degree that he surpassed all the Lacedaemonians in the plainness of his table and the simplicity of his life. Among the Thracians, a people given to drunkenness and lust, he surpassed even the Thracians in those vices. He came to the Persians, where the highest renown was gained by being a daring hunter and an extravagant liver, and there he so adapted himself to their customs that even the natives were filled with admiration of his success in these things. It was in this way that he held the first rank wherever he lived, as well as being greatly beloved. But enough of him; let us pass to the other men.

VIII. THRASYBULUS

1. Thrasybulus, the Athenian, son of Lycus. If merit were to be estimated absolutely, without reference to fortune, I rather think that I should rank this man first of all. Thus much is certain: I put no one above him in sense of honour, in steadfastness, in greatness of soul and in love of country. For while many have wished, and a few have been able, to free their country from a single tyrant, it was his good fortune to restore his native land from slavery to freedom when it was under the heel of

3 in libertatem vindicaret. Sed nescio quo modo, cum eum nemo anteiret his virtutibus, multi nobilitate praecucurrerunt. Primum Peloponnesio bello multa hic sine Alcibiade gessit, ille nullam rem sine hoc; quae ille universa naturali quodam bono fecit lucri.

4 Sed illa tamen omnia communia imperatoribus cum militibus et fortuna, quod in proelii concursu abit res a consilio ad vices vimque pugnantium.[1] Itaque iure suo nonnulla ab imperatore miles, plurima vero fortuna vindicat seque hic [2] plus valuisse quam ducis prudentiam vere potest praedicare.

5 Quare illud magnificentissimum factum proprium est Thrasybuli; nam cum triginta tyranni praepositi a Lacedaemoniis servitute oppressas tenerent Athenas, plurimos civis, quibus in bello parserat fortuna, partim patria expulissent partim interfecissent, plurimorum bona publicata inter se divisissent, non solum princeps, sed etiam solus initio, bellum iis indixit.

2. Hic enim cum Phylen confugisset, quod est castellum in Attica munitissimum, non plus habuit secum triginta de suis. Hoc initium fuit salutis Actaeorum, hoc robur libertatis clarissimae civitatis.

2 Neque vero hic non contemptus est primo a tyrannis atque eius solitudo. Quae quidem res et illis con-

[1] ad vices vimque p., *scripsi*; ad vices rerum vimque p., *Ortmann*; ad vires vimque p., *P A B M u*; ad vires usque (undique) p., *Leid. M*; ad vires nostrum cuiusque p., *R*; virtutemque p., *Lambin*; ad vires casusque, *omitting* p., *Guill.*

[2] hic, *Lambin*; his, *MSS.*

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[1] The phrase *ad . . . pugnantium*, as it stands in the MSS., is undoubtedly corrupt; for various emendations see the crit. note.

thirty tyrants. But somehow or other, while no one surpassed him in the virtues that I have named, many men have outstripped him in renown. To begin with, in the Peloponnesian war he often won victories without the aid of Alcibiades, the latter never without his help; but Alcibiades by some innate gift gained the credit for everything.

But after all, commanders share every such success with their soldiers and with Fortune, since after battle has been joined, the issue depends rather on the luck and the fighting spirit of the soldiers than on skill.[1] Hence the soldier justly claims some share in his commander's glory, and Fortune, a large share; in fact, she can fairly boast that more was due to her in such cases than to the commander's ability. That is why the glorious deed of which I am going to speak belongs wholly to Thrasybulus. Thirty tyrants, appointed by the Lacedaemonians, held Athens in a condition of slavery. Of the citizens whom fate had spared during the war, they had driven a great many from their native land or put them to death; of many they had confiscated and shared the property. Thrasybulus was not only the first to make war upon them, but in the beginning he was the only one.

2. Now, when he had taken refuge in Phyle, which is a well-fortified stronghold in Attica, he had with him not more than thirty followers. This was the cradle of salvation for the people of Attica, this was the citadel of the liberty of a glorious state. In fact, Thrasybulus was at first an object of contempt to the tyrants, as well as his handful of followers; and it was that very fact that

temnentibus perniciei et huic despecto saluti fuit; haec enim illos segnes ad persequendum, hos autem, tempore ad comparandum dato, fecit robustiores.
3 Quo magis praeceptum illud omnium in animis esse debet, nihil in bello oportere contemni neque sine
4 causa dici matrem timidi flere non solere. Neque tamen pro opinione Thrasybuli auctae sunt opes; nam iam tum illis temporibus fortius boni pro liber-
5 tate loquebantur quam pugnabant. Hinc in Piraeum transiit Munychiamque munivit. Hanc bis tyranni oppugnare sunt adorti, ab eaque turpiter repulsi, protinus in urbem, armis impedimentisque amissis, refugerunt.
6 Usus est Thrasybulus non minus prudentia quam fortitudine; nam cedentes violari vetuit—cives enim civibus parcere aequum censebat—neque quisquam est vulneratus nisi qui prior impugnare voluit. Neminem iacentem veste spoliavit, nil attigit nisi arma quorum indigebat, quaeque ad victum pertine-
7 bant. In secundo proelio cecidit Critias, dux tyrannorum, cum quidem adversus Thrasybulum fortissime pugnaret.

3. Hoc deiecto Pausanias venit Atticis auxilio, rex Lacedaemoniorum. Is inter Thrasybulum et eos qui urbem tenebant fecit pacem his condicionibus: ne qui praeter triginta tyrannos et decem, qui postea praetores creati superioris more crudelitatis erant usi, adficerentur exsilio neve bona publi-

[1] *Quidem* implies that valour would not be expected from Critias.

[2] He was king from 408 to 394 B.C.

proved the ruin of those who scorned him and won the safety of the object of their contempt; for it made his enemies slow to attack and strengthened his forces by giving them time for preparation. From this it follows that all men ought to bear in mind this thought, that in war nothing should be scorned, and that it is a true saying that the mother of one who knows what fear is seldom has cause to weep. And yet Thrasybulus' forces did not grow so rapidly as he hoped, for even then in those days good citizens were readier to speak for liberty than to fight for it. From Phyle he went to the Piraeus and fortified Munychia. That place the tyrants twice tried to take, but they suffered an ignominious repulse and at once fled to the city with the loss of their arms and baggage.

Thrasybulus showed no less judgment than courage; for he forbade injuring those who had surrendered (he thought it right for citizen to spare citizen), and no one was wounded who did not strike the first blow. He stripped no dead body of its clothing, touched nothing save the arms which he needed, and whatever could be made use of as food. In a second battle Critias fell, chief of the tyrants, and that, too,[1] just as he was fighting most valiantly, face to face with Thrasybulus.

3. When Critias had fallen, Pausanias, king of the Lacedaemonians,[2] came to the aid of the Athenians. He concluded a peace between Thrasybulus and the occupants of the city on the following terms: that except for the thirty tyrants and ten others who had been put in power later and had shown the same cruelty as their predecessors, no one should be punished with exile or confiscation of property; and 403 B.C.

carentur; rei publicae procuratio populo redderetur.
2 Praeclarum hoc quoque Thrasybuli, quod reconciliata pace, cum plurimum in civitate posset, legem tulit ne quis ante actarum rerum accusaretur neve multa-
3 retur, eamque illi oblivionis appellarunt. Neque vero hanc tantum ferendam curavit, sed etiam ut valeret effecit. Nam cum quidam ex iis qui simul cum eo in exsilio fuerant caedem facere eorum vellent cum quibus in gratiam reditum erat publice, prohibuit et id quod pollicitus erat praestitit.

4. Huic pro tantis meritis honoris[1] corona a populo data est, facta duabus virgulis oleaginis; quam quod amor civium et non vis expresserat, nullam habuit invidiam magnaque fuit gloria.[2]
2 Bene ergo Pittacus ille, qui in[3] septem sapientum numero est habitus, cum Mytilenaei multa milia iugerum agri ei muneri[4] darent, " Nolite, oro vos," inquit, " id mihi dare, quod multi invideant, plures etiam concupiscant. Qua re ex istis nolo amplius quam centum iugera, quae et meam animi aequitatem et vestram voluntatem indicent " ; nam parva munera diutina, locupletia non propria esse consue-
3 runt. Illa igitur corona contentus, Thrasybulus neque amplius requisivit neque quemquam honore

[1] honoris causa, *θ π μ V Σ and u in margin.*
[2] cum magnaque, *Guill.*; magnaeque gloriae, *u.*
[3] in, *added by Nipp.*
[4] Mitileni ei (mut-, *P*; ei mitylenei, *R*; ei myt-, *M*) m. milia iugerum et agri (agri et, *M R u*) munera, *Dan. A B M P R; corrected by Fleck.*

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[1] Cf. Val. Max. iv. 1. ext. 4, *haec oblivio quam Athenienses amnestian vocant.*

that the administration of the government should be restored to the people. Another noble action of Thrasybulus was this: when peace was made and he held the chief power at Athens, he proposed a law providing that with reference to what had been done in the past no one should be accused or punished; and they called that law "the law of amnesty." [1] And he not only saw to it that the law was passed, but also that it was enforced; for whenever anyone of those who had been in exile with him wished to put to death those who had been officially pardoned, he prevented it and remained true to what he had promised.

4. In recognition of these great services he was presented by the people with an honorary crown made of two olive-branches. And since that crown was a token of the love of his fellow-citizens and was not wrung from them by force, it excited no envy, but brought him great glory. For Pittacus, who was numbered among the Seven Sages, well said, when the people of Mytilene wished to make him a present of many thousand acres of land: "Do not, I beg of you, give me a gift that may excite the jealousy of many and the cupidity of still more. But out of what you offer I desire no more than one hundred acres,[2] which will be a token of my moderation and your good-will." And indeed, as a rule, small gifts are lasting, lavish ones are not permanent. So with that crown Thrasybulus was content; he asked for nothing more, and he thought that no one was more

[2] The *iugerum* was a Roman measure equal to about two-thirds of an acre; according to Plutarch, Pittacus measured the amount which he would accept by the distance that he could hurl a spear.

se antecessisse existimavit. Hic sequenti tempore, cum praetor classem ad Ciliciam [1] appulisset neque satis diligenter in castris eius agerentur vigiliae, a barbaris, ex oppido noctu eruptione facta, in tabernaculo interfectus est.

IX. CONON

1. Conon Atheniensis Peloponnesio bello accessit ad rem publicam, in eoque eius opera magni fuit; nam et praetor pedestribus exercitibus praefuit et praefectus classis res [2] magnas mari gessit. Quas ob causas praecipuus ei honos habitus est. Namque omnibus unus insulis praefuit, in qua potestate Pheras
2 cepit, coloniam Lacedaemoniorum. Fuit etiam extremo Peloponnesio bello praetor, cum apud Aegos flumen copiae Atheniensium ab Lysandro sunt devictae. Sed tum afuit, eoque peius res administrata est; nam et prudens rei militaris et diligens erat
3 imperator. Itaque nemini erat iis [3] temporibus dubium, si adfuisset, illam Athenienses calamitatem accepturos non fuisse.

2. Rebus autem adflictis, cum patriam obsideri audisset, non quaesivit ubi ipse tuto viveret, sed

[1] Ciliciam, *Longueil*; Siciliam, *MSS.*
[2] magnas mari victorias, *P*; magnas mari res, *Nipp.*
[3] his, *MSS.*

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[1] He was slain by the inhabitants of Aspendus in Pamphylia, who were exasperated at the riotous conduct of his soldiers.

highly honoured than he. At a later time, as commander of a fleet, he landed in Cilicia; there his camp was not guarded with sufficient care, and when the barbarians had made a sortie by night from one of their towns, he was killed in his tent.[1] 378 B.C.

IX. CONON

1. Conon the Athenian began his public career at the time of the Peloponnesian war, and in that war 411 B.C. he rendered important service; for he commanded the land forces with the rank of general, and as admiral of the fleet he did great deeds on the sea. In recognition of this an unusual honour was conferred upon him; he was given sole charge of all the islands, and while holding that commission [2] he took Pherae, a colony [3] of the Lacedaemonians. He was also commander-in-chief at the close of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenian forces were defeated by Lysander at Aegospotamoi; but he was absent at the time, and in consequence the affair was badly managed; for he was skilled in military science and a careful commander. Hence no one who lived in those times doubted that, if he had been present, the Athenians would not have suffered that disaster.

2. But when the calamity came and he heard that his native city was in a state of siege, he looked about for a place, not where he could himself live in

[2] The islands between Greece and Asia Minor are meant. Conon never had such a commission. He took Pherae in 393 B.C., when he was in the service of the Persian king; see 4. 2 ff.

[3] "Colony" is used in the Roman, not the Greek, sense; Pherae had been made subject to Sparta.

unde praesidio posset esse civibus suis. Itaque contulit se ad Pharnabazum, satrapem Ioniae et Lydiae eundemque generum regis et propinquum; apud quem ut multum gratia valeret multo labore multisque
2 effecit periculis. Nam cum Lacedaemonii, Atheniensibus devictis, in societate non manerent quam cum Artaxerxe fecerant, Agesilaumque bellatum misissent in Asiam, maxime impulsi a Tissapherne, qui ex intimis regis ab amicitia eius defecerat et cum Lacedaemoniis coierat societatem, hunc adversus Pharnabazus habitus est imperator, re quidem vera exercitui praefuit Conon eiusque omnia arbitrio gesta
3 sunt. Hic multum ducem summum Agesilaum impedivit saepeque eius consiliis obstitit, neque vero non fuit apertum, si ille non fuisset, Agesilaum
4 Asiam Tauro tenus regi fuisse erepturum. Qui postea quam domum a suis civibus revocatus est, quod Boeoti et Athenienses Lacedaemoniis bellum indixerant, Conon nihilo setius apud praefectos regis versabatur iisque omnibus magno erat usui.

3. Defecerat a rege Tissaphernes, neque id tam Artaxerxi quam ceteris erat apertum; multis enim magnisque meritis apud regem, etiam cum in officio non maneret, valebat. Neque id erat mirandum, si non facile ad credendum adducebatur, reminiscens
2 eius se opera Cyrum fratrem superasse. Huius

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[1] The so-called Corinthian war, 395–387 B.C.
[2] At Cunaxa, 401 B.C.; see vii. 9. 5, above.

safety, but from which he could be a defence to his fellow-citizens. So he went to Pharnabazus, satrap of Ionia and Lydia, who was also son-in-law of the king and his near relative, with whom he succeeded in winning great influence by hard toil and many dangers. For the Lacedaemonians, after vanquishing the Athenians, did not remain true to the alliance which they had concluded with Artaxerxes, but sent Agesilaus to Asia to make war, being especially influenced by Tissaphernes, one of Artaxerxes' intimate friends, who, however, had betrayed his king's friendship and come to an understanding with the Lacedaemonians. Against him Pharnabazus was nominally commander-in-chief, but in reality Conon headed the army and everything was done as he directed. He proved a serious obstacle to that great general Agesilaus and often thwarted him by his strategy; in fact, it was evident that if it had not been for Conon, Agesilaus would have deprived the king of all Asia as far as the Taurus. Even after the Spartan was summoned home by his countrymen, because the Boeotians and Athenians had declared war[1] upon the Lacedaemonians, Conon none the less continued his relations with the king's prefects and rendered them all great assistance.

3. Tissaphernes had revolted from the king, but that was not so clear to Artaxerxes as it was to all others; for because of many important services the satrap retained his influence with his sovereign, even after he had ceased to be faithful to him. And it is not surprising that the king was not easily led to believe in his treachery, remembering, as he did, that it was thanks to him that he had overcome his brother Cyrus.[2] In order to accuse the traitor,

accusandi gratia Conon a Pharnabazo ad regem missus, posteaquam venit, primum ex more Persarum ad chiliarchum, qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat, Tithrausten accessit seque ostendit cum rege
3 conloqui velle. Nemo enim sine hoc admittitur.[1]

Huic ille, " Nulla," inquit, " mora est, sed tu delibera, utrum conloqui malis an per litteras agere quae cogitas. Necesse est enim, si in conspectum veneris, venerari te regem (quod προσκύνησιν illi vocant).[2] Hoc si tibi grave est, per me nihilo setius editis mandatis conficies quod studes." Tum Conon " Mihi vero," inquit, " non est grave quemvis honorem habere regi, sed vereor ne civitati meae sit opprobrio, si, cum ex ea sim profectus quae ceteris gentibus imperare consuerit, potius barbarorum quam illius more fungar." Itaque quae huic volebat scripta tradidit.

4. Quibus cognitis, rex tantum auctoritate eius motus est, ut et Tissaphernem hostem iudicarit et Lacedaemonios bello persequi iusserit et ei permiserit quem vellet eligere ad dispensandam pecuniam. Id arbitrium Conon negavit sui esse consilii, sed ipsius, qui optime suos nosse deberet; sed se suadere,
2 Pharnabazo id negotii daret. Hinc magnis muneri-

[1] nemo . . . admittitur, *put after* vocant *by Cobet; by others after* regem, *omitting* quod . . . vocant.
[2] quod . . . vocant, *omitted by Wölfflin.*

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[1] The king's bodyguard, the μηλοφόροι, so called because the butts of their spears were adorned with golden apples.

Conon was sent to the king by Pharnabazus and as soon as he arrived, he went first, according to the Persian custom, to Tithraustes, chief of the Thou- 395 B.C. sand,[1] who held the highest power next to the king, and explained that he wished an interview with the monarch. As a matter of fact, no one is admitted to the royal presence without that formality.

Tithraustes replied to his request: "There is nothing to prevent, but do you consider whether you prefer a personal interview rather than to communicate what you have in mind by letter. For it is essential, if you come into his presence, to do homage to the king (which the Greeks call προσκύνησις). If that is repugnant to you, you may equally well accomplish what you wish through me, by instructing me as to your wishes." To this Conon answered: "To me personally it is not repugnant to pay any possible honour to the king, but I fear that my country may be shamed if, having come from a state which is accustomed to command the other nations, I should conform rather to the customs of barbarians than of Athens." Accordingly, he wrote out what he wished and handed it to the satrap.

4. When the king had read the communication, Conon's prestige had so much weight with him that he pronounced Tissaphernes an enemy and commissioned Conon to carry on the war with the Lacedaemonians, authorizing him to chose anyone he wished as his paymaster. To make that choice, Conon declared, was not his province, but that of the king, who ought to know his own subjects best; but his recommendation was that the position be given to Pharnabazus. Then, after receiving valu-

bus donatus ad mare est missus, ut Cypriis et Phoenicibus ceterisque maritimis civitatibus naves longas imperaret classemque, qua proxima aestate mare tueri posset, compararet, dato adiutore Pharna-
3 bazo, sicut ipse voluerat. Id ut Lacedaemoniis est nuntiatum, non sine cura rem administrant, quod maius bellum imminere arbitrabantur quam si cum barbaro solum contenderent; nam ducem fortem, prudentem[1] regiis[2] opibus praefuturum ac secum dimicaturum videbant, quem neque consilio neque
4 copiis superare possent. Hac mente magnam contrahunt classem; proficiscuntur Pisandro duce. Hos Conon apud Cnidum adortus, magno proelio fugat, multas naves capit, complures deprimit. Qua victoria non solum Athenae, sed etiam cuncta Graecia quae sub Lacedaemoniorum fuerat imperio liberata
5 est. Conon cum parte navium in patriam venit, muros dirutos a Lysandro utrosque, et Piraei et Athenarum, reficiendos curat pecuniaeque quinquaginta talenta, quae a Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus suis donat.

5. Accidit huic quod ceteris mortalibus, ut inconsideratior in secunda quam in adversa esset fortuna. Nam classe Peloponnesiorum devicta, cum ultum se iniurias patriae putaret, plura concupivit quam efficere
2 potuit. Neque tamen ea non pia et probanda fuerunt,

[1] et prudentem, *Halm*; prudenter, *Weidner*, *Guill.*; prudentemque, *u*. [2] regis, *MSS*.

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[1] See n. 2, p. 467.

[2] Athens recovered its freedom in 403 B.C.; the Lacedaemonians now lost their hegemony over the islands and the Greek cities of Asia.

able presents, Conon was sent to the seacoast, to levy ships of war on the Cypriotes, Phoenicians and other maritime states,[1] and to fit out a fleet with which in the following summer he could make the sea safe; Pharnabazus was appointed to help him, as Conon himself had asked. When this was reported to the Lacedaemonians, they made their preparations with care, thinking that a more serious war threatened them than if the contest was merely with the barbarian alone; for they saw that a brave leader was going to direct the king's power with foresight, and that they would have an adversary who would be their equal both in skill and in power. Because of this conviction they got together a great fleet and set sail under the command of Pisander. But they were attacked by Conon off Cnidus and 394 B.C.
put to flight in a great battle; many of their ships were taken, several were sunk. That victory secured the freedom, not only of Athens,[2] but of all the Greek states which were under the rule of the Lacedaemonians. Conon with a part of his ships went to his native city, saw to the rebuilding of the walls both of the Piraeus and of Athens, which had 393 B.C.
been destroyed by Lysander, and gave to his fellow-citizens the sum of fifty talents, which he had received from Pharnabazus.

5. But Conon had the same experience as the rest of mankind, and showed less wisdom in good fortune than in adversity. For after his decisive victory over the fleet of the Peloponnesians, thinking that he had avenged his country's wrongs, he entertained ambitions beyond his powers. These, however, were both patriotic and commendable, since he desired to increase the strength of his native land at

quod potius patriae opes augeri quam regis maluit. Nam cum magnam auctoritatem sibi pugna illa navali quam apud Cnidum [1] fecerat constituisset non solum inter barbaros, sed etiam omnes Graeciae civitates, clam dare operam coepit, ut Ioniam et Aeoliam restitueret Atheniensibus.

3 Id cum minus diligenter esset celatum, Tiribazus, qui Sardibus praeerat, Cononem evocavit, simulans ad regem eum se mittere velle magna de re. Huius nuntio parens cum venisset, in vincla coniectus est,
4 in quibus aliquamdiu fuit. Inde nonnulli eum ad regem abductum ibique eum perisse scriptum reliquerunt. Contra ea Dinon historicus, cui nos plurimum de Persicis rebus credimus, effugisse scripsit; illud addubitat, utrum Tiribazo sciente an imprudente sit factum.

X. DION

1. Dion, Hipparini filius, Syracusanus, nobili genere natus, utraque implicatus tyrannide Dionysiorum. Namque ille superior Aristomachen, sororem Dionis, habuit in matrimonio, ex qua duos filios, Hipparinum et Nisaeum, procreavit totidemque filias, nomine Sophrosynen et Areten, quarum priorem Dionysio filio, eidem cui regnum reliquit, nuptum dedit, alteram, Areten, Dioni.

2 Dion autem praeter nobilem [2] propinquitatem generosamque [2] maiorum famam multa alia ab natura habuit bona, in iis ingenium docile, come, aptum ad

[1] Gnidum, *MSS.*
[2] nobilem *and* generosam *transposed by Dederich.*

[1] The term applied by the Greeks to the King of Persia.

the expense of that of the great king.[1] For since the famous naval battle that he had fought off Cnidos had given him high standing, not only with the barbarians, but with all the Greek states as well, he began to plot the restoration of Ionia and Aeolia to the Athenians.

Since his design was not concealed with sufficient care, Tiribazus, governor of Sardis, summoned Conon, pretending that he wished to send him to the king on a mission of importance. Conon obeyed the summons, but on his arrival he was thrown into prison and remained in confinement for some time. Then, as some writers say, he was taken to the king and there met his end; Dinon, on the contrary, an historian in whose account of Persian affairs we have the most confidence, has written that he made his escape; but he is in doubt whether it was with or without the connivance of Tiribazus.

X. DION

1. Dion, son of Hipparinus, of Syracuse, sprung from a noble family, was connected with the tyranny of both the Dionysii; for the elder Dionysius married Aristomache, Dion's sister; by her he had two sons, Hipparinus and Nisaeus, and the same number of daughters, Sophrosyne and Arete. Of these daughters he gave the former in marriage to Dionysius, the son to whom he left his throne, the latter, Arete, to Dion.

Dion, however, besides that illustrious relationship and the distinguished renown of his ancestors, possessed many natural advantages, including a receptive mind, affability, and aptitude for the

artes optimas, magnam corporis dignitatem, quae non minimum commendat,[1] magnas praeterea divitias a patre relictas, quas ipse tyranni muneribus auxerat.
3 Erat intimus Dionysio priori, neque minus propter mores quam adfinitatem. Namque etsi Dionysii crudelitas ei displicebat, tamen salvum propter necessitudinem, magis etiam suorum causa studebat. Aderat in magnis rebus, eiusque consilio multum movebatur tyrannus, nisi qua in re maior ipsius cupi-
4 ditas intercesserat. Legationes vero omnes quae essent illustriores per Dionem administrabantur; quas quidem ille diligenter obeundo, fideliter administrando crudelissimum nomen tyranni sua
5 humanitate leniebat.[2] Hunc a Dionysio missum Karthaginienses suspexerunt,[3] ut neminem umquam Graeca lingua loquentem magis sint admirati.

2. Neque vero haec Dionysium fugiebant; nam quanto esset sibi ornamento, sentiebat. Quo fiebat ut uni huic maxime indulgeret neque eum secus
2 diligeret ac filium; qui quidem, cum Platonem Tarentum venisse fama in Siciliam esset perlata, adulescenti negare non potuerit quin eum accerseret, cum Dion eius audiendi cupiditate flagraret. Dedit ergo huic veniam magnaque eum ambitione Syracusas
3 perduxit. Quem Dion adeo admiratus est atque adamavit, ut se ei totum traderet. Neque vero minus ipse Plato delectatus est Dione. Itaque cum a Dionysio[4] crudeliter violatus esset, quippe qui eum[5]

[1] commendat, *Lambin*; commendatur, *MSS.*
[2] leniebat, *Lambin*; tenebat, *MSS.*; tegebat, $\pi\ \mu\ F\ u$.
[3] sic suspexerunt, *Fleck.*
[4] Dionysio, $P\ A^2\ B\ R\ M$; Dionysio tyranno, $A^1\ u$; tyranno, *Nipp.*
[5] qui eum, *Pluygers*; quem, *MSS.*

highest accomplishments; great personal dignity, which is not the least of recommendations; large means too, left him by his father, which he had himself increased through the gifts of the tyrant. He was intimate with the elder Dionysius as much because of his character as their relationship; for although he disapproved of the tyrant's cruelty, yet his safety was dear to him on account of their kinship, and still more so for the sake of his own family. He assisted Dionysius in important matters of business, and the tyrant was strongly influenced by his advice, except when some especially ardent desire of his own had turned the scale. In fact, all embassies of special distinction were conducted through Dion, and since he entered upon them with care and managed them scrupulously, he lessened the tyrant's reputation for cruelty by his own kindliness. When he was sent by Dionysius to Carthage, he was so honoured that no native of Greece ever excited greater admiration.

2. Now all this did not escape the notice of Dionysius, for he was aware of the honour conferred upon him by his relative. In consequence, he favoured Dion beyond all others and loved him like a son. So, when the report made its way to Sicily that Plato had come to Tarentum, he could not refuse the young man's request to invite the philosopher to his court, since Dion had an ardent longing to hear him. Therefore he gratified the youth's desire and brought Plato to Syracuse in great state. Him Dion so admired and loved that he devoted himself to him heart and soul. And, indeed, Plato for his part was no less delighted with Dion; so much so that, although he had been cruelly wronged by Dionysius, who had ordered him to be sold as a

venumdari iussisset, tamen eodem rediit eiusdem Dionis precibus adductus.

4 Interim in morbum incidit Dionysius. Quo cum gravi[1] conflictaretur, quaesivit a medicis Dion, quem ad modum se haberet, simulque ab iis petiit, si forte in maiore esset periculo, ut sibi faterentur; nam velle se cum eo conloqui de partiendo regno, quod sororis suae filios ex illo natos partem regni putabat 5 debere habere. Id medici non tacuerunt et ad Dionysium filium sermonem rettulerunt. Quo ille commotus, ne agendi esset Dioni potestas, patri soporem medicos dare coegit. Hoc aeger sumpto, ut somno sopitus, diem obiit supremum.

3. Tale initium fuit Dionis et Dionysii simultatis, eaque multis rebus aucta est. Sed tamen primis temporibus aliquamdiu simulata inter eos amicitia mansit. Cum Dion non desisteret obsecrare Dionysium ut Platonem Athenis arcesseret et eius consiliis uteretur, ille, qui in aliqua re vellet patrem imitari, 2 morem ei gessit. Eodemque tempore Philistum historicum Syracusas reduxit, hominem amicum non magis tyranno quam tyrannis.[2] Sed de hoc in eo libro plura sunt exposita qui de historicis Graecis 3 conscriptus est. Plato autem tantum apud Dionysium auctoritate potuit valuitque eloquentia, ut ei persuaserit tyrannidis facere finem libertatemque

[1] graviter vel gravius, *u in margin.* [2] tyrannidi, *Ascensius.*

[1] He had been banished by the elder Dionysius; see Plutarch, *Dion*, 13 ff.

slave, he nevertheless returned to that same land, led once more by the entreaties of Dion.

Meanwhile Dionysius had fallen ill, and as he grew worse, Dion inquired of the physicians how he was, at the same time begging them, if the king chanced to be in greater danger, not to conceal it from him; for he said that he wished to confer with Dionysius about dividing the kingdom, believing that the sons of his own sister, as children of the king, ought to have a share in the realm. This request the physicians did not keep secret, but reported what had been said to the younger Dionysius. The latter, disquieted by the information, compelled the physicians to give his father a soporific, in order that Dion might have no opportunity for a conference; and when the patient had taken the drug, he seemed to fall asleep and died without awakening. 367 B.C

3. Such was the beginning of the hostility between Dion and Dionysius, and it was aggravated by many circumstances. At first, however, they remained friends outwardly for a time, and when Dion did not cease to beg Dionysius to summon Plato from Athens and avail himself of the philosopher's advice, the tyrant, who wished to follow his father's example in some particular, granted the request. At the same time he recalled[1] the historian Philistus to Syracuse, a man who was no more friendly to the tyrant than to tyrants in general. But about him I have given fuller particulars in the book which I wrote on the Greek historians. As for Plato, such was his influence over the tyrant, and so great was the effect of his eloquence, that he persuaded Dionysius to put an end to his tyranny and restore

reddere Syracusanis. A qua voluntate Philisti consilio deterritus aliquanto crudelior esse coepit.

4. Qui quidem cum a Dione se superari videret ingenio, auctoritate, amore populi, verens ne, sit eum secum haberet, aliquam occasionem sui daret opprimendi, navem ei triremem dedit, qua Corinthum deveheretur, ostendens se id utriusque facere causa, ne, cum inter se timerent, alteruter alterum prae-
2 occuparet. Id cum factum multi indignarentur magnaeque esset invidiae tyranno, Dionysius omnia quae moveri poterant Dionis in navis imposuit ad eumque misit. Sic enim existimari volebat id se non odio hominis, sed suae salutis fecisse causa.
3 Postea vero quam audivit eum in Peloponneso manum comparare sibique bellum facere conari, Areten, Dionis uxorem, alii nuptum dedit filiumque eius sic educari iussit, ut indulgendo turpissimis
4 imbueretur cupiditatibus. Nam puero, priusquam pubes esset, scorta adducebantur, vino epulisque obruebatur, neque ullum tempus sobrio relinque-
5 batur. Is usque eo vitae statum commutatum ferre non potuit, postquam in patriam rediit pater—namque appositi erant custodes, qui eum a pristino victu deducerent—ut se de superiore parte aedium deiecerit atque ita interierit. Sed illuc revertor.

5. Postquam Corinthum pervenit Dion et eodem perfugit Heraclides, ab eodem expulsus Dionysio,

their freedom to the Syracusans; but he was dissuaded by the advice of Philistus and began to show considerably greater cruelty than before.

4. Since Dionysius perceived that he was surpassed by Dion in ability, in influence, and in the affections of the people, he feared that, if he kept his rival near him, he might furnish an opportunity for his own downfall. Accordingly, he gave him a trireme in 366 B.C. which to sail to Corinth, explaining that he did so for both their sakes; for since they feared each other, there was danger that one might take advantage of the other. Since that action excited widespread indignation and great hatred of the tyrant, Dionysius loaded all Dion's movable property into ships and sent it to him, wishing to give the impression that he had been actuated, not by hatred of his rival, but by regard for his own safety. But when he learned that the exile was levying a force in the Peloponnesus and planning to make war upon him, Dionysius gave Dion's wife, Arete, in marriage to another, and caused his son to be brought up under such conditions that, as the result of indulgence, he developed the most shameful passions. For before he had grown up, the boy was supplied with courtesans, gorged with food and wine, and kept in a constant state of drunkenness. When his father returned to his native land, the youth found it so impossible to endure the changed conditions of his life—for guardians were appointed to wean him from his former habits—that he threw himself from the top of his house and so perished. But I return to my subject.

5. After Dion arrived in Corinth, he found that Heraclides also had taken refuge there; he too had

qui praefectus fuerat equitum, omni ratione bellum
2 comparare coeperunt. Sed non multum proficiebant, quod multorum annorum tyrannis[1] magnarum opum putabatur; quam ob causam pauci ad societatem
3 periculi perducebantur. Sed Dion, fretus non tam suis copiis quam odio tyranni, maximo animo duabus onerariis navibus quinquaginta annorum imperium, munitum quingentis longis navibus, decem equitum centumque peditum milibus, profectus oppugnatum —quod omnibus gentibus admirabile est visum—adeo facile perculit, ut post diem tertium, quam Siciliam attigerat,[2] Syracusas introierit. Ex quo intellegi potest nullum esse imperium tutum nisi benevolentia munitum.

4 Eo tempore aberat Dionysius et in Italia classem opperiebatur adversariorum, ratus neminem sine magnis copiis ad se venturum. Quae res eum
5 fefellit. Nam Dion iis ipsis qui sub adversarii fuerant potestate regios spiritus repressit totiusque eius partis Siciliae potitus est quae sub Dionysii fuerat potestate parique modo urbis Syracusarum
6 praeter arcem et insulam adiunctam oppido, eoque rem perduxit, ut talibus pactionibus pacem tyrannus facere vellet: Siciliam Dion obtineret, Italiam Dionysius, Syracusas Apollocrates, cui maximam fidem uni habebat Dionysius.[3]

[1] tyrannis, *Lambin*; tyrannus, *MSS.*
[2] attigerat, *Aldus*; attigerit, *MSS.*
[3] Dionysius, *Lambin*; Dion, *MSS.* (*deleted by Heusinger*); *a lacuna before or after* Dion *is suspected by many.*

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[1] Dionysius I had reigned thirty-eight years, from 406 to 367 B.C., and his son, so far, ten years.
[2] That is, Ortygia. The citadel was on this island, which was joined to the rest of the city by a mole.

been banished by Dionysius, whose cavalry he had formerly commanded. The two exiles began to make active preparations for war, but they did not accomplish much, since the rule of the tyrants was of so many years' standing [1] that it was regarded as very powerful, and consequently few could be induced to share in so dangerous an undertaking. Nevertheless Dion, relying less upon his own resources than on hatred of the tyrant, although he had but two transports, sallied forth with the greatest courage to attack a dynasty of fifty years' duration, defended by five hundred war-ships, ten thousand horsemen and a hundred thousand foot. And he so easily overthrew his opponents—a success which filled all nations with amazement—that two days after landing in Sicily he entered Syracuse; which goes to show that no rule is secure which is not founded upon the devotion of its subjects.

At that time Dionysius was away from home, awaiting the enemy's fleet in Italy; for he thought that no one would come against him without great forces. But he was mistaken; for Dion with those very people who had been under the heel of his opponent broke the king's pride and gained possession of all that part of Sicily which Dionysius had ruled, as well as of the city of Syracuse, except the citadel and island [2] that formed a part of the town. So successful was he, in fact, that the tyrant consented to make peace on the following terms: Sicily was to fall to Dion, Italy [3] to Dionysius, and Syracuse to Apollocrates, who was especially trusted by Dionysius.[4]

[3] That is, the part of southern Italy which had fallen into the power of the Dionysii. [4] See the critical note.

6. Has tam prosperas tamque inopinatas res consecuta est subita commutatio, quod fortuna, sua mobilitate, quem paulo ante extulerat demergere
2 est adorta. Primum in filio de quo commemoravi supra suam vim exercuit. Nam cum uxorem reduxisset, quae alii fuerat tradita, filiumque vellet revocare ad virtutem a perdita luxuria, accepit
3 gravissimum parens vulnus morte filii. Deinde orta dissensio est inter eum et Heraclidem, qui, quod ei [1] principatum non concedebat, factionem comparavit. Neque is minus valebat apud optimates, quorum consensu praeerat classi, cum Dion exercitum
4 pedestrem teneret. Non tulit hoc animo aequo Dion, et versum illum Homeri rettulit ex secunda rhapsodia, in quo haec sententia est: non posse bene geri rem publicam multorum imperiis. Quod dictum magna invidia consecuta est; namque aperuisse videbatur omnia in sua potestate esse
5 velle. Hanc ille non lenire obsequio, sed acerbitate opprimere studuit, Heraclidemque, cum Syracusas venisset, interficiundum curavit.

7. Quod factum omnibus maximum timorem iniecit; nemo enim illo interfecto se tutum putabat. Ille autem, adversario remoto, licentius eorum bona quos sciebat adversus se sensisse militibus dispertivit.
2 Quibus divisis, cum cotidiani maximi fierent sumptus, celeriter pecunia deesse coepit, neque quo

[1] qui quod ei, *Fleck.*; qui quod, *R*, *Nipp.*; qui quidem, *MSS.*

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[1] See 4. 3.

[2] That is, *Iliad* ii. 204: *οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς.* The word *rhapsodia* (*ῥαψῳδία*) meant originally "a recital of Epic poetry," but was applied by the Romans to the books of Homer.

6. This success, so great and so unexpected, was followed by a sudden change, since Fortune, with her usual fickleness, proceeded to bring down the man whom she had shortly before exalted. First, she showed her cruelty in connection with the son of whom I have previously spoken; for when Dion had recovered his wife, who had been handed over to another,[1] and was trying to recall his son from his abandoned wantonness to a life of virtue, he suffered in the death of that son the wound most painful for a father. Next, dissension arose between him and Heraclides, who, unwilling to yield the first place to Dion, formed a party against him. Heraclides had no less influence with the aristocrats than Dion, and by them he was unanimously chosen to command the fleet, while Dion retained the land forces. This situation Dion could not bear with patience, but quoted the well-known verse of Homer from his second book,[2] of which the purport is, that a state cannot be well governed when there are many in authority. This saying of his, since it seemed to show that he aimed at supreme power, excited great dissatisfaction, a dissatisfaction which he did not try to lessen by mildness, but to crush out by severity; and when Heraclides had come to Syracuse, he contrived to have him assassinated.

7. That act filled all men with extreme fear; for after Heraclides had been killed, no one felt safe. But Dion, having rid himself of his rival, with still greater lawlessness divided among his soldiers the property of those whom he knew to be opposed to him. After distributing that money, as his daily expenses were very great, he soon began to be in need of funds, and there was nothing on which he

manus porrigeret suppetebat, nisi in amicorum possessiones. Id eius modi erat, ut, cum milites
3 reconciliasset, amitteret optimates. Quarum rerum cura angebatur et, insuetus male audiendi, non animo aequo ferebat de se ab iis male existimari quorum paulo ante in caelum fuerat elatus laudibus. Vulgus autem, offensa in eum militum voluntate, liberius loquebatur et tyrannum non ferendum dictitabat.

8. Haec ille intuens cum quem ad modum sedaret nesciret, et quorsum evaderent timeret, Callicrates quidam, civis Atheniensis, qui simul cum eo ex Peloponneso in Siciliam venerat, homo et callidus et ad fraudem acutus, sine ulla religione ac fide, adiit
2 ad Dionem et ait: eum magno in periculo esse propter offensionem populi et odium militum, quod nullo modo evitare posset, nisi alicui suorum negotium daret qui se simularet illi inimicum. Quem si invenisset idoneum, facile omnium animos cogniturum adversariosque sublaturum, quod inimici eius dissidenti[1] suos sensus aperturi forent.

3 Tali consilio probato, excepit has partes ipse Callicrates et se armat imprudentia Dionis. Ad eum interficiundum socios conquirit, adversarios eius
4 convenit, coniuratione confirmat. Res, multis consciis quae gereretur, elata defertur ad Aristomachen, sororem Dionis, uxoremque Areten. Illae timore

[1] dissidenti, *Bremi*, *F* λ; dissidentis, *most MSS.*; dissidentes π *B R u*.

[1] The man's name was really Callippus.

could lay his hands except the possessions of his friends. The result of his conduct was, that when he had won back the soldiers, he lost the support of the aristocracy. The anxiety caused by these difficulties broke him down, and since he was not accustomed to criticism, he could not endure being thought ill of by those who but a short time before had exalted him to the skies with their praises. The common people too, now that he had lost the goodwill of the soldiers, spoke their minds more freely and insisted that a tyrant could not be tolerated.

8. Dion, aware of all this discontent, not knowing how to allay it, and fearing its possible result, was approached by one Callicrates,[1] a citizen of Athens, who had come with him to Sicily from the Peloponnesus, a man both clever and skilled in deceit, utterly without scruple or sense of honour. He went to Dion and said: "You are in great peril because of the ill-feeling of the people and the hostility of the soldiers. This you can escape in only one way, that is, by instructing some one of your friends to pretend to be your enemy. If you can hit upon the right man, it will be easy for him to acquaint himself with the feelings of the public and get rid of those who are hostile to you, since your foes will disclose their real sentiments to an enemy of yours."

This plan was approved, and Callicrates himself took the proposed part and armed himself at the expense of Dion's heedlessness. To bring about his death, he sought accomplices, addressed himself to Dion's enemies, and secured their loyalty by an oath. The plot, since many were implicated in it, was revealed and came to the ears of Aristomache, Dion's sister, and of his wife, Arete. The two

perterritae conveniunt cuius de periculo timebant. At ille negat a Callicrate fieri sibi insidias, sed illa
5 quae agerentur fieri praecepto suo. Mulieres nihilo setius Callicratem in aedem Proserpinae deducunt ac iurare cogunt nihil ab illo periculi fore Dioni. Ille hac religione non modo non est deterritus, sed ad maturandum concitatus est, verens ne prius consilium aperiretur suum, quam cogitata perfecisset.

9. Hac mente proximo die festo, cum a conventu se remotum Dion domi teneret atque in conclavi edito recubuisset, consciis facinoris loca munitiora oppidi tradit, domum custodiis saepit, a foribus qui
2 non discedant certos praeficit, navem triremem armatis ornat Philostratoque, fratri suo, tradit eamque in portu agitari iubet, ut si exercere remiges vellet, cogitans, si forte consiliis obstitisset fortuna,
3 ut haberet qua fugeret ad salutem. Suorum autem e numero Zacynthios [1] adulescentes quosdam eligit cum audacissimos tum viribus maximis, iisque dat negotium, ad Dionem eant inermes, sic ut conveniendi eius gratia viderentur venire. Ii propter
4 notitiam sunt intromissi. At illi ut limen eius [2] intrarant, foribus obseratis, in lecto cubantem invadunt, colligant; fit strepitus, adeo ut exaudiri posset foris.
5 Hic, sicut ante saepe dictum est, quam invisa sit

[1] Zacynthios, *u, in margin*; Zaguntios, *etc.*, *MSS.*
[2] aedis, *Wagner.*

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[1] It was the festival of Proserpina, the goddess by whom Callicrates had sworn.

[2] Cf. 5. 3. The other instances probably appeared in the lost books *De Regibus*.

women, filled with terror, went to find the man for whose safety they feared; but he said that Callicrates was not plotting against him, but was acting in accordance with his directions. In spite of that, the women took Callicrates to the temple of Proserpina and forced him to swear that Dion would be in no danger from him. But the conspirator, far from being turned from his purpose by such an oath, was urged to greater haste, for fear that his design should be disclosed before he had accomplished his purpose.

9. With that end in view, on a holiday which soon followed,[1] when Dion had remained at home to avoid the crowd and had lain down in an upper room, Callicrates delivered to his accomplices the more strongly fortified parts of the town, surrounded the palace with guards, and chose trusty men to keep constant watch at the doors. He then equipped a trireme with armed men and committed it to his brother Philostratus, with orders to row up and down in the harbour, as if he were engaged in training his oarsmen, so that if by any chance Fortune thwarted his purpose, he might have the means of saving himself by flight. Then from the number of his followers he chose some young men from Zacynthos, who were both very daring and very strong, and directed them to go to Dion unarmed, so that it might appear that they were coming to pay him a visit. The youths, since they were acquaintances, were admitted; but no sooner had they crossed his threshold than they locked the door, rushed upon Dion as he lay in bed, and held him fast. The noise that they made could be heard outside.

In this instance too, as has often been said before,[2]

singularis potentia et miseranda vita, qui se metui
6 quam amari malunt, cuivis facile intellectu fuit. Namque ipsius[1] custodes, si propitia[2] fuissent voluntate, foribus effractis servare eum potuissent, quod illi inermes telum foris flagitantes vivum tenebant. Cui cum succurreret nemo, Lyco quidam Syracusanus per fenestras gladium dedit, quo Dion interfectus est.

10. Confecta caede, cum multitudo visendi gratia introisset, nonnulli ab insciis pro noxiis conciduntur. Nam celeri rumore dilato[3] Dioni vim adlatam, multi concurrerant, quibus tale facinus displicebat. Ii falsa suspicione ducti immerentes ut sceleratos
2 occidunt. Huius de morte ut palam factum est, mirabiliter vulgi mutata est voluntas; nam qui vivum eum tyrannum vocitarant, eidem liberatorem patriae tyrannique expulsorem praedicabant. Sic subito misericordia odio successerat, ut eum suo sanguine
3 ab Acherunte, si possent, cuperent redimere. Itaque in urbe celeberrimo loco, elatus publice, sepulcri monumento donatus est. Diem obiit circiter annos quinquaginta quinque natus, quartum post annum quam ex Peloponneso in Siciliam redierat.

[1] ipsius, *Halm*; illi ipsi, *MSS.*
[2] propitia, *R*; propria, *the other MSS.*; prompta, *Halm.*
[3] dilato, *Lambin*; delato, *MSS.*

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[1] These guards are obviously not the same as those mentioned in 9. 1.[1] That Dion had guards outside his door is shown by the fact that the Zacynthian youths had to be recognized before they were admitted.

the hatred of absolute power and the wretched life of those who prefer to be feared rather than loved was readily apparent to all; for Dion's own guards,[1] if they had been well disposed, might have broken open the door and saved him, since he was still alive in the hands of his assailants, who were unarmed and calling for a weapon from without. But when no one came to his help, one Lyco, a Syracusan, passed a sword through the windows,[2] and with it the tyrant was slain.

10. After the murder had been committed and a crowd had flocked in to see the sight, several men were killed by mistake, in the belief that they had done the deed. For the rumour that violence had been offered to Dion quickly spread, and many hastened to the spot to whom such a crime was abhorrent. These it was who, misled by suspicion, slew the innocent in place of the guilty. No sooner was Dion's death made known than the sentiment of the people changed in a remarkable manner. For those who had called him a tyrant while he was alive now insisted that he had saved his country and freed it from a tyrant. Hence, on a sudden, pity succeeded to hatred, and the people would have redeemed him from Acheron, had it been possible, at the price of their own blood. And so he was buried in the most frequented part of the city at public expense, and the place of his burial was marked by a monument. He died at the age of about fifty-five, 353 B.C. three years after returning from the Peloponnesus to Sicily.

[2] Since Dion was in an upper room, the sword must have been passed from the window of an adjacent house; hence *fenestras*, instead of *fenestram*. It is true that the account of Plutarch (*Dion* 57) differs from that of Nepos.

XI. IPHICRATES

1. Iphicrates Atheniensis non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum quam disciplina militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non solum aetatis suae cum primis compararetur, sed ne de maioribus natu
2 quidem quisquam anteponeretur. Multum vero in bello est versatus, saepe exercitibus praefuit, nusquam culpa male rem gessit; semper consilio vicit tantumque eo valuit, ut multa in re militari partim
3 nova attulerit, partim meliora fecerit. Namque ille pedestria arma mutavit. Cum ante illum imperatorem maximis clipeis, brevibus hastis, minutis gladiis
4 uterentur, ille e contrario peltam pro parma fecit—a quo postea peltastae pedites appellantur—ut ad motus concursusque essent leviores, hastae modum duplicavit, gladios longiores fecit. Idem genus loricarum mutavit[1] et pro sertis atque aeneis linteas dedit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit; nam pondere detracto, quod aeque corpus tegeret et leve esset curavit.

2. Bellum cum Thraecibus gessit, Seuthem, socium Atheniensium, in regnum restituit. Apud Corinthum tanta severitate exercitui praefuit, ut nullae umquam in Graecia neque exercitatiores
2 copiae neque magis dicto audientes fuerint duci, in

[1] **mutavit,** *u*; *the MSS. omit.*

[1] The *clipeus* and *parma* were round shields; the *pelte*, a light, crescent-shaped shield. Nepos apparently uses *pro parma*, instead of *pro clipeo*, for the sake of the alliteration.

[2] In the Corinthian war, 393 to 391 B.C.

XI. IPHICRATES

1. Iphicrates, the Athenian, gained renown by his great deeds, but still more by his knowledge of the art of war; for not only was he a leader comparable with the greatest of his own time, but not even among the men of earlier days was there anyone who surpassed him. Indeed, a great part of his life was spent in warfare, he often commanded armies, and he never lost a battle through his own fault. It was always by knowledge of war that he gained his victories, and his knowledge was so great that he introduced many novelties in military equipment, as well as many improvements. For example, he changed the arms of the infantry. While before he became commander they used very large shields, short spears and little swords, he on the contrary exchanged *peltae*, or Thracian shields,[1] for the round ones (for which reason the infantry have since been called peltasts), in order that the soldiers might move and charge more easily when less burdened. He doubled the length of the spear and increased that of the swords; he changed the character of their breastplates, giving them linen ones in place of bronze cuirasses or chain armour. In that way he made the soldiers more active; for while he diminished the weight of their armour, he contrived to protect their bodies equally well without overloading them.

2. He waged war with the Thracians; he restored 389 B.C.
Seuthes, an ally of the Athenians, to his throne. At Corinth[2] such was the strictness of his command of the army, that no troops in Greece were better drilled or more obedient to their leader; and he made them

eamque consuetudinem adduxit ut, cum proelii signum ab imperatore esset datum, sine ducis opera sic ordinatae consisterent, ut singuli peritissimo ab
3 imperatore dispositi viderentur. Hoc exercitu moram Lacedaemoniorum interfecit, quod maxime tota celebratum est Graecia. Iterum eodem bello omnes copias eorum fugavit, quo facto magnam adeptus est
4 gloriam. Cum Artaxerxes Aegyptio regi bellum inferre voluit, Iphicraten ab Atheniensibus ducem petivit, quem praeficeret exercitui conducticio, cuius numerus duodecim milium fuit. Quem quidem sic omni disciplina militari erudivit, ut quemadmodum quodam Fabiani milites vere[1] Romani appellati sunt, sic Iphicratenses apud Graecos in summa
5 laude fuerint. Idem subsidio Lacedaemoniis profectus, Epaminondae retardavit impetus; nam nisi eius adventus appropinquasset, non prius Thebani Sparta abscessissent, quam captam incendio delessent.

3. Fuit autem et animo magno et corpore imperatoriaque forma, ut ipso aspectu cuivis iniceret
2 admirationem sui, sed in labore nimis remissus parumque patiens, ut Theopompus memoriae prodidit; bonus vero civis fideque magna. Quod cum in aliis rebus declaravit, tum maxime in Amyntae Macedonis liberis tuendis. Namque Eurydice, mater Perdiccae et Philippi, cum his duobus pueris, Amynta

[1] vere, *added by Wagner.*

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[1] A *mora* consisted of from 400 to 900 men.

[2] Doubtless referring to Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, the opponent of Hannibal. Wagner cites Livy XXII. 14. 11, *vir ac vere Romanus*. *Romani* alone sometimes has the same force; *e.g.* Livy VII. 13. 9, etc.

form the habit, when the signal for battle had been given by the commander, without waiting for an officer's command to take their places in such good order that each man seemed to have been assigned his position by a most skilful general. It was with that army that he annihilated a regiment[1] of the Lacedaemonians, a feat which was highly praised all over Greece. On another occasion in that same war he put all their forces to flight, an exploit by which he gained great glory. When Artaxerxes wished to make war on the king of Egypt, he asked the Athenians for Iphicrates as one of his generals, to command an army of twelve thousand mercenaries. That army the Athenian trained so thoroughly in all varieties of military discipline, that just as in days of old the soldiers of Fabius[2] were called true Romans, so "soldiers of Iphicrates" became a title of the greatest honour among the Greeks. Again, having gone to the aid of the Lacedaemonians, he thwarted 369 B.C. the designs of Epaminondas; for if his arrival had not been imminent, the Thebans would not have left Sparta until they had taken and burned the city.[3]

3. He had, in addition to nobility of soul and great size of body, the aspect of one born to command, so that his appearance alone inspired admiration in all men; but, as Theopompus has recorded, he was not steadfast enough in effort and he lacked endurance: nevertheless, he was a good citizen and the soul of honour. This was manifest both on other occasions and especially in protecting the children of Amyntas, 368 B.C. the Macedonian; for after his death Eurydice, the mother of Perdiccas and Philippus, took refuge

[3] Cf. xvii. 6. 1, where Agesilaus, more justly, has credit for this.

mortuo, ad Iphicraten confugit eiusque opibus
3 defensa est. Vixit ad senectutem, placatis in se suorum civium animis. Causam capitis semel dixit, bello sociali, simul cum Timotheo, eoque iudicio est absolutus.

4 Menesthea filium reliquit ex Thraessa natum, Coti regis filia. Is cum interrogaretur utrum pluris, patrem matremne, faceret, "Matrem," inquit. Id cum omnibus mirum videretur, at ille "Merito," inquit, "facio; nam pater, quantum in se fuit, Thraecem me genuit, contra ea mater Atheniensem."

XII. CHABRIAS

1. Chabrias Atheniensis. Hic quoque in summis habitus est ducibus resque multas memoria dignas gessit. Sed ex iis elucet maxime inventum eius in proelio quod apud Thebas fecit, cum Boeotis subsidio
2 venisset. Namque in eo victoria fidentem summum ducem Agesilaum fugatis iam ab eo conducticiis catervis coercuit,[1] reliquam phalangem loco vetuit cedere obnixoque genu scuto, proiecta hasta impetum excipere hostium docuit. Id novum Agesilaus contuens progredi non est ausus suosque iam in-

[1] coercuit, *added by Wagner.*

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[1] The so-called Social War, 357–355 B.C. See xiii. 3. 1.
[2] Cotys (Cotyis) is the proper form of the name.
[3] *Reliquam phalangem* obviously does not mean "the rest of the phalanx," but the "rest (of the army, namely) the

with Iphicrates with these two boys, and was defended with all his power. He lived to a good old age, enjoying the devotion of his fellow-citizens. Only once did he have occasion to defend himself against a capital charge; that was during the war with the allies,[1] in company with Timotheus, and he was acquitted.

He left a son Mnestheus, the offspring of a Thracian woman, the daughter of King Cotus.[2] When Mnestheus was once asked whether he thought more of his father or of his mother, he answered: "My mother." When everyone expressed surprise at his reply, he added: "I have good reason for that; for my father did everything in his power to make me a Thracian; my mother, on the contrary, made me an Athenian."

XII. CHABRIAS

1. Chabrias, the Athenian. This man also was rated as one of the greatest of commanders and did many deeds worthy of record. But especially brilliant among these was his device in the battle which he fought near Thebes, when he came to the aid of the Boeotians. On that occasion, though 378 B.C. the consummate leader Agesilaus felt sure of victory, since he had already put to flight the throngs of mercenaries, Chabrias checked him, forbade the phalanx, which was left[3] unsupported, to abandon its position, and instructed the soldiers to receive the enemy's onset with buckler on knee and lance advanced. On seeing these novel tactics, Agesilaus did not dare to attack, but although his forces had

phalanx"; cf. *reliquos Pisidas*, xiv. 6. 7. *Alius* is sometimes used in the same way; see *Class. Phil.* xxiii. pp. 60 ff.

3 currentes tuba revocavit. Hoc usque eo tota Graecia fama celebratum est, ut illo statu Chabrias sibi statuam fieri voluerit, quae publice ei ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta est. Ex quo factum est ut postea athletae ceterique artifices suis[1] statibus in[2] statuis ponendis uterentur, cum victoriam essent adepti.

2. Chabrias autem multa in Europa bella administravit, cum dux Atheniensium esset; in Aegypto sua sponte gessit. Nam Nectenebin adiutum
2 profectus, regnum ei constituit. Fecit idem Cypri, sed publice ab Atheniensibus Euagorae adiutor datus, neque prius inde discessit, quam totam insulam bello devinceret; qua ex re Athenienses magnam gloriam
3 sunt adepti. Interim bellum inter Aegyptios et Persas conflatum est. Athenienses cum Artaxerxe societatem habebant, Lacedaemonii cum Aegyptiis, a quibus magnas praedas Agesilaus, rex eorum, faciebat. Id intuens Chabrias, cum in re nulla Agesilao cederet, sua sponte eos adiutum profectus, Aegyptiae classi praefuit, pedestribus copiis Agesilaus.

3. Tum praefecti regis Persae legatos miserunt Athenas, questum quod Chabrias adversum regem bellum gereret cum Aegyptiis. Athenienses diem certam Chabriae praestituerunt, quam ante domum nisi redisset, capitis se illum damnaturos denuntiarunt. Hoc ille nuntio Athenas rediit, neque ibi

[1] suis, *MacMichael and Rubner* ; iis, *MSS.*
[2] in, *added in u.*

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[1] See xvii. 7. 2 and 8. 6. The narration of events in 2 and 3. 1 is confused and inexact.

already begun the charge, he sounded the recall. This manœuvre became so famous all over Greece that, when a statue was publicly erected to Chabrias in the agora at Athens, he chose to be represented in that position. The result was that after that time athletes, and artists as well, adopted appropriate attitudes for the statues which were set up in their honour when they had won victories.

2. Now Chabrias carried on many wars in Europe as general of the Athenians; in Egypt he made war on his own responsibility. For having gone to the aid of Nectenebis, he secured for him the possession of his throne. He did the same thing in Cyprus, but in that case he was officially appointed by the Athenians to aid Euagoras; and he did not leave the island until he had completely conquered it, an exploit by which the Athenians gained great fame. In the meantime war broke out between the Egyptians and the Persians. The Athenians had an alliance with Artaxerxes; the Lacedaemonians sided with the Egyptians, from whom their king Agesilaus was making large sums of money.[1] Chabrias, seeing this, and not wishing to yield the palm to Agesilaus in anything, went on his own responsibility to the aid of the Egyptians and was made commander of their fleet, while Agesilaus led the land forces.

3. Then the prefects of the Persian king sent envoys to Athens, to remonstrate because Chabrias was warring against their king, acting as an ally of the Egyptians. The Athenians appointed a fixed time for Chabrias to return home, declaring that if he did not obey, they would condemn him to death. In consequence of this threat he returned to Athens,

2 diutius est moratus quam fuit necesse. Non enim libenter erat ante oculos suorum civium, quod et vivebat laute et indulgebat sibi liberalius quam ut
3 invidiam vulgi posset effugere. Est enim hoc commune vitium in magnis liberisque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriae comes sit; et libenter de iis detrahunt quos eminere videant altius, neque animo aequo pauperes alienam opulentium intuuntur fortunam. Itaque Chabrias, quoad ei licebat, plurimum aberat.
4 Neque vero solus ille aberat Athenis libenter, sed omnes fere principes fecerunt idem, quod tantum se ab invidia putabant afuturos,[1] quantum a conspectu suorum recesserint. Itaque Conon plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thraecia, Timotheus Lesbo, Chares Sigeo, dissimilis quidem Chares horum et factis et moribus, sed tamen Athenis et honoratus et potens.

4. Chabrias autem periit bello sociali tali modo. Oppugnabant Athenienses Chium. Erat in classe Chabrias privatus, sed omnes qui in magistratu erant auctoritate anteibat, eumque magis milites quam qui
2 praeerant aspiciebant. Quae res ei maturavit mortem. Nam dum primus studet portum intrare gubernatoremque iubet eo derigere navem, ipse sibi perniciei fuit; cum enim eo penetrasset, ceterae non

[1] afuturos, *Fleck*; futuros, *most MSS.*; abfuturos, *u V.*

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[1] In 356 B.C.; see n. 1, p. 496.

[2] That is, he was not commander-in-chief; he seems to have commanded a trireme.

but remained there no longer than was absolutely necessary. For he did not care to be under the eyes of his fellow-citizens, because he was living elegantly and indulging himself too generously to be able to avoid the distrust of the common people. In fact, it is a common fault of great states which enjoy freedom that jealousy waits upon glory and that the people take pleasure in humbling those whom they see rising above the level of their fellows. Those of moderate means cannot regard with patience the good fortune of others who are rich. And it was for that reason that Chabrias, as long as he was able to do so, frequently absented himself.

And Chabrias was not the only one who was glad to leave Athens, but almost all the leading men felt as he did, believing that they would be free from suspicion to the extent that they withdrew from the sight of their countrymen. Accordingly, Conon spent a good part of his life in Cyprus, Iphicrates in Thrace, Timotheus in Lesbos, and Chares at Sigeum; it is true that Chares differed from the others in actions and character, but nevertheless he was both honoured and influential in Athens.

4. Now Chabrias lost his life during the Social War[1] in the following manner. The Athenians were attacking Chios. With the fleet was Chabrias in a private capacity,[2] but his influence was greater than that of all who held command, and the soldiers looked to him rather than to their chiefs. That position of influence hastened his death; for desiring to be the first to enter the port, he ordered his steersman to direct his ship to that point. In that way he brought about his own destruction; for when he had forced his way in, the rest of the ships did not

sunt secutae. Quo facto circumfusus hostium concursu cum fortissime pugnaret, navis rostro percussa
3 coepit sidere. Hinc refugere cum posset, si se in mare deiecisset, quod suberat classis Atheniensium quae exciperet natantes, perire maluit quam armis abiectis navem relinquere, in qua fuerat vectus. Id ceteri facere noluerunt, qui nando in tutum pervenerunt. At ille, praestare honestam mortem existimans turpi vitae, comminus pugnans telis hostium interfectus est.

XIII. TIMOTHEUS

1. Timotheus, Cononis filius, Atheniensis. Hic a patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus; fuit enim disertus, impiger, laboriosus, rei militaris peritus
2 neque minus civitatis regendae. Multa huius sunt praeclare facta, sed haec maxime illustria. Olynthios et Byzantios bello subegit. Samum cepit; in quo oppugnando superiore bello Athenienses mille et ducenta talenta consumpserant, id ille sine ulla publica impensa populo restituit. Adversus Cotum bella gessit ab eoque mille et ducenta talenta praedae
3 in publicum rettulit. Cyzicum obsidione liberavit. Ariobarzani simul cum Agesilao auxilio profectus est, a quo cum Laco pecuniam numeratam accepisset, ille cives suos agro atque urbibus augeri maluit quam

[1] In 444–439 B.C., when Samos, which had revolted from Athens, was reduced by Pericles.
[2] See note 2, p. 496. [3] Cf. xvii. 7. 2.

follow. Consequently he was surrounded by the enemy coming from all sides, and although he fought valiantly, his ship was rammed and began to sink. Even then Chabrias might have escaped by throwing himself into the sea, since the Athenian fleet was at hand to pick up swimmers; but he preferred to die rather than throw away his arms and abandon the ship in which he had sailed. The rest did not share that feeling, but saved themselves by swimming. He, however, thinking an honourable death preferable to a shameful life, was slain by the enemy's weapons in hand-to-hand-combat.

XIII. TIMOTHEUS

1. Timotheus, the Athenian, son of Conon. This man increased by his many accomplishments the glory which he had inherited from his father; for he was eloquent, energetic and industrious; he was skilled in the art of war and equally so in statesmanship. Many are his illustrious deeds, but the following are the most celebrated; his arms were victorious over the Olynthians and the Byzantines; he took Samos, and although in a former war the 365 B.C.
Athenians had spent twelve hundred talents in the siege of that town,[1] he restored it to the people without any expense to the state. He waged war against Cotus [2] and gained booty to the value of twelve hundred talents, which he paid into the public treasury. He freed Cyzicus from a blockade. With Agesilaus he went to the aid of Ariobarzanes, and while the Laconian accepted a cash payment for his services,[3] Timotheus preferred that his fellow-citizens should have additional territory and cities, rather than that he should receive a recom-

id sumere cuius partem domum suam ferre posset. Itaque accepit Crithoten[1] et Sestum.

2. Idem classi praefectus circumvehens Peloponnesum, Laconicen populatus, classem eorum fugavit, Corcyram sub imperium Atheniensium redegit sociosque idem adiunxit Epirotas, Athamanas, Chaonas omnesque eas gentes, quae mare illud
2 adiacent. Quo facto Lacedaemonii de diutina contentione destiterunt et sua sponte Atheniensibus imperii maritimi principatum concesserunt, pacemque his legibus constituerunt, ut Athenienses mari duces essent. Quae victoria tantae fuit Atticis laetitiae, ut tum primum arae Paci publice sint
3 factae eique deae pulvinar sit institutum. Cuius laudis ut memoria maneret, Timotheo publice statuam in foro posuerunt. Qui honos huic uni ante id tempus contigit, ut, cum patri populus statuam posuisset, filio quoque daret. Sic iuxta posita recens filii veterem patris renovavit memoriam.

3. Hic cum esset magno natu et magistratus gerere desisset, bello Athenienses undique premi sunt coepti. Defecerat Samus, descierat Hellespontus, Philippus iam tum valens, Macedo,[2] multa moliebatur; cui oppositus Chares cum esset, non satis in eo praesidii

[1] Crithoten, *Gebhard*; Crithonem, etc., *MSS.*

[2] Macedo, *omitted by Bosius*; *put after* Philippus *by Lupus*; *Guill. omits* Philippus.

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[1] *Pulvinar* is the cushion on which the image of the goddess was placed, in order that offerings might be set before her. Altars to Peace had existed earlier, the new departure was the annual offering.

[2] According to Demosthenes (xx. 70), Conon was the first to be honoured with a statue, after Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

[3] The reference is to the Social War of 357–355 B.C. Nepos is inaccurate in the details.

pense of which he could bear a part home with him. Accordingly, he was given Crithote and Sestus.

2. Again put in command of the fleet, he sailed around the Peloponnesus and pillaged the land of the Laconians, put their fleet to flight, and brought Corcyra under the sway of Athens; he also joined to Athens as allies the Epirotes, Athamanes, Chaones, and all the peoples bordering on that part of the sea. Thereupon the Lacedaemonians gave up a long-continued contest, and voluntarily yielded to the Athenians the first place in maritime power, making peace on terms which acknowledged the supremacy of Athens on the sea. That victory filled the people of Attica with such great joy that then for the first time an altar was publicly consecrated to Peace and a feast established in her honour.[1] In order to perpetuate the memory of so glorious a deed, the Athenians set up a statue of Timotheus in the agora, at the cost of the state. This was an honour which had fallen to him alone of all men up to that time, namely, that when the state had erected a statue to a father, a son received the same tribute.[2] Thus the new statue of the son, placed beside that of the father, revived the memory of the latter, which had now grown old. 375 B.C. 374 B.C.

3. When Timotheus was advanced in years and had ceased to hold office, war began to threaten the Athenians from every quarter: Samos had revolted, the Hellespont had seceded,[3] Philip of Macedon, who was even then powerful, was making many plots. Against the last-named Chares[4] had been sent, but was not thought capable of defending the country.

[4] He is mentioned also in xii. 3. 4. and xix. 2. 3.

2 putabatur. Fit Menestheus praetor, filius Iphicratis, gener Timothei, et ut ad bellum proficiscatur decernitur. Huic in consilium dantur duo, usu sapientiaque praestantes,[1] pater et socer, quod in his tanta erat auctoritas, ut magna spes esset per eos amissa posse
3 recuperari. Hi cum Samum profecti essent et eodem Chares, illorum adventu cognito, cum suis copiis proficisceretur, ne quid absente se gestum videretur, accidit, cum ad insulam appropinquarent, ut magna tempestas oriretur; quam evitare duo veteres imperatores utile arbitrati, suam classem
4 suppresserunt. At ille temeraria usus ratione non cessit maiorum natu auctoritati, velut[2] in sua manu esset fortuna. Quo contenderat pervenit, eodemque ut sequerentur ad Timotheum et Iphicraten nuntium misit.

Hinc male re gesta, compluribus amissis navibus, eo unde erat profectus se recepit litterasque Athenas publice misit, sibi proclive fuisse Samum capere, nisi
5 a Timotheo et Iphicrate desertus esset. Populus acer, suspicax ob eamque rem mobilis, adversarius[3] invidus—etiam potentiae in crimen vocabantur[4] —domum revocat; accusantur proditionis. Hoc iudicio damnatur Timotheus lisque eius aestimatur centum talentis. Ille odio ingratae civitatis coactus, Chalcidem se contulit.

[1] *After* praestantes *the MSS. have* quorum consilium uteretur; *deleted by Halm.*

[2] velut, *Heusinger*; et ut *and* et, *MSS.*; et ut si, *u.*

[3] adversariis, *Wagner.*

[4] etiam . . . vocabantur, *omitted by Halm*; etenim potentia . . . vocabatur, *Andresen* (*Gitlbauer*).

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[1] This sentence is difficult and probably corrupt; see the crit. notes. On *potentiae . . . vocabantur* cf. i. 8. 1; ii. 8. 1.

Menestheus, son of Iphicrates and son-in-law of Timotheus, was made general, and it was decided that he should undertake that war. He was given as advisers two men eminent for their experience and wisdom, his father and his father-in-law, since they had such high standing as to inspire strong hopes that through them what had been lost might be recovered. The three then sailed for Samos, and Chares, who had been advised of their coming, went with his forces to the same place, in order that nothing might seem to have been done without his presence. As they were drawing near to the island, it chanced that a great storm arose, and the two old generals, thinking it best to avoid it, anchored their fleet. But Chares, adopting a bold course, did not heed the advice of his elders, believing that he was the master of fortune. He arrived at his destination, and sent word to Timotheus and Iphicrates to join him.

Then, having suffered defeat and lost a number of his ships, he returned to the place from which he had set out and sent an official report to Athens, alleging that he could easily have taken Samos if he had not been left in the lurch by Timotheus and Iphicrates. The Athenians, being impulsive, distrustful and therefore changeable, hostile and envious (moreover, the men who were accused were powerful), summoned them all back home.[1] They were cited to appear in court and accused of treason. Timotheus was found guilty and his fine was fixed at one hundred talents. Whereupon, driven by indignation at his country's ingratitude, he withdrew to Chalcis.[2]

[2] In 355 B.C.; he died the same year.

4. Huius post mortem cum populum iudicii sui paeniteret, multae novem partes detraxit et decem talenta Cononem, filium eius, ad muri quandam partem reficiendam iussit dare. In quo fortunae varietas est animadversa. Nam quos avus muros ex hostium praeda patriae restituerat, eosdem nepos cum summa ignominia familiae ex sua re familiari
2 reficere coactus est. Timothei autem moderatae sapientisque vitae cum pleraque possimus proferre testimonia, uno erimus contenti, quod ex eo facile conici poterit quam carus suis fuerit. Cum Athenis adulescentulus causam diceret, non solum amici privatique hospites ad eum defendendum convenerunt, sed etiam in iis Iason, tyrannus Thessaliae, qui
3 illo tempore fuit omnium potentissimus. Hic cum in patria sine satellitibus se tutum non arbitraretur, Athenas sine ullo praesidio venit tantique hospitem fecit, ut mallet ipse[1] capitis periculum adire quam Timotheo de fama dimicanti deesse. Hunc adversus tamen Timotheus postea populi iussu bellum gessit, patriae sanctiora iura quam hospitii esse duxit.

4 Haec extrema fuit aetas imperatorum Atheniensium, Iphicratis, Chabriae, Timothei, neque post illorum obitum quisquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria.

5 Venio nunc ad fortissimum virum maximique consilii omnium barbarorum, exceptis duobus

[1] ipse, *Wölfflin*; se, *MSS.*

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[1] This was in 373 B.C.; as Timotheus was then forty years of age, *adulescentulus* is used without diminutive force, as is not unusual in colloquial speech.

[2] *Hospites* were those in other states with whom he had relations of guest-friendship; see note 1, p. 402.

4. After his death the people repented of the sentence they had passed upon Timotheus, remitted nine-tenths of the fine, and required his son Conon to pay, for repairing a part of the city wall, only ten talents. In this event we see the inconsistency of Fortune; for the very walls which his grandfather had restored to his country from booty taken from the enemy the younger Conon was compelled to repair from his own estate with great dishonour to his family. Now Timotheus lived a well-regulated and wise life; although I might give many proofs of this, I shall content myself with one, from which it may easily be imagined how dear he was to his friends. When he was a young man [1] and was involved in a law-suit at Athens, not only did his friends at home and those abroad [2] in private station flock to his defence, but among the latter was none other than Jason, tyrant of Thessaly, at that time the most powerful of all such rulers. That great man, although he did not think himself safe even in his own country without guards, came to Athens without a single attendant, being so devoted to his guest-friend that he preferred to risk his own life rather than fail Timotheus when he was defending his honour. Yet Timotheus afterwards, by order of the people, made war upon this very Jason, regarding the rights of his country as more sacred than those of hospitality.

The era of Athenian generals came to an end with Iphicrates, Chabrias and Timotheus, and after the death of those eminent men no general in that city was worthy of notice.

I now pass to the bravest and ablest man of all the barbarians, with the exception of the two Car-

6 Karthaginiensibus, Hamilcare et Hannibale. De quo hoc plura referemus, quod et obscuriora sunt eius gesta pleraque et ea quae prospere ei cesserunt, non magnitudine copiarum, sed consilii, quo tum omnes superabat, acciderunt; quorum nisi ratio explicata fuerit, res apparere non poterunt.

XIV. DATAMES

1. Datames, patre Camisare, natione Care, matre Scythissa natus, primum militum in[1] numero fuit apud Artaxerxen eorum qui regiam tuebantur. Pater eius Camisares, quod et manu fortis et bello strenuus et regi multis locis fidelis erat repertus, habuit provinciam partem Ciliciae iuxta Cappadociam, quam in-
2 colunt Leucosyri. Datames, militare munus fungens, primum qualis esset aperuit in bello quod rex adversus Cadusios gessit. Namque hic, multis milibus regiorum interfectis,[2] magni fuit eius opera. Quo factum est, cum in eo bello cecidisset Camisares, ut[3] paterna ei traderetur provincia.

2. Pari se virtute postea praebuit, cum Autophrodates iussu regis bello persequeretur eos qui defecerant. Namque huius opera hostes, cum castra iam intrassent, profligati sunt exercitusque reliquus conservatus regis est; qua ex re maioribus rebus praeesse

[1] in, *added by Fleck.*; in *before* militum, *Nipp.*
[2] multis . . . interfectis, *put after* intrassent (2. 1) *by Cobet, followed with variations by Guill.*
[3] ut, *added by Heusinger.*

[1] Since 2. 4 seems to indicate that the mother of Datames was a Paphlagonian, some take Scythissa as her name.

thaginians, Hamilcar and Hannibal. About him I shall give the more details, because the greater number of his exploits are less familiar and because his successes were due, not to the greatness of his forces, but to his strategy, in which he excelled all the men of his day. And unless the true inwardness of these successes be explained, his career cannot be understood.

XIV. DATAMES

1. Datames, son of Camisares, a Carian by nationality, born of a Scythian mother,[1] began his career as one of the corps of soldiers who guarded the palace of Artaxerxes.[2] His father Camisares, because of his personal bravery and valour in war, and because he had on many occasions proved his loyalty to the king, governed that part of Cilicia which adjoins Cappadocia and is inhabited by the Leucosyri, or "White Syrians." Datames, while serving as a soldier, first showed his quality in the war which the king waged against the Cadusii, in which, although many thousands of the king's troops were slain, his *c.* 380 services were of great value. The consequence was, that since Camisares had fallen in the course of that war, Datames became governor of his father's province.

2. He later showed himself equally valiant when Autophrodates, at the king's command, was making war upon the peoples that had revolted. For when the enemy had already entered the Persian camp, it was owing to Datames that they were routed and the rest of the king's army was saved. And because of that exploit he began to be entrusted with more

[2] Artaxerxes Mnemon, as everywhere in xiv.

2 coepit. Erat eo tempore Thuys dynastes Paphlagoniae, antiquo genere, ortus a Pylaemene [1] illo quem Homerus Troico bello a Patroclo interfectum ait.
3 Is regi dicto audiens non erat. Quam ob causam bello eum persequi constituit eique rei praefecit Datamen, propinquum Paphlagonis; namque ex fratre et sorore erant nati. Quam ob causam Datames primum experiri voluit ut sine armis propinquum ad officium reduceret. Ad quem cum venisset sine praesidio, quod ab amico nullas vereretur insidias, paene interiit; nam Thuys eum clam interficere voluit.
4 Erat mater cum Datame, amita Paphlagonis. Ea
5 quid ageretur resciit, filiumque monuit. Ille fuga periculum evitavit bellumque indixit Thuyni. In quo cum ab Ariobarzane, praefecto Lydiae et Ioniae totiusque Phrygiae, desertus esset, nihilo segnius perseveravit vivumque Thuyn cepit cum uxore et liberis.

3. Cuius facti ne prius fama ad regem quam ipse perveniret, dedit operam. Itaque omnibus insciis eo ubi erat rex venit posteroque die Thuyn, hominem maximi corporis terribilique facie, quod et niger et capillo longo barbaque erat promissa, optima veste texit, quam satrapae regii gerere consuerant, ornavit etiam torque atque armillis aureis ceteroque regio
2 cultu; ipse agresti duplici amiculo circumdatus

[1] Pylaemene, *Aldus.*

[1] In *Iliad* v. 576 he is said to have been slain by Menelaus.

important commands. At that time there was a prince of Paphlagonia called Thuys, of an old family, being a descendant of that Pylaemenes who, according to Homer, was slain by Patroclus in the Trojan war.[1] He did not own obedience to the king, who for that reason determined to make war upon him. He gave the management of the campaign to Datames, who was a near relative of the Paphlagonian; for the father of the one and the mother of the other were brother and sister. That being the case, Datames wished first to try to recall his kinsman to his duty without resort to arms. But having come to him without an escort, because he feared no treachery from a friend, Datames all but lost his life; for Thuys tried to kill him secretly. Datames was accompanied by his mother, who was the maternal aunt of the Paphlagonian; she learned of the plot and warned her son, who escaped the danger by flight and declared war upon Thuys. Although in the course of that war Datames was deserted by Ariobarzanes, governor of Lydia, Ionia and all Phrygia, he kept on with undiminished vigour and took Thuys alive, along with his wife and children.

3. Datames took pains to prevent the news of his success from reaching the king before his own arrival. Therefore, without the knowledge of anyone, he came to the place where the king was, and on the following day, he dressed up Thuys—who was a man of huge size and fearful aspect, being very dark, with long hair and flowing beard—putting on him the fine raiment which the king's satraps are accustomed to wear, adorning him too with a neck-chain and bracelets of gold and the other habiliments of a king. Datames himself, wearing a peasant's double

hirtaque tunica, gerens in capite galeam venatoriam, dextra manu clavam, sinistra copulam, qua vinctum ante se Thuynem agebat, ut si feram bestiam captam duceret.

3 Quem cum omnes conspicerent propter novitatem ornatus ignotamque formam ob eamque rem magnus esset concursus, fuit non nemo qui agnosceret
4 Thuyn regique nuntiaret. Primo non accredidit itaque Pharnabazum misit exploratum. A quo ut rem gestam comperit, statim admitti iussit, magno opere delectatus cum facto tum ornatu, imprimis quod nobilis rex in potestatem inopinanti venerat.
5 Itaque magnifice Datamen donatum ad exercitum misit, qui tum contrahebatur duce Pharnabazo et Tithrauste ad bellum Aegyptium, parique eum atque illos imperio esse iussit. Postea vero quam Pharnabazum rex revocavit, illi summa imperii tradita est.[1]

4. Hic cum maximo studio compararet exercitum Aegyptumque proficisci pararet, subito a rege litterae sunt ei missae, ut Aspim aggrederetur, qui Cataoniam tenebat; quae gens iacet supra Ciliciam,
2 confinis Cappadociae. Namque Aspis, saltuosam regionem castellisque munitam incolens, non solum imperio regis non parebat, sed etiam finitimas regiones
3 vexabat et quae regi portarentur abripiebat. Datames etsi longe aberat ab eis regionibus et a maiore re abstrahebatur, tamen regis voluntati morem

[1] tradita sunt, *Dan. A B P.*

cloak and a shaggy tunic, with a hunter's cap on his head, in his right hand a club and in the left a leash to which Thuys was attached, drove the Paphlagonian before him as if he were bringing in a wild beast that he had captured.

When their strange garb and the unusual appearance of the captive had attracted all eyes, and in consequence a great crowd had gathered, someone recognized Thuys and informed the king. At first, Artaxerxes was incredulous and so sent Pharnabazus to investigate. Having learned the truth from him, he at once ordered the two to be admitted, greatly pleased with the capture and the masquerade, in particular because the notorious king had come into his power sooner than he expected. Accordingly, he rewarded Datames munificently and sent him to the army which was then being mustered under Pharnabazus and Tithraustes for the war in Egypt, *c.* 378 B.C. giving him equal authority with the two Persians. In fact, when the king later recalled Pharnabazus, the chief command passed to Datames.

4. While Datames was busily engaged in organizing this army and preparing to embark for Egypt, suddenly a letter was sent to him by the king, ordering him to attack Aspis, the ruler of Cataonia; that country lies beyond Cilicia, next to Cappadocia. The reason for the attack was, that Aspis, dwelling in a region that was wooded and fortified with strongholds, far from acknowledging allegiance to Artaxerxes, even overran the regions neighbouring to Persia and carried off what was being brought to the king. Datames was far distant from the regions in question and was drawn in the opposite direction by a more important enterprise; but nevertheless he

gerendum putavit. Itaque cum paucis, sed viris fortibus navem conscendit, existimans, quod accidit, facilius se imprudentem parva manu oppressurum quam paratum quamvis magno exercitu.

4 Hac delatus in Ciliciam, egressus inde, dies noctesque iter faciens Taurum transit eoque quo studuerat venit. Quaerit quibus locis sit Aspis; cognoscit haud longe abesse profectumque eum venatum. Quae dum speculatur, adventus eius causa cognoscitur. Pisidas cum iis quos secum habebat ad resistendum Aspis
5 comparat. Id Datames ubi audivit, arma sumit, suos sequi iubet; ipse equo concitato ad hostem vehitur. Quem procul Aspis conspiciens ad se ferentem pertimescit atque a conatu resistendi deterritus sese dedidit. Hunc Datames vinctum ad regem ducendum tradit Mithridati.

5. Haec dum geruntur, Artaxerxes, reminiscens a quanto bello ad quam parvam rem principem ducum misisset, se ipse reprehendit et nuntium ad exercitum Acen misit, quod nondum Datamen profectum putabat, qui diceret ne ab exercitu discederet. Hic priusquam perveniret quo erat profectus, in itinere
2 convenit qui Aspim ducebant. Qua celeritate cum magnam benevolentiam regis Datames consecutus esset, non minorem invidiam aulicorum excepit, quod illum unum pluris quam se omnes fieri videbant.

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[1] A warlike and independent people of that region, who served as mercenaries.

[2] Son of Artaxerxes; see 10. 1.

thought that he ought to do what the king desired. He therefore embarked upon a ship, taking with him only a few, but brave, soldiers, believing—as turned out to be the case—that it would be easier to crush his enemy with a small force by taking him off his guard, than with any possible numbers when he was ready to defend himself.

Sailing to Cilicia and disembarking there, Datames marched day and night, crossed the Taurus, and arrived at his destination. On inquiring where Aspis was, he learned that he was not far off, and that he had gone a-hunting. While Datames was considering what to do, the reason for his arrival became known, and Aspis prepared to resist him with the Pisidians [1] in addition to the soldiers that he had with him. When Datames heard of this, he took up arms, ordered his men to follow; he himself rode at full speed to meet the enemy. Aspis, catching sight of him afar off, as he rushed upon him, was seized with fear, and abandoning any thought of resistance, gave himself up. Datames put him in irons and delivered him to Mithridates [2] to be taken to the king.

5. While all this was going on, Artaxerxes, remembering from how important a war he had sent his leading general on so insignificant an errand, thinking that Datames had not yet started, sent a messenger to the army at Ace, telling him not to leave the army; but before the messenger arrived at his destination, he met on the way those that were bringing Aspis to the king. Although by that rapid action Datames gained high favour with Artaxerxes, he incurred equally great jealousy from the courtiers, because they realized that he was more highly esteemed

Quo facto, cuncti ad eum opprimendum consenserunt.
3 Haec Pandantes, gazae custos regiae, amicus Datami, perscripta ei mittit, in quibus docet eum in magno fore periculo, si quid illo imperante adversi in
4 Aegypto accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem regiam, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunae suae. Quo fieri ut facile impellantur ad eorum perniciem quorum ductu res male gestae nuntientur. Illum hoc maiore fore in discrimine, quod, quibus rex maxime oboediat, eos habeat inimicissimos.
5 Talibus ille litteris cognitis, cum iam ad exercitum Acen venisset, quod non ignorabat ea vere scripta, desciscere a rege constituit. Neque tamen quic-
6 quam fecit quod fide sua esset indignum. Nam Mandroclem Magnetem exercitui praefecit; ipse cum suis in Cappadociam discedit coniunctamque huic Paphlagoniam occupat, celans qua voluntate esset in regem. Clam cum Ariobarzane facit amicitiam, manum comparat, urbes munitas suis tuendas tradit.

6. Sed haec propter hiemale tempus minus prospere procedebant. Audit Pisidas quosdam[1] copias adversus se parare. Filium eo Arsidaeum cum exercitu mittit; cadit in proelio adulescens. Proficiscitur eo pater non ita cum magna manu, celans quantum vulnus accepisset, quod prius ad hostem pervenire cupiebat, quam de male re gesta

[1] quosdam, *Lupus*; quasdam, *MSS.*

than any of them. Because of that they all united in a conspiracy to ruin him. Of this plot Pandantes, keeper of the royal treasure, who was a friend of Datames, gave him full information in a letter, telling him that he would be in great danger if he suffered any check during his command in Egypt. He added that it was the habit of kings to attribute disasters to men, but success to their own good fortune; that consequently they were easily led to bring about the ruin of those who were reported to have suffered defeat; and that Datames would be in the greater peril because he had the bitter enmity of those who had special influence with the king.

When Datames had read that letter, although he had already reached the army at Ace, knowing that what had been written him was true, he determined to leave the king's service. Yet he did nothing to stain his honour; for he put Mandrocles of Magnesia in command of the army, and he himself with his own men went off to Cappadocia and took possession of the neighbouring district of Paphlagonia, concealing his feelings towards the king. Then he secretly came to an understanding with Ariobarzanes, gathered a band of soldiers, and entrusted the fortified cities to the protection of his friends.

6. But because of the winter season these preparations did not advance rapidly. Hearing that some of the Pisidians were arming troops against him, he sent his son Arsidaeus with an army to meet them, and the young man fell in the battle that followed. Then the father set out against them with not so very large a force, concealing the severe wound that he had suffered, because he wished to encounter the enemy before the report of the defeat came to his

fama ad suos perveniret, ne cognita filii morte animi
2 debilitarentur militum. Quo contenderat pervenit iisque locis castra ponit, ut neque circumiri multitudine adversariorum posset neque impediri quominus ipse ad dimicandum manum haberet expeditam.
3 Erat cum eo Mithrobarzanes, socer eius, praefectus equitum. Is, desperatis generi rebus, ad hostes transfugit. Id Datames ut audivit, sensit si in turbam exisset ab homine tam necessario se relictum,
4 futurum ut ceteri consilium sequerentur. In vulgus edit suo iussu Mithrobarzanem profectum pro perfuga, quo facilius receptus interficeret hostes; qua re relinqui eum par non esse et omnes confestim sequi. Quod si animo strenuo fecissent, futurum ut adversarii non possent resistere, cum et intra vallum
5 et foris caederentur. Hac re probata exercitum educit, Mithrobarzanem persequitur, qui cum ad
6 hostes pervenerat, Datames signa inferri iubet. Pisidae, nova re commoti, in opinionem adducuntur perfugas mala fide compositoque fecisse, ut recepti maiori essent calamitati. Primum eos adoriuntur. Illi cum quid ageretur aut qua re fieret ignorarent, coacti sunt cum iis pugnare ad quos transierant, ab iisque stare quos reliquerant; quibus cum neutri

men, for fear that the news of his son's death might affect the soldiers' spirits. He arrived at his destination and pitched his camp in such a position that he could not be surrounded by the superior numbers of his adversaries nor prevented from having his own force ready for battle.

He had with him Mithrobarzanes, his father-in-law, as commander of his cavalry, but he, regarding the position of his son-in-law as desperate, deserted to the enemy. When Datames heard of this, he knew that if it was bruited about that he had been forsaken by a man so nearly related to him, all the rest would follow the example. He therefore circulated the report that it was by his command that Mithrobarzanes had gone, under pretence of deserting, in order that he might, once received by the enemy, destroy them the more easily; therefore it would not be right to abandon him, but all ought to follow him at once. If they would act vigorously, the enemy would be unable to resist, since they would be assailed inside and outside of their intrenchments. When this idea met with favour, he led out his army and pursued Mithrobarzanes; and when the deserter had reached the enemy, Datames gave the order to attack. The Pisidians, surprised by this strange manœuvre, were led to believe that the deserters had acted in bad faith and by prearrangement, in order that when received among the enemy they might cause a greater disaster. First they attacked the deserters, and since the latter did not understand what was going on or why it was done, they were forced to fight against those to whom they had deserted and side with those whom they had abandoned; and since neither army showed them any

7 parcerent, celeriter sunt concisi. Reliquos Pisidas resistentes Datames invadit; primo impetu pellit, fugientis persequitur, multos interficit, castra hostium capit.

8 Tali consilio uno tempore et proditores perculit et hostes profligavit et, quod ad perniciem suam fuerat cogitatum, id ad salutem convertit. Quo neque acutius ullius imperatoris cogitatum neque celerius factum usquam legimus.

7. Ab hoc tamen viro Sysinas, maximo natu filius, desciit ad regemque transiit et de defectione patris detulit. Quo nuntio Artaxerxes commotus, quod intellegebat sibi cum viro forti ac strenuo negotium esse, qui cum cogitasset, facere auderet[1] et prius cogitare quam conari consuesset, Autophrodatem in
2 Cappadociam mittit. Hic ne intrare posset, saltum in quo Ciliciae portae sunt sitae Datames prae-
3 occupare studuit. Sed tam subito copias contrahere non potuit. A qua re depulsus cum ea manu, quam contraxerat, locum deligit talem, ut neque circumiretur ab hostibus neque praeteriret adversarius quin ancipitibus locis premeretur, et, si dimicare eo vellet, non multum obesse multitudo hostium suae paucitati posset.

8. Haec etsi Autophrodates videbat, tamen statuit congredi quam cum tantis copiis refugere aut tam diu
2 uno loco sedere. Habebat barbarorum equitum

[1] et cum cogitasset, facere auderet, *put after* consuesset *by Andresen and others.*

[1] See note on *reliquam phalangem* xii. 1. 2 (p. 496).

mercy, they were quickly cut to pieces. The Pisidians, who remained,[1] continued to resist, but Datames fell upon them, routed them at the first onset, pursued the fugitives, killing many of them, and captured the enemy's camp.

By this stratagem Datames at the same time punished the traitors and vanquished the enemy, thus making the plot which had been devised for his ruin the means of his safety. Never have I read anywhere of a cleverer stratagem of any commander, or one which was more speedily executed.

7. Yet this man was deserted by Sysinas, his eldest son, who went over to the king and reported to him his father's defection. The news of this disturbed Artaxerxes, since he knew that he had to do with a brave and energetic man, who, when he had reflected, had the courage to carry out his plan, and was in the habit of reflecting before acting. Accordingly, he sent Autophrodates to Cappadocia. To prevent him from entering the country, Datames wished to occupy the wooded gorge in which the Cilician Gates are situated; but he could not muster his forces with sufficient speed. Thwarted in that, with the band which he had assembled he chose a position where he could not be surrounded by the enemy, one which his opponent could not pass without being caught in an unfavourable situation; and if the latter decided to fight there, the enemy's great numbers would not have much advantage over his own small force. 368–7 B.C.

8. Although Autophrodates realized the situation, he nevertheless determined to engage rather than retreat with so great a force or linger for so long a time in one spot. Of barbarians he had twenty thousand

XX̄, peditum C̄, quos illi Cardacas appellant, eiusdemque generis IIĪ funditorum, praeterea Cappadocum VIIĪ, Armeniorum X̄, Paphlagonum V̄, Phrygum X̄, Lydorum V̄, Aspendiorum et Pisidarum circiter IIĪ, Cilicum IĪ, Captianorum totidem, ex Graecia conductorum IIĪ, levis armaturae maximum numerum.

3 Has adversus copias spes omnis consistebat Datami in se locique natura; namque huius partem non habebat vicesimam militum. Quibus fretus conflixit adversariorumque multa milia concidit, cum de ipsius exercitu non amplius hominum mille cecidisset. Quam ob causam postero die tropaeum posuit, quo
4 loco pridie pugnatum erat. Hinc cum castra movisset semperque inferior copiis superior omnibus proeliis discederet, quod numquam manum consereret, nisi cum adversarios locorum angustiis clausisset, quod perito regionum callideque cogitanti saepe accidebat,
5 Autophrodates, cum bellum duci maiore regis calamitate quam adversariorum videret, pacem amicitiamque hortatus est, ut cum rege in gratiam
6 rediret. Quam ille etsi fidam non fore putabat, tamen condicionem accepit seque ad Artaxerxem legatos missurum dixit. Sic bellum quod rex adversus Datamen susceperat sedatum est. Autophrodates in Phrygiam se recepit.

9. At rex, quod implacabile odium in Datamen

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[1] A Greek word *κάρδακες*, a translation of the term applied by the Persians to mercenary soldiers belonging to the barbarian tribes of the Persian empire.

horse and a hundred thousand foot, of the troops that the Persians call Cardaces,[1] besides three thousand slingers of the same nationality; and in addition, eight thousand Cappadocians, ten thousand Armenians, five thousand Paphlagonians, ten thousand Phrygians, five thousand Lydians, about three thousand Aspendians and Pisidians, two thousand Cilicians, the same number of Captiani, and three thousand Greek mercenaries, along with an enormous number of light-armed troops.

For encountering these forces Datames' sole hope lay in himself and in the nature of his position; for he had not a twentieth part as many men. Relying upon such forces as he had, he accepted battle and slew many thousands of his adversaries, while of his own army he lost not more than a thousand men. To commemorate his victory, he erected a trophy on the following day on the spot where he had fought the day before. Then he moved his camp and departed, having come off victor in all his engagements, although always outnumbered, since he never joined battle except when he had shut his foes in some narrow defile; which often happened, owing to his knowledge of the country and his skilful strategy. Then Autophrodates, seeing that to prolong the war was more disastrous to the king than to his adversaries, urged peace and friendship, and reconciliation with the king. And although Datames had no faith in the king's sincerity, he nevertheless accepted the proposal and promised to send envoys to Artaxerxes. Thus the war which the king had made upon Datames came to an end. Autophrodates withdrew into Phrygia.

9. The king, however, having conceived im-

susceperat, postquam bello eum opprimi non posse animadvertit, insidiis interficere studuit; quas ille
2 plerasque evitavit.[1] Sicut, cum ei nuntiatum esset quosdam sibi insidiari, qui in amicorum erant numero, —de quibus, quod inimici detulerant, neque credendum neque neglegendum putavit,—experiri voluit
3 verum falsumne sibi esset relatum. Itaque eo profectus est, in quo itinere futuras insidias dixerant. Sed elegit corpore ac statura simillimum sui eique vestitum suum dedit atque eo loco ire quo ipse consuerat iussit; ipse autem ornatu vestituque militari inter corporis custodes iter facere coepit.

4 At insidiatores, postquam in eum locum agmen pervenit, decepti ordine atque vestitu, impetum in eum faciunt qui suppositus erat. Praedixerat autem iis Datames cum quibus iter faciebat ut parati essent
5 facere quod ipsum vidissent. Ipse, ut concurrantes insidiatores animum advertit, tela in eos coniecit. Hoc idem cum universi fecissent, priusquam pervenirent ad eum quem aggredi volebant, confixi conciderunt.

10. Hic tamen tam callidus vir extremo tempore captus est Mithridatis, Ariobarzanis filii, dolo. Namque is pollicitus est regi se eum interfecturum, si sibi[2] rex permitteret ut quodcumque vellet liceret

[1] evitavit, *Nipp.* (vitavit, *ed.* 11, *Witte*); vitavit, *MSS.*
[2] sibi, *Ortmann*; ei, *MSS.*

placable hatred of Datames and finding that he could not get the better of him in war, tried to kill him by treachery; but Datames escaped many of his plots. For example, when it was reported to him that certain men were conspiring against him who were included among his friends, he thought that charges against friends, made by their personal enemies, ought neither to be believed nor disregarded; but he wished to find out whether what had been reported to him was true or false. Accordingly, he set out for the place on the road to which it was reported that the ambuscade would be laid. But he selected a man who closely resembled him in figure and stature, dressed him in his own costume, and directed him to take the place in the line which he himself usually occupied. Then Datames, equipped and dressed like a common soldier, began the march among his body-guard.

Now the traitors, when the army reached the appointed place, misled by his place in the line and his costume, made their attack upon the man who had taken Datames' place. But Datames had ordered those with whom he was marching to be ready to do what they saw him doing, and he, as soon as he saw the traitors rushing forward, hurled weapons at them; and since the whole troop did the same, before the assassins could reach the man whom they wished to attack they all fell, pierced with wounds.

10. Yet this man, cunning as he was, finally fell victim to the craft of Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes; for he had promised the king to kill Datames, provided the king would allow him to do with impunity anything that he chose, and would give

impune facere fidemque de ea re more Persarum
2 dextra dedisset. Hanc ut accepit a rege missam, copias parat et absens amicitiam cum Datame facit, regis provincias vexat, castella expugnat, magnas praedas capit, quarum partim suis dispertit, partim ad Datamen mittit; pari modo complura castella ei
3 tradit. Haec diu faciundo persuasit homini se infinitum adversus regem suscepisse bellum, cum nihilo magis, ne quam suspicionem illi praeberet insidiarum, neque colloquium eius petivit neque in conspectum venire studuit. Sic absens amicitiam gerebat, ut non beneficiis mutuis, sed communi odio quod erga regem susceperant contineri viderentur.

11. Id cum satis se confirmasse arbitratus est, certiorem facit Datamen tempus esse maiores res parari et bellum cum ipso rege suscipi, deque ea re, si ei videretur, quo loco vellet in colloquium veniret. Probata re, colloquendi tempus sumitur locusque quo
2 conveniretur. Huc Mithridates cum uno cui maxime habebat fidem ante aliquot dies venit compluribusque locis separatim gladios obruit eaque loca diligenter notat. Ipso autem colloquii die utrique locum qui explorarent atque ipsos scrutarentur mittunt; deinde ipsi sunt congressi.

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[1] The messenger gave his right hand to Datames as the king's representative; cf. Justin. xi. 15. 3, dextram fert; Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 2. 7, φέρει δεξιάν; etc. The custom of sending a representation of a hand as a token (Tac. *Hist.* i. 54; ii. 8) is a later one.

him a pledge to that effect in the Persian fashion with his right hand. When he had received that pledge from the king's messenger,[1] Mithridates prepared his forces and made friends with Datames without meeting him. He then began to raid the king's provinces and storm his fortresses, gaining a great amount of booty, of which he divided a part among his soldiers and sent a part to Datames; he likewise handed over several fortresses to the Carian. By continuing this conduct for a long time he convinced Datames that he was engaged in implacable war against the king, while nevertheless, to avoid exciting any suspicion of treachery, he neither sought an interview with his intended victim, nor did he try to meet him face to face. From a distance he played the part of a friend, in such a way that they seemed to be united, not by mutual services, but by the common hatred which they felt for the king.

11. When Mithridates thought that he had made his enmity to the king sufficiently evident, he informed Datames that it was time to raise greater armies and make war directly on Artaxerxes; and he invited him to hold a conference about that matter, if he approved, in any place that he wished. The proposition was accepted, and a time and place appointed for their meeting. Mithridates went to the spot several days in advance, with a single companion in whom he had the greatest confidence; and in several different places, which he carefully marked, he buried swords. And on the very day of the meeting both parties sent men to examine the place and search the generals themselves; then the two met.

3 His cum aliquamdiu in colloquio fuissent et diversi discessissent iamque procul Datames abesset, Mithridates, priusquam ad suos perveniret, ne quam suspicionem pareret, in eundem locum revertitur atque ibi ubi telum erat infossum resedit,[1] ut si lassitudine cuperet adquiescere, Datamenque revocavit, simulans se quiddam in colloquio esse ob-
4 litum. Interim telum quod latebat protulit nudatumque vagina veste texit ac Datami venienti ait digredientem se animadvertisse locum quendam, qui erat in conspectu, ad castra ponenda esse idoneum.
5 Quem cum digito demonstraret et ille respiceret, aversum ferro transfixit priusque quam quisquam posset succurrere, interfecit. Ita ille vir, qui multos consilio, neminem perfidia ceperat, simulata captus est amicitia.

XV. EPAMINONDAS

1. Epaminondas, Polymnidis[2] filius, Thebanus. De hoc priusquam scribimus, haec praecipienda videntur lectoribus, ne alienos mores ad suos referant, neve ea quae ipsis leviora sunt pari modo apud ceteros fuisse
2 arbitrentur. Scimus enim musicen nostris moribus abesse a principis persona, saltare vero etiam in vitiis poni; quae omnia apud Graecos et grata et

[1] infossum resedit, *Heusinger*; repostum insedit, *Can.*; impostum resedit, *Dan. A P*; impostum resedit, *the other MSS.*
[2] Polymnidis, *Heusinger*; Polymni, *MSS.*

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[1] On the form of this Life see Introd., p. 362.
[2] Cf. Praef. 2. [3] See Cic. *pro Mur.* 13.

After they had conferred there for some time, they departed in opposite directions; but when Datames was already a considerable distance away, Mithridates, in order not to arouse any suspicion, returned to the place of meeting before joining his attendants, and sat down at a spot where a weapon had been buried, as if he were tired and wished to rest; then he called Datames back, pretending that he had overlooked something in the course of the conference. In the meantime he took out the hidden sword, drew it from its sheath, and concealed it under his cloak. When Datames came, Mithridates said to him that just as he was leaving he had noticed a spot, visible from where they sat, which was suitable for pitching a camp. He pointed out the place, and as Datames turned to look at it, the traitor plunged the sword into his back and killed him before anyone could come to his help. Thus that great man, who had triumphed over many by strategy, but never by treachery, fell a victim to feigned friendship. 362 B.C.

XV. EPAMINONDAS

1. Epaminondas, the Theban, son of Polymnis.[1] Before writing about this man, I think I ought to warn my readers not to judge the customs of other nations by their own,[2] and not to consider conduct which in their opinion is undignified as so regarded by other peoples. We know, for example, that according to our ideas music is unsuited to a personage of importance, while dancing is even numbered among the vices;[3] but with the Greeks all such accomplishments were regarded as becoming and

3 laude digna ducuntur. Cum autem exprimere imaginem consuetudinis atque vitae velimus Epaminondae, nihil videmur debere praetermittere
4 quod pertineat ad eam declarandam. Qua re dicemus primum de genere eius, deinde quibus disciplinis et a quibus sit eruditus, tum de moribus ingeniique facultatibus et si qua alia memoria digna erunt, postremo de rebus gestis, quae a plurimis animi [1] anteponuntur virtutibus.

2. Natus igitur patre quo diximus, genere honesto, pauper iam a maioribus relictus est,[2] eruditus autem sic ut nemo Thebanus magis. Nam et citharizare et cantare ad chordarum sonum doctus est a Dionysio, qui non minore fuit in musicis gloria quam Damon aut Lamprus, quorum pervulgata sunt nomina, cantare tibiis ab Olympiodoro, saltare a Calliphrone.
2 At philosophiae praeceptorem habuit Lysim Tarentinum, Pythagoreum; cui quidem sic fuit deditus, ut adulescens tristem ac severum senem omnibus aequalibus suis in familiaritate anteposuerit; neque prius eum a se dimisit,[3] quam in doctrinis tanto antecessit condiscipulos, ut facile intellegi posset pari modo superaturum omnes in ceteris artibus.
3 Atque haec ad nostram consuetudinem sunt levia et potius contemnenda; at in Graecia, utique olim, magnae laudi erant.
4 Postquam ephebus est factus et palaestrae dare operam coepit, non tam magnitudini virium servivit

[1] animi, *Koene*; omnium, *MSS.*
[2] est, *added by Halm, Fleck.*; *after* natus, *Nipp.*
[3] dimisit, *Nipp.*; dimiserit, *MSS.*

even praiseworthy. Since, then, I wish to portray the life and habits of Epaminondas, it seems to me that I ought to omit nothing which contributes to that end. Therefore I shall speak first of his family, then of the subjects which he studied and his teachers, next of his character, his natural qualities, and anything else that is worthy of record. Finally, I shall give an account of his exploits, which many writers consider more important than mental excellence.

2. Well then, he was born of the father whom I have mentioned; his family was an honourable one, but had been in moderate circumstances for some time; yet in spite of that he received as good an education as any Theban. Thus he was taught to play the lyre, and to sing with an instrumental accompaniment, by Dionysius, who in the musical world was equal in reputation to Damon or Lamprus, whose names are known everywhere. He learned to play the pipes from Olympiodorus and to dance from Calliphron. In philosophy he had as his master Lysis of Tarentum, the Pythagorean, and to him he was so attached that in his youth he was more intimate with that grave and austere old man than with any of the young people of his own age; and he would not allow his teacher to leave him until he so far surpassed his fellow-students in learning, that it could readily be understood that in a similar way he would surpass all men in all other accomplishments. Now these last, according to our views, are trivial, or rather, contemptible; but in Greece, especially in bygone days, they were highly esteemed.

As soon as Epaminondas attained military age and began to interest himself in physical exercise, he

quam velocitati; illam enim ad athletarum usum, hanc ad belli existimabat utilitatem pertinere. Itaque exercebatur plurimum currendo et luctando ad eum finem, quoad stans[1] complecti posset atque contendere. In armis vero plurimum studii consumebat.

3. Ad hanc corporis firmitatem plura etiam animi bona accesserant. Erat enim modestus, prudens, gravis, temporibus sapienter utens, peritus belli, fortis manu, animo maximo, adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne ioco quidem mentiretur. Idem continens, clemens patiensque admirandum in modum, non solum populi, sed etiam amicorum ferens iniurias; in primis commissa celans, quod[2] interdum non minus prodest quam diserte dicere, studiosus audiendi; ex hoc enim facillime disci arbitrabatur. Itaque cum in circulum venisset in quo aut de re publica disputaretur aut de philosophia sermo haberetur, numquam inde prius discessit, quam ad finem sermo esset adductus.

Paupertatem adeo facile perpessus est, ut de re publica nihil praeter gloriam ceperit. Amicorum in se tuendo caruit facultatibus, fide[3] ad alios sublevandos saepe sic usus est, ut iudicari possit omnia ei cum amicis fuisse communia. Nam cum aut civium suorum aliquis ab hostibus esset captus aut virgo amici nubilis, quae propter paupertatem

[1] quoad stans, *u*; quo adstans, *MSS.*
[2] quodque, *Eussner.*
[3] isdem, *M. Haupt*; idem, *Nipp.*

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[1] See crit. note.
[2] After the manner of the Pythagoreans; see Gell. i. 9. 12.

aimed less at great strength than at agility; for he thought that the former was necessary for athletes, but that the latter would be helpful in warfare. Accordingly, he trained himself thoroughly in running and wrestling, but in the latter only to the extent of being able, while still standing, to seize his opponent and contend with him. But it was to the use of arms that he devoted his greatest efforts.

3. To the bodily strength that he thus acquired there were added still greater mental gifts; for he was temperate, prudent, serious, and skilful in taking advantage of opportunities; practised in war, of great personal courage and of high spirit; such a lover of the truth that he never lied even in jest. Furthermore, he was self-controlled, kindly, and forbearing to a surprising degree, putting up with wrongs, not only from the people, but even from his friends; he was most particular in keeping secrets, a quality which is sometimes no less valuable than eloquence, and he was a good listener; for he thought that to be the easiest way of acquiring information. Therefore, whenever he was in a gathering where there was an argument about affairs of state or philosophical discussion, he never left until the conversation was ended.

He found it so easy to endure narrow means that from his public services he gained nothing but glory, and he declined to use the wealth of his friends for his own necessities. In aiding others, on the contrary, he made such use of their trust [1] in him that one might suppose that he and his friends shared all their possessions in common.[2] For if anyone of his fellow-citizens had been taken by the enemy, or if a friend's daughter was of marriageable age but

collocari non posset, amicorum consilium [1] habebat et quantum quisque daret pro facultatibus imperabat.
6 Eamque summam cum confecerat,[2] priusquam [3] acciperet pecuniam, adducebat eum qui quaerebat ad eos qui conferebant, eique ut ipsi numerarent faciebat, ut ille ad quem ea res perveniebat sciret quantum cuique deberet.

4. Temptata autem eius est abstinentia a Diomedonte Cyziceno; namque is rogatu Artaxerxis regis Epaminondam pecunia corrumpendum susceperat. Hic magno cum pondere auri Thebas venit et Micythum adulescentulum quinque talentis ad suam perduxit voluntatem, quem tum Epaminondas plurimum diligebat.[4] Micythus Epaminondam convenit et causam adventus Diomedontis
2 ostendit. At ille Diomedonti coram "Nihil," inquit, "opus pecunia est; nam si rex ea vult quae Thebanis sunt utilia, gratiis facere sum paratus; sin autem contraria, non habet auri atque argenti satis. Namque orbis terrarum divitias accipere nolo pro patriae
3 caritate. Tu quod me incognitum temptasti tuique similem existimasti non miror tibique ignosco; sed egredere propere, ne alios corrumpas, cum me non potueris. Et tu, Micythe, argentum huic redde, aut, nisi id confestim facis, ego te tradam magis-
4 tratui." Hunc Diomedon cum rogaret, ut tuto exiret [5] suaque quae attulerat liceret efferre, "Istud quidem," inquit, "faciam, neque tua causa, sed mea,

[1] concilium, *Aldus.* [2] confecerat, *Halm*; fecerat, *MSS.*
[3] potiusquam, *Halm*; *Fleck. added* ipse.
[4] quem . . . diligebat, *put after* adulescentulum *by Pluygers.*
[5] exire, *ed. Brixiana.*

[1] *Magistratui* is used collectively; cf. ii. 7. 4 and the note (p. 400).

could not be wedded because of lack of means, he took counsel of his friends and fixed the amount of the contribution which each was to make, adapting the sum to the contributor's means. And having made up the necessary amount, before taking the money he presented the one who was in need to the contributors, in order that the man who received help might know how much he owed each one.

4. His integrity was tested by Diomedon, of Cyzicus, who, at the request of King Artaxerxes, had undertaken to bribe Epaminondas. Diomedon came to Thebes with a great amount of gold, and with five talents won the support of a young man named Micythus, to whom Epaminondas was greatly attached at that time. Micythus went to Epaminondas and explained the reason for Diomedon's coming. But the great man dealt with the Persian face to face, saying: "There is no need of money; for if what the king wishes is to the interest of the Thebans, I am ready to do it free of charge; but if the contrary is true, he has not gold and silver enough; for I would not take all the riches in the world in exchange for my love of country. As for you, who do not know me, I am not surprised that you have tried to tempt me and believed me to be a man like yourself, and I forgive you; but leave here at once, so that you may not corrupt others, since you have failed with me. And you, Micythus, give this man back his money; and if you do not do so immediately, I shall hand you over to the magistrates."[1] When Diomedon asked that he might go away in safety and be allowed to take the money that he had brought with him, Epaminondas replied: "I will grant your request, not, however, for your sake, 368 B.C.

ne, si tibi sit pecunia adempta, aliquis dicat id ad me ereptum pervenisse, quod delatum accipere noluissem."

5 A quo cum quaesisset quo se deduci vellet, et ille Athenas dixisset, praesidium dedit, ut tuto perveniret. Neque vero id satis habuit, sed etiam ut inviolatus in navem escenderet per Chabriam Atheniensem, de quo supra mentionem fecimus,
6 effecit. Abstinentiae erit hoc satis testimonium. Plurima quidem proferre possimus, sed modus adhibendus est, quoniam uno hoc volumine vitam excellentium virorum complurium concludere constituimus, quorum res[1] separatim multis milibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos explicarunt.

5. Fuit etiam disertus ut nemo ei Thebanus par esset eloquentia, neque minus concinnus in brevitate respondendi quam in perpetua oratione ornatus.
2 Habuit obtrectatorem Menecliden quendam, indidem Thebis, et adversarium in administranda re publica, satis exercitatum in dicendo, ut Thebanum scilicet;
3 namque illi genti plus inest virium quam ingenii. Is quod in re militari florere Epaminondam videbat, hortari solebat Thebanos ut pacem bello anteferrent, ne illius imperatoris opera desideraretur. Huic ille "Fallis," inquit, "verbo civis tuos, quod eos a bello avocas[2]; otii enim nomine servitutem concilias;

[1] res, *added by Richter.*
[2] avocas, *u, Lambin*; evocas, *MSS.*; revocas, *Klotz.*

but for my own; for I fear that if your money should be taken from you, someone might say that the sum which I had refused when it was offered as a gift had come into my hands through confiscation."

Epaminondas then asked the Persian where he wished to be taken, and when Diomedon named Athens, he gave him an escort, to secure his safe arrival. And he was not even satisfied with that, but through Chabrias, the Athenian, of whom I have already spoken, he saved Diomedon from being molested before he embarked. Of Epaminondas' integrity this will be sufficient proof. As a matter of fact, I might cite a great many instances, but I must use restraint, since I have planned in this one volume to include the lives of several distinguished men, to whose individual deeds various writers before me have devoted many thousand lines.

5. Epaminondas was also so good a speaker that no Theban equalled him in eloquence, and he was not less clever in brief answers than brilliant in a set speech. He had a detractor in the person of one Meneclides, also a native of Thebes and his rival in the administration of the state, who too was a practised speaker, at least for a Theban; for that people possesses more bodily strength than mental ability.[1] This man, observing that warfare brought glory to Epaminondas, used to urge the Thebans to seek peace rather than war, in order that they might not need the aid of that great man as their commander. To him Epaminondas said: "You are deceiving your fellow-citizens by using the wrong word, when you dissuade them from war; for under the name of peace it is slavery that you are recom-

[1] Cf. vii. 11. 3.

4 nam paritur pax bello. Itaque qui ea diutina volunt frui, bello exercitati esse debent. Qua re si principes Graeciae vultis esse, castris est vobis utendum, non palaestra."

5 Idem ille Meneclides cum huic obiceret quod liberos non haberet neque uxorem duxisset, maximeque insolentiam, quod sibi Agamemnonis belli gloriam videretur consecutus: at ille "Desine," inquit, "Meneclida, de uxore mihi exprobrare; nam nullius in ista re minus uti consilio volo." Habebat
6 enim Meneclides suspicionem adulteri. "Quod autem me Agamemnonem aemulari putas, falleris. Namque ille cum universa Graecia vix decem annis unam cepit urbem, ego contra ea una urbe nostra dieque uno totam Graeciam, Lacedaemoniis fugatis, liberavi."

6. Idem cum in conventum venisset Arcadum, petens ut societatem cum Thebanis et Argivis facerent, contraque Callistratus, Atheniensium legatus, qui eloquentia omnes eo praestabat tempore, postularet ut potius amicitiam sequerentur Atticorum, et in oratione sua multa invectus esset in Thebanos et
2 Argivos in iisque hoc posuisset, animum advertere debere Arcades quales utraque civitas cives procreasset, ex quibus de ceteris possent iudicare: Argivos enim fuisse Orestem et Alcmaeonem matricidas; Thebis Oedipum natum, qui, cum patrem
3 suum interfecisset, ex matre liberos procreasset: huic in respondendo Epaminondas, cum de ceteris

[1] At Leuctra, 371 B.C. [2] See Gell. iii. 13. 2 ff.

mending. As a matter of fact, peace is won by war; hence those who wish to enjoy it for a long time ought to be trained for war. Therefore if you wish to be the leading city of Greece, you must frequent the camp and not the gymnasium."

When this same Meneclides taunted him with not having children or marrying, and especially with arrogance in thinking that he had equalled Agamemnon's renown in war, Epaminondas answered: "Cease, Meneclides, to taunt me about marriage; there is no one whose example in that regard I should be less willing to follow"; and, in fact, Meneclides was suspected of adultery. "Further, in supposing that I regard Agamemnon as a rival, you are mistaken; for he, with all Greece at his back, needed fully ten years to take one city, while I, on the contrary, with this city of ours alone, and in a single day, routed the Lacedaemonians and freed all Greece."[1]

6. Again, when he had entered the assembly of the Arcadians, urging them to conclude an alliance with the Thebans and Argives, Callistratus, the envoy of the Athenians and the most eloquent orator of that time[2] advised them rather to ally themselves with the people of Attica, and in his speech made many attacks upon the Thebans and Argives. For example, he declared that the Arcadians ought to bear in mind the character of some of the citizens that those two cities had produced, since from them they could form an estimate of the rest. Thus from Argos came Orestes and Alcmaeon, the matricides; from Thebes, Oedipus, who, after killing his father, begot children from his mother. In replying to him Epaminondas, after having first discussed the other

perorasset, postquam ad illa duo opprobria pervenit, admirari se dixit stultitiam rhetoris Attici, qui non animadverterit, innocentes illos natos domi, scelere admisso cum patria essent expulsi, receptos esse ab Atheniensibus.

4 Sed maxime eius eloquentia eluxit Spartae legati ante pugnam Leuctricam. Quo cum omnium sociorum convenissent legati, coram frequentissimo conventu sic Lacedaemoniorum tyrannidem coarguit, ut non minus illa oratione opes eorum concusserit quam Leuctrica pugna. Tum enim perfecit, quod post apparuit, ut auxilio Lacedaemonii sociorum privarentur.

7. Fuisse patientem suorumque iniurias ferentem civium, quod se patriae irasci nefas esse duceret, haec sunt testimonia. Cum eum propter invidiam cives sui praeficere exercitui noluissent duxque esset delectus belli imperitus, cuius errore eo esset deducta illa multitudo militum ut omnes de salute pertimescerent, quod locorum angustiis clausi ab hostibus obsidebantur, desiderari coepta est Epaminondae diligentia; erat enim ibi privatus numero militis.
2 A quo cum peterent opem, nullam adhibuit memoriam contumeliae et exercitum obsidione liberatum
3 domum reduxit incolumem. Nec vero hoc semel fecit, sed saepius. Maxime autem fuit inlustre,

questions, finally came to these two taunts. He was amazed, he said, at the folly of the Attic orator, who did not understand that those men were all blameless at the time of their birth in their native land, but after they had committed their crimes and had been exiled from their country, they had found asylum with the Athenians.

But his most brilliant display of eloquence was at Sparta, as envoy before the battle of Leuctra. For 371 B.C. when the representatives of all the allies had assembled there, in the presence of that great throng he denounced the despotism of the Lacedaemonians in such terms that he did not shake the Spartan power more by the battle of Leuctra than by that famous address. For it was then—as afterwards became clear—that he succeeded in depriving the Lacedaemonians of the support of their allies.

7. That he was patient and submitted to the injustice of his fellow-citizens because he thought it impious to show anger towards his country, appears from the following evidence. The Thebans because of jealousy had refused to make him commander of their army and had chosen a leader without experience in warfare. When the man's blunder had resulted 368 B.C. in making that large force of soldiers fearful of their safety, since they were shut up in a narrow defile and blackaded by the enemy, they came to feel the need of Epaminondas' carefulness; and he was present, as it happened, serving as a soldier without a commission. When they appealed to him for help, he entirely overlooked the slight that he had suffered, freed the army from siege, and led it home in safety. And this he did not once, but very often. Conspicuous among these was the time when he led

cum in Peloponnesum exercitum duxisset adversus Lacedaemonios haberetque collegas duos, quorum alter erat Pelopidas, vir fortis ac strenuus.

Hi cum criminibus adversariorum omnes in invidiam venissent ob eamque rem imperium iis esset abrogatum atque in eorum locum alii praetores
4 successissent, Epaminondas populi scito non paruit idemque ut facerent persuasit collegis, et bellum quod susceperat gessit. Namque animadvertebat, nisi id fecisset, totum exercitum propter praetorum
5 imprudentiam inscitiamque belli periturum. Lex erat Thebis, quae morte multabat, si quis imperium diutius retinuisset quam lege praefinitum foret. Hanc Epaminondas cum rei publicae conservandae causa latam videret, ad perniciem civitatis conferri [1] noluit et quattuor mensibus diutius quam populus iusserat gessit imperium.

8. Postquam domum reditum est, collegae eius hoc crimine accusabantur. Quibus ille permisit ut omnem causam in se transferrent suaque opera factum contenderent, ut legi non oboedirent. Qua defensione illis periculo liberatis, nemo Epaminondam responsurum putabat, quod quid diceret non haberet.
2 At ille in iudicium venit, nihil eorum negavit quae adversarii crimini dabant, omniaque quae collegae dixerant confessus est neque recusavit quominus legis poenam subiret; sed unum ab iis petivit, ut in periculo [2] suo inscriberent:

[1] conferri, *Fleck*; conferre, *MSS.*
[2] periculo, *MSS.*; sepulcro, *Aldus et exc. Pat.*; breviculo, *Heerwagen.*

[1] For this meaning of *periculum* see Cic. *Verr.* iii. 183, eorum hominum fidei tabulae publicae periculaque magistratuum committuntur.

the army to the Peloponnesus against the Lace- 370 B.C.
daemonians and had two colleagues, one of whom was Pelopidas, a man of courage and energy.

All these generals had become, through the charges of their opponents, objects of suspicion, and for that reason their command had been taken from them and other leaders had been appointed in their place. Epaminondas refused to obey the people's decree, persuaded his colleagues to follow his example, and continued the war which he had begun; for he knew that unless he did so, the entire army would be lost, owing to the incapacity of the generals and their ignorance of warfare. There was a law at Thebes which punished with death anyone who had retained a command beyond the time provided by that law. Since Epaminondas realized that the law in question had been passed for the safety of his country, he did not wish it to contribute to the ruin of the state; consequently, he retained his command for four months longer than the time fixed by the people.

8. After they returned home, his colleagues were brought to trial for their disobedience. Epaminondas allowed them to throw the entire responsibility upon him and to urge in their defence that it was due to him that they had disobeyed the law. That plea freed them from danger, and no one thought that Epaminondas would put in an appearance, since he had nothing to say in his defence. But he came into court, denied none of the charges of his opponents, admitted everything that his colleagues had said, and did not refuse to submit to the penalty named in the law. He made only one request of the judges, namely, that they should enter the following record of his sentence.[1]

3 "Epaminondas a Thebanis morte multatus est, quod eos coegit apud Leuctra superare Lacedaemonios, quos ante se imperatorem nemo Boeotorum
4 ausus fuit[1] aspicere in acie, quodque uno proelio non solum Thebas ab interitu retraxit, sed etiam universam Graeciam in libertatem vindicavit eoque res utrorumque perduxit, ut Thebani Spartam
5 oppugnarent, Lacedaemonii satis haberent, si salvi esse possent, neque prius bellare destitit quam, Messene restituta, urbem eorum obsidione clausit."

Haec cum dixisset, risus omnium cum hilaritate coortus est, neque quisquam iudex ausus est de eo ferre suffragium. Sic a iudicio capitis maxima discessit gloria.

9. Hic extremo tempore imperator apud Mantineam cum acie instructa audacius instaret hostes, cognitus a Lacedaemoniis, quod in unius pernicie eius patriae sitam putabant salutem, universi in unum impetum fecerunt neque prius abscesserunt quam magna caede multisque occisis fortissime ipsum Epaminondam pugnantem, sparo eminus percussum, con-
2 cidere viderunt. Huius casu aliquantum retardati sunt Boeotii, neque tamen prius pugna excesserunt
3 quam repugnantes profligarunt. At Epaminondas cum animadverteret mortiferum se vulnus accepisse simulque, si ferrum, quod ex hastili in corpore remanserat, extraxisset, animam statim emissurum, usque eo retinuit, quoad renuntiatum est vicisse Boeotios. Id postquam audivit, "Satis," inquit,

[1] sit, *Halm*; est, *cod. Marcianus.*

"Epaminondas was condemned to death by the Thebans because at Leuctra he compelled them to vanquish the Lacedaemonians, whom before he took command no Boeotian had dared to face in battle, and because in a single contest he not only saved Thebes from destruction, but also secured freedom for all Greece and so changed the situation of the contending parties that the Thebans attacked the Lacedaemonians, while the Lacedaemonians were satisfied with being able to save themselves; and he did not bring the war to an end until by the restoration of Messene he placed Sparta in a state of siege."

When he had said this, there was laughter and merriment throughout the assembly and no juror ventured to vote for his condemnation. Thus from a capital charge he gained the greatest glory.

9. Finally, when commander at Mantinea, in the heat of battle he charged the enemy too boldly. He was recognized by the Lacedaemonians, and since they believed that the death of that one man would ensure the safety of their country, they all directed their attack at him alone and kept on until, after great bloodshed and the loss of many men, they saw Epaminondas himself fall valiantly fighting, struck down by a lance hurled from afar. By his death the 362 B.C. Boeotians were checked for a time, but they did not leave the field until they had completely defeated the enemy. But Epaminondas, realizing that he had received a mortal wound, and at the same time that if he drew out the head of the lance, which was separated from the shaft and fixed in his body, he would at once die, retained it until news came that the Boeotians were victorious. As soon as he heard that,

" vixi; invictus enim morior." Tum, ferro extracto, confestim exanimatus est.

10. Hic uxorem numquam duxit. In quo cum reprehenderetur a Pelopida, qui filium habebat infamem, maleque eum in eo patriae consulere diceret, quod liberos non relinqueret,[1] " Vide," inquit, " ne tu peius consulas, qui talem ex te natum relicturus
2 sis. Neque vero stirps potest mihi deesse; namque ex me natam relinquo pugnam Leuctricam, quae non modo mihi superstes, sed etiam immortalis sit
3 necesse est." Quo tempore duce Pelopida exsules Thebas occuparunt et praesidium Lacedaemoniorum ex arce expulerunt, Epaminondas, quam diu facta est caedes civium, domo se tenuit, quod neque malos defendere volebat neque impugnare, ne manus suorum sanguine cruentaret; namque omnem civilem victoriam funestam putabat. Idem, postquam apud Cadmeam[2] cum Lacedaemoniis pugnari coeptum est, in primis stetit.

4 Huius de virtutibus vitaque satis erit dictum, si hoc unum adiunxero, quod nemo ibit[3] infitias: Thebas et ante Epaminondam natum et post eiusdem interitum perpetuo alieno paruisse imperio, contra ea, quam diu ille praefuerit rei publicae, caput fuisse totius Graeciae. Ex quo intellegi potest unum hominem pluris quam civitatem fuisse.

[1] quod liberos non relinqueret *after* diceret, *Puteanus*; *after* reprehenderetur, *MSS.*
[2] Cadmeam, *Aldus*; Achademiam (Academiam), *MSS.*
[3] ibit, *Can.*, *Halm*; it, ut, id, eat, *MSS.*

he cried: "I have lived long enough, since I die unconquered." Then he drew out the iron and at once breathed his last.

10. Epaminondas never took a wife. Because of this he was criticized by Pelopidas,[1] who had a son of evil reputation; for his friend said that the great Theban did a wrong to his country in not leaving children. Epaminondas replied; "Take heed that you do not do her a greater wrong in leaving such a son as yours. And besides, I cannot lack offspring; for I leave as my daughter the battle of Leuctra, which is certain, not merely to survive me, but even to be immortal." When the exiles, led by Pelopidas, took Thebes and drove the Lacedaemonian garrison from the citadel, so long as the citizens were being slain Epaminondas remained in his house,[2] since he was unwilling either to aid the traitors or to fight against them, from reluctance to stain his hands with the blood of his countrymen; for he thought that every victory won in a civil war was pernicious. But as soon as the combat began with the Lacedaemonians at the Cadmea, he stood in the forefront.

Enough will have been said of this great man's virtues and of his life, if I add this one thing, which nobody will deny. Before the birth of Epaminondas, and after his death, Thebes was subject constantly to the hegemony[3] of others; but, on the contrary, so long as he was at the head of the state, she was the leading city of all Greece. This fact shows that one man was worth more than the entire body of citizens.

[1] Cf. 5. 5. [2] Cf. xvi. 4. 1.
[3] See note 1, p. 396.

XVI. PELOPIDAS

1. Pelopidas Thebanus, magis historicis quam vulgo notus. Cuius de virtutibus dubito quem ad modum exponam, quod vereor, si res explicare incipiam, ne non vitam eius enarrare, sed historiam videar scribere; sin tantum modo summas attigero, ne rudibus Graecarum litterarum minus dilucide appareat quantus fuerit ille vir. Itaque utrique rei occurram, quantum potuero, et medebor cum satietati tum ignorantiae lectorum.

2 Phoebidas Lacedaemonius cum exercitum Olynthum duceret iterque per Thebas faceret, arcem oppidi, quae Cadmea nominatur, occupavit impulsu paucorum Thebanorum, qui adversariae factioni quo facilius resisterent, Laconum rebus studebant, idque 3 suo privato, non publico fecit consilio. Quo facto eum Lacedaemonii ab exercitu removerunt pecuniaque multarunt, neque eo magis arcem Thebanis reddiderunt, quod susceptis inimicitiis satius ducebant eos obsideri quam liberari; nam post Peloponnesium bellum Athenasque devictas cum Thebanis sibi rem esse existimabant et eos esse solos qui 4 adversus resistere [1] auderent. Hac mente amicis suis summas potestates dederant alteriusque factionis principes partim interfecerant, alios in exsilium eiecerant; in quibus Pelopidas hic, de quo scribere exorsi sumus, pulsus patria carebat.

[1] se sistere, *Andresen.*

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[1] Nepos makes it clear here that he is not an historian, but a biographer, and that he dwells upon the virtues of his subjects as models for conduct; also that he is addressing the general, unlearned, public.

XVI. PELOPIDAS

1. Pelopidas, the Theban, is better known to historians than to the general public. I am in doubt how to give an account of his merits; for I fear that if I undertake to tell of his deeds, I shall seem to be writing a history rather than a biography; but if I merely touch upon the high points, I am afraid that to those unfamiliar with Grecian literature it will not be perfectly clear how great a man he was. Therefore I shall meet both difficulties as well as I can, having regard both for the weariness and the lack of information of my readers.[1]

When Phoebidas, the Lacedaemonian, was leading his army to Olynthus and went by way of Thebes, he 382 B.C. took possession of the citadel of the town, called the Cadmea, at the instigation of a few Thebans, who, in order the more easily to resist the party of their opponents, espoused the cause of the Lacedaemonians; but he did this on his own initiative and not at the direction of his state. Because of this act the Lacedaemonians deprived him of his command and condemned him to pay a fine, but for all that they did not return the citadel to the Thebans, thinking that, having incurred their enmity, it was better to keep them in a state of siege than to free them. Indeed, after the Peloponnesian war and the defeat of Athens they looked upon the Thebans as rivals and as the only people that would dare to resist them. Owing to this feeling, they had given the highest offices at Thebes to their sympathizers, and had either put to death or exiled the leading men of the opposite faction. Among these this Pelopidas, about whom I have begun to write, had been driven from his native land into exile.

2. Hi omnes fere Athenas se contulerant, non quo sequerentur otium, sed ut, quem [1] ex proximo locum fors obtulisset, eo patriam recuperare niterentur. 2 Itaque, cum tempus est visum rei gerendae, communiter cum iis qui Thebis idem sentiebant diem delegerunt ad inimicos opprimendos civitatemque liberandam eum quo maximi magistratus simul 3 consuerant epulari. Magnae saepe res non ita magnis copiis sunt gestae, sed profecto numquam tam ab tenui initio tantae opes sunt profligatae; nam duodecim adulescentuli coierunt ex iis qui exsilio erant multati, cum omnino non essent amplius centum, qui tanto se offerrent periculo. Qua paucitate percussa est Lacedaemoniorum potentia. 4 Hi enim non magis adversariorum factioni quam Spartanis eo tempore bellum intulerunt, qui principes erant totius Graeciae; quorum imperii maiestas, neque ita multo post, Leuctrica pugna ab hoc initio perculsa concidit.

5 Illi igitur duodecim, quorum dux erat Pelopidas, cum Athenis interdiu exissent, ut vesperascente caelo Thebas possent pervenire, cum canibus venaticis exierunt,[2] retia ferentes, vestitu agresti, quo minore suspicione facerent iter. Qui cum tempore ipso quo studerant pervenissent, domum Charonis deverterunt,[3] a quo et tempus et dies erat datus.

3. Hoc loco libet interponere, etsi seiunctum ab re

[1] quem, *Madvig*; quemque, *MSS.*
[2] exierunt, *omitted by Richter, Guill.*
[3] deverterunt, *Lambin*; devenerunt, *MSS.*

[1] The festival of the Aphrodisia, at the end of the term of office of the three annually elected polemarchs.

2. Nearly all those who had been banished took refuge in Athens, not in order to live in idleness, but to make an effort to recover their native land at the very first opportunity that fortune offered. Accordingly, as soon as they thought that the time for action had come, with those of their fellow-citizens in Thebes who had the same sentiments they agreed upon a time when they were to surprise their enemies 379 B.C. and free the city, choosing the day on which the chief magistrates were in the habit of meeting at a banquet.[1] Great things have often been accomplished with not so very great forces, but surely never did so humble a beginning result in the overthrow of so mighty a power. For only a dozen young men came together of those who had been punished with exile, and there were not more than a hundred in all to confront so great a peril. Yet it was by that small number that the power of Lacedaemon was shattered. For they made war, not more upon the party of their opponents than on the Spartans, and that too when the Spartans were the masters of all Greece. But Sparta's imposing power, after being shaken by this enterprise, soon afterward fell in ruins at the battle of Leuctra.

Those twelve heroes, then, led by Pelopidas, left Athens by day, in order to be able to reach Thebes at nightfall. They took with them hunting dogs and nets, and wore the garb of peasants, that their expedition might attract less attention. At the very time that they had planned they arrived at Thebes, and went to lodge at the house of Charon, the man who had named the day and hour.

3. Here I should like to digress, although it has no direct connection with my narrative, to point out how

proposita est, nimia fiducia quantae calamitati soleat esse. Nam magistratuum Thebanorum statim ad aures pervenit exsules in urbem venisse. Id illi vino epulisque dediti usque eo despexerunt, ut ne
2 quaerere quidem de tanta re laborarint. Accessit etiam quod magis aperiret eorum dementiam. Adlata est enim epistula Athenis ab Archino uni [1] ex his, Archiae, qui tum maximum magistratum Thebis obtinebat, in qua omnia de profectione eorum perscripta erant. Quae cum iam accubanti in convivio esset data, sicut erat signata, sub pulvinum subiciens,
3 " In crastinum," inquit, " differo res severas." At illi omnes, cum iam nox processisset, vinolenti ab exsulibus duce Pelopida sunt interfecti. Quibus rebus confectis, vulgo ad arma libertatemque vocato, non solum qui in urbe erant, sed etiam undique ex agris concurrerunt, praesidium Lacedaemoniorum ex arce pepulerunt, patriam obsidione liberarunt, auctores Cadmeae occupandae partim occiderunt, partim in exsilium eiecerunt.

4. Hoc tam turbido tempore, sicut supra docuimus, Epaminondas, quoad cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit. Itaque haec liberandarum Thebarum propria laus est Pelopidae, ceterae fere
2 communes cum Epaminonda. Namque in [2] Leuctrica pugna, imperatore Epaminonda, hic fuit dux delectae

[1] uni, *Bosius*; uno, *MSS.* (viro, *Can.*).
[2] in, *Can.*, *Lambin*; *the other MSS. omit.*

[1] He was one of the Boeotarchs, or representatives of the cities of the Boeotian league, of which Thebes had two.

great danger there usually is in excessive confidence. For it came at once to the ears of the Theban magistrates that the exiles had arrived in the city; but busy as they were in drinking and feasting, they considered the news so unimportant that they did not even take the trouble to inquire into a matter of such moment. Another thing made their folly still more apparent; for a letter was brought from Athens, written by Archinus to one of their number, Archias, who at the time was the chief magistrate in Thebes,[1] in which full details of the expedition were given. The letter was handed to Archias when he had already taken his place at the banquet, but without breaking the seal he put it under his pillow, with the remark: "Serious matters may wait until to-morrow." Now all those magistrates, in the course of that night, were slain in their cups by the exiles, headed by Pelopidas. That done, the people were called to arms and to liberty; they hastened to the spot, not only from the city, but from all the country-side, drove the Lacedaemonian garrison from the citadel, and freed their country from oppression. Of those who had caused the occupation of the Cadmea some were slain, others driven into exile.

4. During this time, so full of trouble, Epaminondas, as I have already said,[2] remained quietly at home, so long as the contest was with fellow-citizens. Hence this glorious deed of freeing Thebes belongs wholly to Pelopidas, but almost all the rest of his renown was shared with Epaminondas. For example, in the battle of Leuctra, although Epaminondas was commander-in-chief, Pelopidas was the

[2] Cf. xv. 10. 3.

manus quae prima phalangem prostravit Laconum.
3 Omnibus praeterea periculis eius[1] adfuit—sicut, Spartam cum oppugnavit, alterum tenuit cornu—quoque Messena celerius restitueretur, legatus in Persas est profectus. Denique haec fuit altera persona Thebis, sed tamen secunda ita ut proxima esset Epaminondae.

5. Conflictatus autem est etiam adversa fortuna. Nam et initio, sicut ostendimus, exsul patria caruit et, cum Thessaliam in potestatem Thebanorum cuperet redigere legationisque iure satis tectum se arbitraretur, quod apud omnes gentes sanctum esse consuesset, a tyranno Alexandro Pheraeo simul cum
2 Ismenia comprehensus in vincla coniectus est. Hunc Epaminondas recuperavit, bello persequens Alexandrum. Post id factum numquam animo placari potuit in eum a quo erat violatus. Itaque persuasit Thebanis ut subsidio Thessaliae proficiscerentur
3 tyrannosque eius expellerent. Cuius belli cum ei summa esset data eoque cum exercitu profectus esset, non dubitavit, simul ac conspexit hostem,
4 confligere. In quo proelio Alexandrum ut animadvertit, incensus ira equum in eum concitavit proculque digressus a suis, coniectu telorum confossus concidit. Atque hoc secunda victoria accidit; nam iam inclina-
5 tae erant tyrannorum copiae. Quo facto omnes Thessaliae civitates interfectum Pelopidam coronis aureis et statuis aeneis liberosque eius multo agro donarunt.

[1] eius, *added by Halm.*

[1] The so-called Sacred Band of 300 heavy-armed soldiers, in which pairs of intimate friends fought side by side.

[2] Pelopidas went to Persia in 367 B.C.; Messene had been restored (that is, made an independent state) in 370 B.C.

leader of the select corps [1] that was first to break the Lacedaemonian phalanx. Moreover, he shared in all his other dangers (thus in the attack on Sparta he commanded one wing), and in order to hasten the restoration of Messene, he went as an envoy to the Persians.[2] In short, he was one of the two great citizens of Thebes, and although he was second, yet he was next to Epaminondas.

5. But Pelopidas contended also with ill fortune; for in the beginning, as I have stated, he was driven from his country into exile, and when he wished to bring Thessaly under the sway of Thebes and thought 368 B.C. that he was amply protected by the inviolability of ambassadors, since that was observed sacredly by all nations, he was arrested with Ismenias by Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, and thrown into prison. He was rescued by Epaminondas, who made war upon Alexander. After that experience Pelopidas could never be reconciled with the man who had outraged him, and it was for that reason that he persuaded the Thebans to go to the aid of Thessaly and free it of its tyrants. When he had been given the chief command in that war and had set out with his army, he did not hesitate to join battle immediately on catching sight of the enemy. In the action that followed, inflamed with wrath at the very first sight of Alexander, he spurred his horse against the tyrant, and being thus separated some distance from his men, he fell, struck down by a shower of weapons. This happened in the full tide of victory, for the tyrants' forces had already given way. Because of that exploit all the states of Thessaly presented the dead Pelopidas with crowns of gold and statues of bronze, and his children with a great amount of land.

XVII. AGESILAUS

1. Agesilaus Lacedaemonius cum a ceteris scriptoribus tum eximie a Xenophonte Socratico conlaudatus est; eo enim usus est familiarissime.
2 Hic primum de regno cum Leotychide, fratris filio, habuit contentionem. Mos erat[1] enim a maioribus Lacedaemoniis traditus, ut duos haberent semper reges, nomine magis quam imperio, ex duabus familiis Procli et Eurysthenis, qui principes
3 ex progenie Herculis Spartae reges fuerunt. Horum ex altera in alterius familiae locum regem[2] fieri non licebat; ita suum utraque retinebat ordinem. Primum ratio habebatur, qui maximus natu esset ex liberis eius qui regnans decessisset; sin is virile secus non reliquisset, tum deligebatur qui proximus esset pro-
4 pinquitate. Mortuus erat Agis rex, frater Agesilai; filium reliquerat Leotychidem. Quem ille natum non agnorat, eundem moriens suum esse dixerat. Is de honore regni cum Agesilao, patruo suo, con-
5 tendit neque id quod petivit consecutus est; nam Lysandro suffragante, homine, ut ostendimus supra, factioso et iis temporibus potente, Agesilaus antelatus est.

2. Hic simul atque imperii potitus est, persuasit Lacedaemoniis ut exercitus emitterent[3] in Asiam bellumque regi facerent, docens satius esse in Asia quam in Europa dimicari. Namque fama exierat Artaxerxen comparare classes pedestresque exerci-
2 tus, quos in Graeciam mitteret. Data potestate tanta

[1] erat, *Fleck.*; est, *MSS.* [2] regem, *added by Fleck.*
[3] exercitum et se mitterent, *Guill.*

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[1] Artaxerxes Mnemon is meant.

XVII. AGESILAUS

1. Agesilaus the Lacedaemonian was praised, not only by all other historians, but in particular by Xenophon, the disciple of Socrates, whose intimate friend he was.

He began by having a dispute about the throne with Leotychides, his brother's son; for it was the custom of the Lacedaemonians, handed down from their forefathers, always to have two kings (whose power, however, was rather nominal than real) from the families of Procles and Eurysthenes, who were descendants of Hercules and the first kings at Sparta. It was not lawful for one of these to be made king from one family in place of the other; so each family kept its order of succession. Consideration was first given to the eldest of the children of the one who had died upon the throne; but if he had left no male offspring, then his nearest relative was chosen. Now King Agis, the brother of Agesilaus, had died, leaving a son Leoty- 399 B.C.
chides; he had not acknowledged the boy at his birth, but on his death-bed he declared that he was his son. He it was that disputed the title of king with his uncle Agesilaus, but he was unsuccessful; for thanks to the support of Lysander, a man, as we have already shown, who at that time was ambitious and powerful, Agesilaus was preferred.

2. As soon as Agesilaus was in possession of the throne, he persuaded the Lacedaemonians to send out armies to Asia and make war upon the king, 396 B.C.
pointing out that it would be better to fight in Asia than in Europe; for the rumour had gone forth that Artaxerxes [1] was equipping a fleet and land forces to send to Greece. As soon as permission was given

celeritate usus est, ut prius in Asiam cum copiis pervenerit quam regii satrapae eum scirent profectum. Quo factum est ut omnes imparatos imprudentesque
3 offenderet. Id ut cognovit Tissaphernes, qui summum imperium tum inter praefectos habebat regios, indutias a Lacone petivit, simulans se dare operam ut Lacedaemoniis cum rege conveniret, re autem vera ad copias comparandas, easque impetravit
4 trimenstres. Iuravit autem uterque se sine dolo indutias conservaturum.

In qua pactione summa fide mansit Agesilaus; contra ea Tissaphernes nihil aliud quam bellum
5 comparavit. Id etsi sentiebat Laco, tamen iusiurandum servabat multumque in eo se consequi dicebat, quod Tissaphernes periurio suo et homines suis rebus abalienaret et deos sibi iratos redderet, se autem, conservata religione, confirmare exercitum, cum animadverteret deum numen facere secum hominesque sibi conciliari amiciores, quod iis studere consuessent quos conservare fidem viderent.

3. Postquam indutiarum praeteriit dies, barbarus non dubitans, quod ipsius erant plurima domicilia in Caria et ea regio iis temporibus [multo putabatur locupletissima, eo potissimum hostes impetum
2 facturos, omnes suas copias eo contraxerat. At Agesilaus in Phrygiam se convertit eamque prius depopulatus est quam Tissaphernes usquam se moveret. Magna praeda militibus locupletatis,

[1] The statement is true of Lydia rather than of Caria.

him, Agesilaus acted with such rapidity that he arrived in Asia with his forces before the king's satraps knew that he was on his way. The result was that he surprised them all and caught them all unprepared. As soon as his arrival became known to Tissaphernes, who then held the chief authority among the king's governors, he asked the Laconian for a truce, under pretext of trying to reconcile the Lacedaemonians and the king, but actually for the purpose of mustering his forces; and he obtained a truce of three months. The two parties took oath that they would loyally observe the armistice.

That promise Agesilaus kept with the utmost scrupulousness; Tissaphernes, on the contrary, devoted all his time to preparing for war. Although the Laconian knew this, he nevertheless kept his oath and said that in so doing he gained a great advantage, since Tissaphernes by his perjury not only turned men against him but also incurred the wrath of the gods; while he, on the contrary, by keeping his pledge, inspired confidence in his army, because they saw that they had the favour of the gods, while men were more sympathetic towards them, since they commonly side with those whom they see keeping their faith.

3. As soon as the period of the truce came to an end, since the barbarian had many palaces in Caria and that region in those times was regarded as by far the richest part of the kingdom,[1] he felt sure that it was against this that the enemy would be most likely to direct their attack. Accordingly he massed all his troops there. But Agesilaus turned towards Phrygia and laid that country waste before Tissaphernes could make any move. The great booty enriched his

Ephesum hiematum exercitum reduxit atque ibi officinis armorum institutis, magna industria bellum apparavit. Et quo studiosius armarentur insigniusque ornarentur, praemia proposuit quibus donarentur
3 quorum egregia in ea re fuisset industria. Fecit idem in exercitationum generibus, ut, qui ceteris praestitissent, eos magnis adficeret muneribus. His igitur rebus effecit ut et ornatissimum et exercitatissimum haberet exercitum.

4 Huic cum tempus esset visum copias extrahere ex hibernaculis, vidit, si quo esset iter facturus palam pronuntiasset, hostis non credituros aliasque regiones praesidiis occupaturos neque dubitaturos aliud eum [1]
5 facturum ac pronuntiasset. Itaque cum ille Sardis iturum se dixisset, Tissaphernes eandem Cariam defendendam putavit. In quo cum eum opinio fefellisset victumque se vidisset consilio, sero suis praesidio profectus est; nam cum illo venisset, iam Agesilaus, multis locis expugnatis, magna erat
6 praeda potitus. Laco autem cum videret hostis equitatu superare, numquam in campo sui fecit potestatem et iis locis manum conseruit quibus plus pedestres copiae valerent. Pepulit ergo, quotienscumque congressus est, multo maiores adversariorum copias et sic in Asia versatus est, ut omnium opinione victor duceretur.

4. Hic cum iam animo meditaretur proficisci in

[1] eum, *P u*; esse, *the other MSS.*

soldiers, and Agesilaus led his army back to Ephesus for the winter; there he established manufactories of arms and prepared for war with great energy. And in order that the arms might be made with greater care and adorned more artistically, he offered rewards to those who showed the greatest energy in their manufacture. He followed the same plan with regard to various forms of exercise, giving handsome prizes to those who excelled their fellows; and in that way he succeeded in having an army both finely equipped and excellently trained.

When it appeared to him to be time to lead his troops from their winter quarters, he saw that if he openly announced in advance where he was going to march, the enemy would not believe him and would post their garrisons in other regions, feeling sure that he would do something different from what he had said. And in fact, when he announced that he would march upon Sardis, Tissaphernes, as before, thought that it was Caria that he ought to defend. And when he was mistaken in that, and saw that he had been outwitted, he was too late in going to the defence of his countrymen; for when he arrived at the spot, Agesilaus had already stormed many places and got possession of a great amount of booty. Moreover, since the Laconian perceived that the enemy were superior in cavalry, he always avoided meeting them on level ground, but joined battle in places where infantry was more effective; and so, whenever he engaged, he routed far superior forces of his opponents, and conducted his campaigns in Asia in such a manner that in the judgment of all men he was regarded as the victor. 395 B.C.

4. Agesilaus was already planning to march against

Persas et ipsum regem adoriri, nuntius ei domo venit ephororum missu,[1] bellum Athenienses et Boeotos indixisse Lacedaemoniis: qua re venire ne dubitaret.
2 In hoc non minus eius pietas suspicienda est quam virtus bellica; qui cum victori praeesset exercitui maximamque haberet fiduciam regni Persarum potiundi, tanta modestia dicto audiens fuit iussis absentium magistratuum, ut si privatus in comitio esset Spartae. Cuius exemplum utinam imperatores
3 nostri sequi voluissent! Sed illuc redeamus. Agesilaus opulentissimo regno praeposuit bonam existimationem multoque gloriosius duxit si institutis patriae paruisset, quam si bello superasset Asiam.
4 Hac igitur mente Hellespontum copias traiecit tantaque usus est celeritate ut, quod iter Xerxes anno vertente confecerat, hic transierit XXX diebus.
5 Cum iam haud ita longe abesset a Peloponneso, obsistere ei conati sunt Athenienses et Boeotii ceterique eorum socii apud Coroneam; quos omnes gravi proelio vicit.
6 Huius victoriae vel maxima fuit laus, quod, cum plerique ex fuga se in templum Minervae coniecissent quaerereturque ab eo quid iis vellet fieri, etsi aliquot vulnera acceperat eo proelio et iratus videbatur omnibus qui adversus arma tulerant, tamen antetulit

[1] missu, *A Dan.* (*written above*) *and u in margin*; iussu, *A* (*written above*) *and the other MSS.*

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[1] See ix. 2. 4.

[2] As Roman writers frequently do, Nepos uses the Roman term *comitium* for the corresponding place in Sparta, either the Ephoreium, the place of meeting of the ephors, or perhaps the agora.

the Persians and attack the king himself, when a message from home arrived, sent by the ephors, that the Athenians and Boeotians had declared war upon the Lacedaemonians;[1] that he must therefore return at once. At this juncture his patriotism is no less to be admired than his valour in war; for although he was at the head of a victorious army and had the fullest confidence in his ability to conquer the kingdom of Persia, he showed as much deference in obeying the orders of the magistrates, far away as they were, as if he had been a private citizen in the Ephoreium[2] at Sparta. An example that I only wish our generals had been willing to follow![3] But let us return to our subject. Agesilaus preferred good repute to the richest of kingdoms, and thought it far more glorious to conform to the customs of his native land than to vanquish Asia by his arms. Because of that feeling, then, he led his forces across the Hellespont, and showed such speed that in thirty days he completed the march which had occupied Xerxes for an entire year.[4] He was already nearing the Peloponnesus, when the Athenians, the Boeotians 394 B.C. and their allies attempted to stop him at Coronea; but he defeated them all in a sanguinary battle.

Of that victory the most glorious feature was this: many of the fugitives had rushed into the temple of Minerva,[5] and when Agesilaus was asked what he wished to be done with them, although he had received several wounds in the battle and was obviously incensed with all those who had borne arms against Sparta, yet he subordinated his anger to

[3] Referring to Julius Caesar, Antony and Octavian, all of whom had refused to obey the senate.

[4] See note on ii. 5. 2. [5] See n. 3, p. 420.

7 irae religionem et eos vetuit violari. Neque vero hoc solum in Graecia fecit, ut templa deorum sancta haberet, sed etiam apud barbaros summa religione
8 omnia simulacra arasque conservavit. Itaque praedicabat mirari se non sacrilegorum numero haberi qui supplicibus eorum [1] nocuissent, aut non gravioribus poenis adfici qui religionem minuerent, quam qui fana spoliarent.

5. Post hoc proelium conlatum omne bellum est circa Corinthum ideoque Corinthium [2] est appellatum.
2 Hic cum una pugna decem milia hostium Agesilao duce cecidissent eoque facto opes adversariorum debilitatae viderentur, tantum afuit ab insolentia gloriae, ut commiseratus sit fortunam Graeciae, quod tam multi a se victi vitio adversariorum concidissent: namque illa multitudine, si sana mens esset, Graeciae
3 supplicium Persas dare potuisse. Idem cum adversarios intra moenia compulisset et ut Corinthum oppugnaret multi hortarentur, negavit id suae virtuti convenire: se enim eum esse dixit qui ad officium peccantes redire cogeret, non qui urbes
4 nobilissimas expugnaret Graeciae. "Nam si," inquit, "eos exstinguere voluerimus qui nobiscum adversus barbaros steterunt, nosmet ipsi nos expugnaverimus, illis quiescentibus. Quo facto sine negotio, cum voluerint, nos oppriment."

6. Interim accidit illa calamitas apud Leuctra [3] Lacedaemoniis. Quo ne proficisceretur, cum a plerisque

[1] deorum, *Magius and B as a correction.*
[2] Corinthium, *Ascensius and u*; Corinthum, *MSS.*
[3] Leuctra, *u*; Leuctram, *MSS.* (Leuctrum, *B*).

[1] Until 387 B.C.

respect for religion and forbade their being injured. And it was not in Greece alone that he held the temples of the gods sacred, but among the barbarians also he was most scrupulous in sparing all their statues and altars. Indeed, he openly declared that he was surprised that those who had injured their suppliants who had taken refuge in such places were not regarded as guilty of sacrilege, or that those were not more severely punished who made light of sacred obligations than those who robbed temples.

5. After this battle[1] the entire war centred about Corinth and hence was known as the Corinthian war. There in a single battle under the lead of Agesilaus ten thousand of the enemy were slain, and in consequence of that disaster the power of his adversaries seemed to be shattered. Yet he was so far from feeling boastful arrogance, that he lamented the fortune of Greece, because through the fault of his opponents his victory had cost the lives of so many of her citizens: for with that great number, if the Greeks had been sensible, they might have been able to take vengeance on the Persians. Again, when he had driven his foes within the walls and many were urging him to attack Corinth, he said that such an act was unworthy of his valour; for it was his part to recall to their duty those who had gone astray, not to storm the most famous cities of Greece. "For," said he, "if we set about destroying those who have stood side by side with us against the barbarians, we ourselves shall triumph over one another, while they quietly look on. That done, they will crush us without difficulty, whenever they wish."

6. In the meantime that famous disaster at Leuctra befell the Lacedaemonians. Not wishing to embark 371 B.C.

ad exeundum premeretur, ut si de exitu divinaret, exire noluit.[1] Idem, cum Epaminondas Spartam oppugnaret essetque sine muris oppidum, talem se imperatorem praebuit, ut eo tempore omnibus apparuerit, nisi ille fuisset, Spartam futuram non
2 fuisse. In quo quidem discrimine celeritas eius consilii saluti fuit universis. Nam cum quidam adulescentuli, hostium adventu perterriti, ad Thebanos transfugere vellent et locum extra urbem editum cepissent, Agesilaus, qui perniciosissimum fore videret si animadversum esset quemquam ad hostis transfugere conari, cum suis eo venit atque, ut si bono animo fecissent, laudavit consilium eorum, quod eum locum occupassent; se quoque id[2] fieri
3 debere animadvertisse. Sic adulescentis simulata laudatione recuperavit et, adiunctis de suis comitibus, locum tutum reliquit. Namque illi, aucto[3] numero eorum qui expertes erant consilii commovere se non sunt ausi eoque libentius, quod latere arbitrabantur quae cogitaverant.

7. Sine dubio post Leuctricam pugnam Lacedaemonii se numquam refecerunt neque pristinum imperium recuperarunt, cum interim numquam Agesilaus destitit quibuscumque rebus posset patriam
2 iuvare. Nam cum praecipue Lacedaemonii indigerent pecunia, ille omnibus qui a rege defecerant

[1] exire noluit, *MSS.*; valetudinem excusavit, *Halm*; ex. senectutem, *Fleck*; aegrotare se finxit et *before* cum a plerisque, *suggested by Radermacher*; exire noluit idem, cum . . . tamen talem (*adding* recusavit *after* premeretur), *Wagner*.

[2] et se id quoque, *MSS.*; et, *omitted by Andresen*; quoque *put after* id *in ed. Vulpiana*.

[3] aucti, *Bosius*.

on that campaign, although he was urged by many to go, as if he divined the outcome he refused to do so.[1] Again, when Epaminondas was attacking Sparta and the city was without walls, he showed himself so able a commander, that it was evident to all that if it had not been for him Sparta would at that time have ceased to exist.[2] In fact, in that critical situation it was his quickness of wit that saved all the citizens. For some young men, panic-stricken by the arrival of the enemy, wished to desert to the Thebans and had taken possession of an elevated place outside the city; then Agesilaus, realizing that the knowledge that anyone was trying to go over to the enemy would be most dangerous, joined them with his troops and commended their good judgment in occupying such a position, pretending to believe that they had done so with good intent, and saying that he too had seen the advisability of such a step. Thus by his pretended praise he won back the young men, and by joining with them some of his own companions he left the position safe. For they, when the number of those who were not implicated in the plot was increased, did not dare to make any move, and remained quiet the more willingly because they thought that their real designs were not known.

7. It is beyond question that after the battle of Leuctra the Lacedaemonians never recovered their strength or regained their former hegemony, although in the meantime Agesilaus never ceased to aid his country in whatever way he could. For example, when the Lacedaemonians were above all in need of funds, he went to the help of all those who had

[1] The sentence is an awkward one; see the crit. note.
[2] See note 3, p. 495.

praesidio fuit; a quibus magna donatus pecunia
3 patriam sublevavit. Atque in hoc illud imprimis fuit admirabile, cum maxima munera ei ab regibus ac dynastis civitatibusque conferrentur, quod nihil umquam domum suam contulit, nihil de victu,
4 nihil de vestitu Laconum mutavit. Domo eadem fuit contentus qua Eurysthenes, progenitor maiorum suorum, fuerat usus; quam qui intrarat nullum signum libidinis, nullum luxuriae videre poterat, contra ea plurima patientiae atque abstinentiae. Sic enim erat instructa, ut in nulla re differret a[1] cuiusvis inopis atque privati.

8. Atque hic tantus vir ut naturam fautricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, sic maleficam nactus est in corpore fingendo; nam et statura fuit humili et corpore exiguo et claudus altero pede. Quae res etiam nonnullam adferebat deformitatem, atque ignoti, faciem eius cum intuerentur, contemnebant; qui autem virtutes noverant non poterant
2 admirari satis. Quod ei usu venit, cum annorum LXXX subsidio Tacho in Aegyptum iisset et in acta cum suis accubuisset sine ullo tecto stratumque haberet talc, ut terra tecta esset stramentis neque huc amplius quam pellis esset iniecta, eodemque comites omnes accubuissent vestitu humili atque obsoleto, ut eorum ornatus non modo in iis regem neminem significaret, sed homines non beatissimos esse suspicionem praeberet.

3 Huius de adventu fama cum ad regios esset perlata, celeriter munera eo cuiusque generis sunt adlata.

[1] a, *added by Cobet.*

[1] Cf. xii. 2. 3.
[2] Agesilaus was of the line of Procles, not Eurysthenes.

revolted against the great king, and when they gave him large sums of money he devoted it to the service of his country. And a trait of his that was especially worthy of admiration was this: although lavish gifts were bestowed upon him by kings, princes and nations, he never took anything home with him,[1] and made no change in the manner of life and dress usual with the Laconians. He was content with the same house that had been used by Eurysthenes, the first of his line[2]; on entering it, no sign of licence, no sign of luxury was visible, but on the contrary many indications of austerity and frugality; in fact, in its equipment the house did not differ from that of any private citizen of humble means.

8. But although Nature had favoured this great man in bestowing qualities of mind, in fashioning his body he found her unkindly; for he was short of stature, of slender frame, and lame in one foot. These defects made him somewhat ill-favoured, and strangers, who judged him from his appearance, were apt to look upon him with contempt; but those who knew his good qualities could not sufficiently admire him. That was his experience when, at the age of eighty, he had gone to the help of Tachos in Egypt. 361 B.C. He had taken his place at meat with his men on the shore, without any shelter and having for a couch straw spread on the ground and covered with nothing but a skin; and there too all his companions reclined beside him in plain and well-worn clothing. Their appearance, far from suggesting that there was a king among them, would indicate that they were men of no great wealth.

When the report of the Spartan's arrival had reached the king's officers, they hastened to bring to his camp

His quaerentibus Agesilaum vix fides facta est,
4 unum esse ex iis qui tum accubabant. Qui cum regis verbis quae attulerant dedissent, ille praeter vitulinam et eius modi genera obsonii quae praesens tempus desiderabat, nihil accepit; unguenta, coronas secundamque mensam servis dispertiit, cetera referri
5 iussit. Quo facto, eum barbari magis etiam contempserunt, quod cum ignorantia bonarum rerum vilia potissimum sumpsisse arbitrabantur.

6 Hic cum ex Aegypto reverteretur, donatus ab rege Nectanabide ducentis viginti talentis, quae ille muneri populo suo daret, venissetque in portum qui Menelai vocatur, iacens inter Cyrenas et Aegyptum,
7 in morbum implicitus decessit. Ibi eum amici, quo Spartam facilius perferre possent, quod mel non habebant, cera circumfuderunt atque ita domum rettulerunt.

XVIII. EUMENES

1. Eumenes Cardianus. Huius si virtuti par data esset fortuna, non ille quidem maior exstitisset [1]—quod magnos homines virtute metimur, non fortuna [2]
2 —sed multo illustrior atque etiam honoratior. Nam cum aetas eius incidisset in ea tempora quibus Macedones florerent, multum ei detraxit inter eos

[1] exstitisset, *added by Halm*; fuisset, *Lambin.*
[2] quod . . . fortuna *after* honoratior, *MSS.*; *transposed by Pluygers.*

[1] The bodies of Spartan kings who died abroad were usually embalmed in honey. The friends of Agesilaus substituted melted wax.

gifts of every kind. When they inquired for Agesilaus, they could hardly believe that he was one of those who were then at meat. When they offered him in the name of the king what they had brought, he refused everything except some veal and similar kinds of food which his circumstances made necessary; perfumes, garlands and desserts he distributed among his servants, the rest he ordered to be taken back. Such conduct led the barbarians to hold him in still greater contempt, since they supposed that he had made his choice through lack of acquaintance with fine things.

When Agesilaus was on his way back from Egypt after having received from King Nectenebis two hundred and twenty talents to give as a gift to his country, on arriving at the place called the Port of Menelaus, situated between Cyrene and Egypt, he fell ill and died. Thereupon his friends, in order that his body might the more readily be taken to Sparta, having no honey,[1] covered it with wax and thus bore it to his native land.

XVIII. EUMENES

1. Eumenes of Cardia.[2] If this man's merit had been attended by equal good fortune, he would not, it is true, have turned out greater (for we measure a man's greatness by his merit and not by his fortune), but he would have been much more famous and even more honoured. For his lifetime fell in the period when the Macedonians were at the height of their power, and living as he did in their country, it was

[2] A different person, of course, from Eumenes of Pergamum, mentioned in xxiii. 11.

viventi, quod alienae erat civitatis, neque aliud huic
3 defuit quam generosa stirps. Etsi ille domestico summo genere erat, tamen Macedones eum sibi aliquando anteponi indigne ferebant, neque tamen non patiebantur; vincebat enim omnes cura, vigilantia, patientia, calliditate et celeritate ingenii.
4 Hic peradulescentulus ad amicitiam accessit Philippi, Amyntae filii, brevique tempore in intimam pervenit familiaritatem; fulgebat enim iam in
5 adulescentulo indoles virtutis. Itaque eum habuit ad manum scribae loco, quod multo apud Graios honorificentius est quam apud Romanos. Namque apud nos, re vera sicut sunt, mercennarii scribae existimantur; at apud illos e contrario [1] nemo ad id officium admittitur nisi honesto loco, et fide et industria cognita, quod necesse est omnium consilio-
6 rum eum esse participem. Hunc locum tenuit amicitiae apud Philippum annos septem. Illo interfecto, eodem gradu fuit apud Alexandrum annos tredecim. Novissimo tempore praefuit etiam alterae equitum alae, quae Hetaerice appellabatur. Utrique autem in consilio semper adfuit et omnium rerum habitus est particeps.

2. Alexandro Babylone mortuo, cum regna singulis familiaribus dispertirentur et summa tradita esset tuenda eidem cui Alexander moriens anulum suum
2 dederat, Perdiccae—ex quo omnes coniecerant eum

[1] e contrario, *R, Lambin*; contrario, *the other MSS.*

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[1] That is, from a noble Macedonian family.

[2] This applies only to such exceptional positions as that of Eumenes. There were similar positions in Rome; thus Horace was offered the post of secretary to the Emperor Augustus (Suet. *Vit. Hor.*).

greatly to his disadvantage that he was a native of a foreign state; for he lacked nothing except noble descent.[1] Although he was of the highest rank in his own country, yet the Macedonians were indignant that he was sometimes preferred to them; but they were obliged to put up with it, since he excelled them all in diligence, in watchfulness and in endurance, as well as in skill and mental alertness.

Eumenes, when very young, became the friend of 342 B.C.
Philip, son of Amyntas, and soon grew very intimate with the king, being conspicuous even in his youth for his high character. Therefore Philip kept him near his person, in the capacity of secretary, a position much more highly honoured among the Greeks than with the Romans. With us, indeed, scribes are considered hirelings, as in fact they are; in Greece, on the contrary, no one is accepted for such a position unless he is of respectable family and of proven fidelity and ability, since he is necessarily acquainted with all his superior's plans.[2] This position of friendship with Philip Eumenes held for seven years. When Philip was assassinated, he held the same rank with Alexander for thirteen years. During the latter 336–323
part of that time[3] he commanded one of the two B.C.
corps of cavalry known as "The Band of Comrades." Moreover, he was always asked for his advice by both kings and given a share in all their affairs.

2. When Alexander died at Babylon, his provinces 323 B.C.
were divided among his friends and the supreme power was committed to the care of Perdiccas, to whom Alexander on his death-bed had given his ring. From this act of Alexander's all had inferred that he

[3] That is, after 325 B.C.

regnum ei commisisse,[1] quoad liberi eius in suam tutelam pervenissent; aberat enim Crateros et Antipater, qui antecedere hunc videbantur; mortuus erat Hephaestio, quem unum Alexander, quod facile intellegi posset, plurimi fecerat. Hoc tempore data est Eumeni Cappadocia, sive potius dicta; nam
3 tum in hostium erat potestate. Hunc sibi Perdiccas adiunxerat magno studio, quod in homine fidem et industriam magnam videbat, non dubitans, si eum pellexisset, magno usui fore sibi in iis rebus quas apparabat. Cogitabat enim, quod fere omnes in magnis imperiis concupiscunt, omnium partis corri-
4 pere atque complecti. Neque vero hoc ille solus fecit, sed ceteri quoque omnes qui Alexandri fuerant amici. Primus Leonnatus Macedoniam praeoccupare destinavit.[2] Hic multis magnisque pollicitationibus persuadere Eumeni studuit, ut Perdiccam
5 desereret ac secum faceret societatem. Cum perducere eum non posset, interficere conatus est; et fecisset, nisi ille clam noctu ex praesidiis eius effugisset.

3. Interim conflata sunt illa bella quae ad internecionem post Alexandri mortem gesta sunt, omnesque concurrerunt ad Perdiccam opprimendum. Quem etsi infirmum videbat, quod unus omnibus resistere cogebatur, tamen amicum non deseruit
2 neque salutis quam fidei fuit cupidior. Praefecerat hunc Perdiccas ei parti Asiae quae inter Taurum montem iacet atque Hellespontum, et illum unum opposuerat Europaeis adversariis; ipse Aegyptum

[1] commisisse, *Benecke*; commisisse vel commendasse, *Leid. A P B R F* λ μ; commendasse, π *M u* (*u in margin has* "*al.* commisisse").

[2] destinavit, *u*; praedestinavit (—averat, *M*), *MSS.*

had entrusted the rule to Perdiccas until his own children should come of age; for Craterus and Antipater were not present, who obviously had better claims than Perdiccas; Hephaestion was dead, whom Alexander esteemed most of all, as could readily be seen. At that time Cappadocia was given to Eumenes, or rather, promised to him, since it was then in possession of the enemy. Perdiccas had made every effort to win his friendship, realizing the man's great loyalty and ability, and had no doubt that, if he should gain his regard, Eumenes would be very useful to him in carrying out his plans; for it was his design to do what almost all who hold great power aspire to, namely, seize the shares of all the others and unite them. But he was not the only one who had this design, for it was entertained by all the rest who had been friends of Alexander. First, Leonnatus proposed to usurp Macedonia, and tried by many lavish promises to induce Eumenes to desert Perdiccas and form an alliance with him. Failing in that, Leonnatus tried to kill Eumenes, and would have succeeded if his intended victim had not eluded his guards by night and made his escape.

3. Meanwhile those notorious wars of extermination broke out which followed the death of Alexander, and all united in an attack upon Perdiccas, to rid themselves of him. Although Eumenes saw the weakness of his friend's position, in being obliged to resist all the others single-handed, yet he did not desert him nor desire safety at the expense of loyalty. Perdiccas had made him governor of the part of Asia lying between the Taurus mountains and the Hellespont and had left him to face his European opponents alone; he himself had gone to 321 B.C.

oppugnatum adversus Ptolemaeum erat profectus.
3 Eumenes cum neque magnas copias neque firmas haberet, quod et inexercitatae et non multo ante erant contractae, adventare autem dicerentur Hellespontumque transisse Antipater et Crateros magno cum exercitu Macedonum, viri cum claritate tum usu belli praestantes—Macedones vero milites ea
4 tum erant fama, qua nunc Romani feruntur; etenim semper habiti sunt fortissimi, qui summi[1] imperii potirentur—Eumenes intellegebat, si copiae suae cognossent adversus quos ducerentur, non modo non ituras, sed simul cum nuntio dilapsuras.
5 Itaque hoc ei visum est[2] prudentissimum, ut deviis itineribus milites duceret, in quibus vera audire non possent, et iis persuaderet se contra quosdam bar-
6 baros proficisci. Itaque tenuit hoc propositum et prius in aciem exercitum eduxit proeliumque commisit, quam milites sui scirent cum quibus arma conferrent. Effecit etiam illud locorum praeoccupatione, ut equitatu potius dimicaret, quo plus valebat, quam peditatu, quo erat deterior.

4. Quorum acerrimo concursu cum magnam partem diei esset oppugnatum,[3] cadit Crateros dux et Neoptolemus, qui secundum locum imperii tenebat.
2 Cum hoc concurrit ipse Eumenes. Qui cum inter se complexi in terram ex equis decidissent, ut facile intellegi possent inimica mente contendisse animoque magis etiam pugnasse quam corpore, non prius

[1] summi, *Madvig*; summam, *Dan. A M P R*; summa, *B u.*
[2] ei visum est, *Nipp.*; eius fuit, *MSS.*
[3] pugnatum, *u.*

Egypt, to war against Ptolemy. The troops of Eumenes were neither numerous nor strong, since they had been enrolled not long before and lacked training; moreover, it was said that Antipater and Craterus, two men eminent both for their renown and their military experience, had crossed the Hellespont with a great army of Macedonians. In those days the Macedonian soldiers had the reputation that the Romans now enjoy, since those have always been regarded as of the greatest valour who rule the whole world, and Eumenes understood that if his troops knew against whom they were being led, they would not only refuse to go, but immediately on hearing the news would melt away.

It therefore seemed wisest to lead the soldiers over by-ways, where they could not learn the truth, and make them believe that they were marching against some barbarian tribe or other. And so well did Eumenes carry out this plan, that his army was already drawn up and had begun the battle before the soldiers knew with whom they were to fight. He also, by choosing his ground in advance of the enemy, made the brunt of the battle fall on his cavalry, in which he was the stronger, rather than on the infantry, in which he was inferior.

4. They engaged for a greater part of a day in a fierce struggle, in which Craterus fell, the leader of the enemy, as well as Neoptolemus, who was second in command. With the latter Eumenes fought hand to hand. When the two had grappled and had fallen from their horses to the ground, it could easily be seen that they were personal enemies, and that their contest was one of the spirit even more than of body; for they could not be separated until

distracti sunt quam alterum anima relinqueret. Ab hoc aliquot plagis Eumenes vulneratur neque eo magis ex proelio excessit, sed acrius hostis institit.
3 Hic equitibus profligatis, interfecto duce Cratero, multis praeterea et maxime nobilibus captis, pedester exercitus, quod in ea loca erat deductus ut invito Eumene elabi non posset, pacem ab eo petit. Quam cum impetrasset, in fide non mansit et se, simul ac potuit, ad Antipatrum recepit.
4 Eumenes Craterum ex acie semivivum elatum recreare studuit; cum id non posset, pro hominis dignitate proque pristina amicitia—namque illo usus erat Alexandro vivo familiariter—amplo funere [1] extulit ossaque in Macedoniam uxori eius ac liberis remisit.

5. Haec dum apud Hellespontum geruntur, Perdiccas apud Nilum flumen interficitur ab Seleuco et Antigene,[2] rerumque summa ad Antipatrum defertur. Hic qui deseruerant, exercitu suffragium ferente, capitis absentes damnantur, in iis Eumenes. Hac ille perculsus plaga, non succubuit neque eo setius bellum administravit. Sed exiles res animi magnitudinem, etsi non frangebant, tamen minuebant.
2 Hunc persequens Antigonus, cum omni genere copiarum abundaret, saepe in itineribus vexabatur, neque umquam ad manum accedere licebat nisi iis
3 locis quibus pauci multis possent resistere. Sed extremo tempore, cum consilio capi non posset,

[1] funere, *M R A* (*written above*); munere, *the other MSS.*
[2] Antigene, *Van Staveren*; Antigono, *MSS.*

one of the two had been killed. From his opponent Eumenes suffered several wounds, but he did not on that account leave the field, but attacked the enemy with renewed vigour. Then, after the cavalry had been routed, their leader Craterus killed, and many prisoners taken besides, including men of very high rank, the enemy's infantry was decoyed into a position from which it could not escape without the consent of Eumenes, and sued for a truce. Having obtained it, they did not keep faith, but returned as soon as possible to Antipater.

Eumenes tried to cure Craterus, who had been carried off the field still living; when that proved impossible, bearing in mind the high position of the deceased and their former friendship (for the two had been intimate during the lifetime of Alexander) he gave him a funeral with great ceremony and sent his ashes to his wife and children in Macedonia.

5. While these events were taking place at the Hellespont, Perdiccas was slain near the river Nile by Seleucus and Antigenes, and the supreme power passed to Antipater. Then those who had not sided with the new ruler were condemned to death in their absence by vote of his army, including Eumenes. He, although the blow was a heavy one, did not succumb to it, but continued none the less to carry on the war; but his slender resources, although they did not break his high spirit, nevertheless impaired it. Antigonus pursued him, but although he had 320 B.C. an abundance of troops of every kind and often harassed Eumenes on the march, he never succeeded in engaging him in battle except in places where a few could resist great numbers. At last, however, though he could not be taken off his guard by

multitudine circumitus est. Hinc tamen, multis suis amissis, se expedivit et in castellum Phrygiae, quod Nora appellatur, confugit.

4 In quo cum circumsederetur et vereretur ne, uno loco manens, equos militares perderet, quod spatium non esset agitandi, callidum fuit eius inventum quem ad modum stans iumentum concalfieri exercerique posset, quo libentius et cibo uteretur et a corporis 5 motu non removeretur. Substringebat caput loro altius quam ut prioribus pedibus plene terram posset attingere, deinde post [1] verberibus cogebat exsultare et calces remittere; qui motus non minus sudorem 6 excutiebat, quam si in spatio decurreret. Quo factum est, quod omnibus mirabile est visum, ut aeque nitida iumenta ex castello educeret, cum complures menses in obsidione fuisset, ac si in 7 campestribus ea locis habuisset. In hac conclusione, quotienscumque voluit, apparatum et munitiones Antigoni alias incendit, alias disiecit. Tenuit autem se uno loco quam diu hiems fuit, quod castra sub divo habere non poterat. Ver appropinquabat; simulata deditione, dum de condicionibus tractat, praefectis Antigoni imposuit seque ac suos omnis extraxit incolumis.

6. Ad hunc Olympias, mater quae fuerat Alexandri, cum litteras et nuntios misisset in Asiam, consultum utrum regnum [2] repetitum in Macedoniam veniret— 2 nam tum in Epiro habitabat—et eas res occuparet, huic ille primum suasit ne se moveret et exspectaret quoad Alexandri filius regnum adipisceretur; sin

[1] pastum, *Wagner.* [2] regnum, *added by Nipp.*

[1] That is, the front part of its body.
[2] Namely, Alexander, son of Roxane.

strategy, Eumenes was surrounded by superior numbers. Yet he made his escape with the loss of many of his men, and took refuge in a fortified place in Phrygia, called Nora.

Being besieged there and fearing that by remaining in one place he might ruin the horses of his army, because there was no room for exercising them, Eumenes hit upon a clever device by which an animal standing in one place might be warmed and exercised, so that it would have a better appetite and not lose its bodily activity. He drew up its head [1] with a thong so high that it could not quite touch the ground with its forefeet, and then forced it by blows of a whip to bound and kick out behind, an exercise which produced no less sweat than running on a race-course. The result was that, to the surprise of all, the animals were led out of the fortress after a siege of several months in as good condition as if he had kept them in pasture. During this blockade, as often as he wished, he set fire to some part of the works and fortifications of Antigonus and threw down others. Furthermore, he remained in the same place as long as the winter lasted, because he could not camp in the open. When spring drew near, pretending a surrender, he outwitted Antigonus' officers while the terms were under discussion, and made his escape without the loss of a man.

6. To Eumenes, when he was in Asia, Olympias, 319 B.C.
the mother of Alexander, had sent a letter and messengers, to ask his advice as to coming to Macedonia to claim the throne (for she was then living in Epirus) and to make herself ruler there. He advised her above all things to make no move, but to wait until Alexander's son [2] gained the throne; but if she was

aliqua cupiditate raperetur in Macedoniam, oblivisceretur omnium iniuriarum et in neminem acerbiore
3 uteretur imperio. Horum illa nihil fecit nam et in Macedoniam profecta est et ibi crudelissime se gessit. Petit autem ab Eumene absente ne pateretur Philippi domus ac familiae inimicissimos stirpem quoque interimere, ferretque opem liberis Alexandri.
4 Quam veniam si daret, quam primum exercitus pararet quos sibi subsidio adduceret. Id quo facilius faceret, se omnibus praefectis qui in officio manebant misisse litteras, ut ei parerent eiusque consiliis
5 uterentur. His rebus Eumenes permotus, satius duxit, si ita tulisset fortuna, perire bene meritis referentem gratiam quam ingratum vivere.

7. Itaque copias contraxit, bellum adversus Antigonum comparavit. Quod una erant Macedones complures nobiles, in iis Peucestes, qui corporis custos fuerat Alexandri, tum autem obtinebat Persidem, et Antigenes, cuius sub imperio phalanx erat Macedonum, invidiam verens—quam tamen effugere non potuit—si potius ipse alienigena summi
2 imperii potiretur quam alii Macedonum, quorum ibi erat multitudo, in principiis Alexandri nomine tabernaculum statuit in eoque sellam auream cum sceptro ac diademate iussit poni eoque omnes cottidie convenire, ut ibi de summis rebus consilia caperentur; credens minore se invidia fore, si

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[1] The body-guard of Alexander was an official of high rank.
[2] "The others, of the (that is, 'who were') Macedonians"; Eumenes was not a Macedonian.

strongly drawn towards Macedonia, to forget all her wrongs and not exercise her power with too great severity against anyone. She adopted neither of these recommendations; for she proceeded to Macedonia and conducted herself there most cruelly. Then she besought Eumenes, who was far away, not to allow the bitter enemies of Philip's house and family to destroy his stock as well, but to bear aid to the children of Alexander. If he would grant her prayer, she said, he must equip armies and lead them to her assistance as soon as possible. In order to make that easier, she had sent letters to all the governors who had remained loyal, instructing them to obey him and follow his directions. Deeply moved by these communications, Eumenes thought it better, if such were Fortune's will, to lose his life in requiting kindnesses than save it by ingratitude.

7. Accordingly, he mustered his forces and prepared to make war upon Antigonus. Since he had with him a number of Macedonian nobles, including Peucestes, formerly Alexander's body-guard [1] and then governor of Persia, and Antigenes, commander of the Macedonian phalanx, he feared ill-feeling (which after all he could not escape) if he, a foreigner, should hold the chief command rather than one of the Macedonians,[2] of whom there were very many there. He therefore set up a tent at the army headquarters in the name of Alexander, and gave orders that there should be placed in it the golden throne with the sceptre and diadem, and that all should meet there daily, in order to make it the place where matters of highest moment were discussed. For he believed that he would

specie imperii nominisque simulatione Alexandri
3 bellum videretur administrare. Quod effecit;[1] nam cum non ad Eumenis principia, sed ad regia conveniretur atque ibi de rebus deliberaretur, quodam modo latebat, cum tamen per eum unum gererentur omnia.

8. Hic in Paraetacis cum Antigono conflixit, non acie instructa, sed in itinere, eumque male acceptum in Mediam hiematum coegit redire. Ipse in finitima regione Persidis hiematum copias divisit, non ut
2 voluit, sed ut militum cogebat voluntas. Namque illa phalanx Alexandri Magni, quae Asiam peragrarat deviceratque Persas, inveterata cum gloria tum etiam licentia, non parere se ducibus, sed imperare postulabat, ut nunc veterani faciunt nostri. Itaque periculum est ne faciant quod illi fecerunt, sua intemperantia nimiaque licentia ut omnia perdant neque minus eos cum quibus fecerint, quam
3 adversus quos steterint. Quod si quis illorum veteranorum legat facta, paria horum cognoscat neque rem ullam nisi tempus interesse iudicet. Sed ad illos revertar. Hiberna sumpserant non ad usum belli, sed ad ipsorum luxuriam, longeque inter se
4 discesserant. Hoc Antigonus cum comperisset intellegeretque se parem non esse paratis adversariis, statuit aliquid sibi consilii novi esse capiendum.

Duae erant viae qua ex Medis, ubi ille hiemabat, ad adversariorum hibernacula posset perveniri.

[1] effecit, *Heusinger*; et fecit, *MSS.*

arouse less jealousy if he seemed to carry on the war with the mere appearance of leadership, and pretended to act in the name of Alexander. And so it turned out; for since they met and held council, not at the headquarters of Eumenes, but at those of Alexander, Eumenes remained to a certain extent in the background, while in fact everything was done by his direction alone.

8. He fought with Antigonus at Paraetacae, not 317 B.C.
in order of battle, but while on the march, and having worsted him, compelled him to return to Media to pass the winter. He for his part in the neighbouring region of Persia distributed the winter quarters of his soldiers, not according to his own wishes, but as their desires dictated. For that famous phalanx of Alexander the Great, which had overrun Asia and conquered the Persians, after a long career of glory as well as of licence claimed the right to command its leaders instead of obeying them, even as our veterans do to-day. And so there is danger that our soldiers may do what the Macedonians did, and ruin everything by their licence and lawlessness, their friends as well as their enemies. For if anyone should read the history of those veterans of old, he would recognize a parallel in our own, and decide that the only difference is one of time. But let me return to those of former days. They had chosen their winter quarters with an eye rather to their own pleasure than to the requirements of war, and were widely separated. When Antiochus learned of this, knowing that he was no match for his opponents when they were on their guard, he decided to resort to some new plan.

There were two roads leading from Media, where he was wintering, to the winter quarters of the

5 Quarum brevior per loca deserta, quae nemo incolebat propter aquae inopiam, ceterum dierum erat fere decem; illa autem qua omnes commeabant altero tanto longiorem habebat anfractum, sed erat copiosa
6 omniumque rerum abundans. Hac si proficisceretur, intellegebat prius adversarios rescituros de suo adventu quam ipse tertiam partem confecisset itineris; sin per loca sola contenderet, sperabat se
7 imprudentem hostem oppressurum. Ad hanc rem conficiendam imperavit quam plurimos utris atque etiam culleos comparari; post haec pabulum; praeterea cibaria cocta dierum decem, ut quam minime fieret ignis in castris. Iter quo habeat [1] omnis celat. Sic paratus, qua constituerat proficiscitur.

9. Dimidium fere spatium confecerat, cum ex fumo castrorum eius suspicio adlata est ad Eumenem hostem appropinquare. Conveniunt duces; quaeritur quid opus sit facto. Intellegebant omnes tam celeriter copias ipsorum contrahi non posse, quam
2 Antigonus adfuturus videbatur. Hic, omnibus titubantibus et de rebus summis desperantibus, Eumenes ait, si celeritatem velint adhibere et imperata facere, quod ante non fecerint, se rem expediturum. Nam quod diebus quinque hostis transisse posset, se effecturum ut non minus totidem dierum spatio retardaretur; qua re circumirent, suas quisque contraheret copias.

3 Ad Antigoni autem refrenandum impetum talc capit consilium. Certos mittit homines ad infimos

[1] quo habeat, *Nipp.*; quod (quot, B^1 *R*) habebat, *MSS.*

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[1] The soldiers, because of the cold, disobeyed Antiochus and built fires at night; it was the light from these, rather than the smoke, that betrayed him.

enemy. The shorter of these was through desert regions, which because of lack of water were uninhabited, but it was a journey of only about ten days; the other, however, which everyone used, was a circuitous route of twice that length, but rich in supplies and abounding in all kinds of commodities. If he marched by the latter road, he knew that his opponents would be informed of his coming before he had gone a third part of the way; but if he made a quick march through the desert, he hoped to surprise the enemy and rout him. With that end in view, he ordered the greatest possible number of bladders as well as leathern bags to be procured, then forage, and finally cooked food for ten days, wishing to make the fewest possible camp-fires. He concealed his proposed route from everyone. Thus prepared, he set out by the road which he had selected.

9. He had covered nearly half the distance, when the smoke from his camp [1] led Eumenes to suspect that the enemy were approaching. He held a meeting with his generals; they deliberated as to what should be done. It was evident to all that their own troops could not be assembled quickly enough to meet the arrival of Antigonus. At this juncture, when all were in a panic and believed that they were lost, Eumenes said that if they would act quickly and obey his orders, which they had not done before, he would save the day. For whereas the enemy had but five days' journey left, he would contrive to delay them at least as many days longer; therefore his officers must go about and each collect his own troops.

Now, to check the speed of Antiochus he devised the following plan. He sent trustworthy men to the

montes, qui obvii erant itineri adversariorum, iisque praecipit[1] ut prima nocte quam latissime possint ignes faciant quam maximos atque hos secunda
4 vigilia minuant, tertia perexiguos reddant et, assimulata castrorum consuetudine, suspicionem iniciant hostibus iis locis esse castra ac de eorum adventu esse praenuntiatum; idemque postera nocte faciant.
5 Quibus imperatum erat diligenter praeceptum curant. Antigonus tenebris obortis ignes conspicatur; credit de suo adventu esse auditum et adver-
6 sarios illuc suas contraxisse copias. Mutat consilium et, quoniam imprudentes[2] adoriri non posset, flectit iter suum et illum anfractum longiorem copiosae viae capit ibique diem unum opperitur ad lassitudinem sedandam militum ac reficienda iumenta, quo integriore exercitu decerneret.

10. Sic[3] Eumenes callidum imperatorem vicit consilio celeritatemque impedivit eius, neque tamen
2 multum profecit; nam invidia ducum, cum quibus erat, perfidiaque Macedonum veteranorum, cum superior proelio discessisset, Antigono est deditus, cum exercitus ei ter ante separatis temporibus iurasset se eum defensurum neque umquam deserturum. Sed tanta fuit nonnullorum virtutis obtrectatio, ut fidem amittere mallent quam eum non perdere.
3 Atque hunc Antigonus, cum ei fuisset infestissimus, conservasset, si per suos esset licitum, quod ab nullo se plus adiuvari posse intellegebat in iis

[1] praecipit, *Lambin*; praecepit, *MSS.*
[2] imprudentes, *Lambin*; imprudentem, *MSS.*
[3] sic, *Heusinger*; hic, *MSS.*

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[1] For *iumenta* in this sense cf. 5. 4.

foot of the mountains which crossed the enemy's line of march, with orders to light great fires in the early part of the night over the widest possible space and let them die down in the second watch. In the third watch they must let them nearly go out, and thus, by imitating what was usual in a camp, lead the enemy to suspect that Eumenes was encamped there, and that their coming had been reported; and they must do the same on the following night. Those to whom these orders had been given executed them to the letter. Antigonus saw the fires at nightfall; he believed that his coming was known and that his foes had massed their forces there to meet him. He altered his plan, and since he thought that he could not attack them unawares, he changed his course and chose the longer detour where supplies were plentiful, halting where he was for one day to rest his men and refresh his horses,[1] in order to fight with his army in better condition.

10. Thus it was that Eumenes outwitted a crafty general and checked his rapid advance, but it did not profit him greatly; for through the jealousy of his fellow-generals and the treachery of the Macedonian veterans, although he was victorious in the battle, he was betrayed into the hands of Antigonus. 316 B.C. And yet the army had on three separate occasions before that sworn to defend him and never desert him. But some of them were so ill-disposed towards true worth, that they preferred to break their oath rather than not to ruin him.

Yet after all, Antigonus would have saved him, although Eumenes had been his bitter enemy, if his associates would have consented, knowing as he did that no one could render him greater assistance in

rebus quas impendere iam apparebat omnibus. Imminebant enim Seleucus, Lysimachus, Ptolemaeus, opibus iam valentes, cum quibus ei de summis rebus
4 erat dimicandum. Sed non passi sunt ii qui circa erant, quod videbant Eumene recepto omnes prae illo parvi futuros. Ipse autem Antigonus adeo erat incensus, ut nisi magna spe maximarum rerum leniri non posset.

11. Itaque cum eum in custodiam dedisset et praefectus custodum quaesisset, quem ad modum servari vellet, " Ut acerrimum," inquit, " leonem aut ferocissimum elephantum "; nondum enim statuerat,
2 conservaret eum necne. Veniebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, et qui propter odium fructum oculis ex eius casu capere vellent, et qui propter veterem amicitiam colloqui consolarique cuperent, multi etiam, qui eius formam cognoscere studebant, qualis esset quem tam diu tamque valde timuissent, cuius in pernicie positam spem habuissent victoriae.

3 At Eumenes, cum diutius in vinclis esset, ait Onomarcho, penes quem summa imperii erat custodiae, se mirari qua re iam tertium diem sic teneretur; non enim hoc convenire Antigoni prudentiae, ut sic deuteretur victo[1]: quin aut interfici aut missum
4 fieri iuberet. Hic cum ferocius Onomarcho loqui videretur, " Quid? Tu," inquit, " animo si isto eras, cur non in proelio cecidisti potius quam in

[1] uteretur devicto, *Nipp.*

the crisis that all now perceived to be imminent. For Antigonus was menaced by Seleucus, Lysimachus and Ptolemy, men already possessed of formidable power, with whom he must fight for the supremacy. But his associates would not consent, because they saw that if he should be reconciled with Eumenes, they would all be of small account in comparison with that great man. And besides, Antigonus himself was so incensed that he could not be appeased except by great hope of the greatest advantages.

11. Therefore, when he had put Eumenes in prison, and the commander of the guards had asked how he wished him to be guarded, Antigonus replied: "Like the fiercest of lions or the most savage of elephants." For he had not yet made up his mind whether to spare his life or not. Now, Eumenes was visited by two classes of men, those who because of hatred wished to feast their eyes on his misfortune, and those who because of long-standing friendship desired to talk with him and console him; there were also many who were eager to see how he looked, what manner of man it was that they had feared so long and so mightily, that on his downfall had depended their hope of victory.

But Eumenes, after having been in prison for some time, said to Onomarchus, who held the chief command of the guards, that he was surprised that he had been thus confined for three full days; that it was not in accordance with Antiochus' usual wisdom thus to mistreat a defeated enemy; why did he not bid him be executed or set free? Since it seemed to Onomachus that this remark was over-arrogant, he retorted: "Well, if that was your feeling, why did you not die in battle rather than

potestatem inimici venires?" Huic Eumenes: "Utinam quidem istud evenisset! Sed eo non accidit, quod numquam cum fortiore sum congressus; non enim cum quoquam arma contuli, quin is mihi succubuerit." Neque id erat falsum; non enim virtute hostium, sed amicorum perfidia decidit[1] . . .[2] nam et dignitate fuit honesta et viribus ad laborem ferendum firmis neque tam magno corpore quam figura venusta.

12. De hoc Antigonus cum solus constituere non auderet, ad consilium rettulit. Hic cum omnes primo perturbati admirarentur non iam de eo sumptum esse supplicium, a quo tot annos adeo essent male habiti, ut saepe ad desperationem forent adducti,
2 quique maximos duces interfecisset, denique in quo uno tantum esset, ut, quoad ille viveret, ipsi securi esse non possent, interfecto nihil habituri negotii essent; postremo, si illi redderet salutem, quaerebant quibus amicis esset usurus: sese enim cum Eumene
3 apud eum non futuros. Hic cognita consilii voluntate tamen usque ad septimum diem deliberandi sibi spatium reliquit. Tum autem, cum iam vereretur ne qua seditio exercitus oriretur, vetuit quemquam ad eum admitti et cottidianum victum removeri iussit; nam negabat se ei vim adlaturum qui ali-
4 quando fuisset amicus. Hic tamen non amplius quam triduum fame fatigatus, cum castra moverentur, insciente Antigono iugulatus est a custodibus.

[1] non enim . . . decidit *after* falsum, *Fleck.*; non enim . . . decidi *after* succubuerit, *MSS.*

[2] *A lacuna after* falsum *was inferred by Buchner*; *Heusinger and Bremi deleted* nam . . . venusta; *Vonck put* et viribus . . . firmis *after* nam.

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[1] See the crit. note.

fall into the hands of your enemy?" To which Eumenes answered: "Would that what you say had happened; but the reason that it did not is because I have never encountered a foeman stronger than myself; for I have never joined battle with anyone that he did not yield to me." And that was true, since it was not the enemy's valour, but a friend's treachery, that undid him[1] . . . for he had an imposing appearance, powers of endurance that enabled him to bear hardship, and a graceful figure rather than great size of body.

12. Since Antigonus did not dare to decide the fate of his enemy on his own responsibility, he referred the matter to a council. In that assembly all were at first disturbed, wondering at the delay in executing a man from whom they had suffered so much during so many years, that they had often been reduced to despair, and who had slain their greatest generals; in short, the only man who, so long as he lived, could threaten their peace of mind, and whose death would relieve them from all trouble. Finally, they asked, if Antigonus spared him, on what friends could he rely? For, they said, they would not remain in his service in company with Eumenes. Antigonus, after learning the decision of the council, nevertheless allowed himself a period of six days for reflection. But then, beginning to fear the outbreak of a revolt in the army, he forbade anyone to have access to the prisoner, and gave orders that he should be deprived of his daily food; for he declared that he would not do violence to a man who had once been his friend. However, Eumenes had not suffered hunger for more than two days when, as they were moving camp, he was strangled by his guards without the knowledge of Antigonus.

13. Sic Eumenes annorum V et XL, cum ab anno vicesimo, uti supra ostendimus, septem annos Philippo apparuisset, tredecim apud Alexandrum eundem locum obtinuisset, in his unum equitum alae praefuisset, post autem Alexandri Magni mortem imperator exercitus duxisset summosque duces partim reppulisset, partim interfecisset, captus non Antigoni virtute, sed Macedonum periurio talem habuit exitum vitae. In quo quanta omnium
2 fuerit opinio eorum qui post Alexandrum Magnum reges sunt appellati ex hoc facillime potest iudicari,
3 quod, nemo Eumene vivo rex appellatus est, sed praefectus, eidem post huius occasum statim regium ornatum nomenque sumpserunt, neque, quod initio praedicarant, se Alexandri liberis regnum servare, praestare voluerunt, et, uno propugnatore sublato, quid sentirent aperuerunt. Huius sceleris principes fuerunt Antigonus, Ptolemaeus, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Cassandrus.
4 Antigonus autem Eumenem mortuum propinquis eius sepeliendum tradidit. Hi militari honestoque funere, comitante toto exercitu, humaverunt ossaque eius in Cappadociam ad matrem atque uxorem liberosque eius deportanda curarunt.

XIX. PHOCION

1. Phocion Atheniensis etsi saepe exercitibus praefuit summosque magistratus cepit, tamen multo eius notior est integritas[1] vitae quam rei militaris

[1] est integritas, *u*, *Fleck.*; integ. est, *M.*; *the other MSS. omit* est.

13. Thus it was that Eumenes at the age of forty- 316 B.C.
five, having from his twentieth year served Philip, as I said above, having held the same position with Alexander for thirteen years, and having during that time commanded a corps of cavalry for a year; having been, after the death of Alexander the Great, at the head of an army and either defeated or slain the greatest generals, fell victim, not to the valour of Antigonus, but to the false witness of the Macedonians, and ended his life as I have described. How high he stood in the estimation of all those who after the death of Alexander the Great assumed the title of king may most easily be judged from the fact that while Eumenes lived no one was called king, but only prefect. But after his death those same men at once assumed the state and name of king, and no one, as all had professed in the beginning, attempted to maintain that he was keeping the throne for the children of Alexander, but after getting rid of their only champion, the rivals disclosed their real designs. The leaders in that crime were Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus and Cassander.

Antiochus, however, sent the body of Eumenes to his relatives for burial. They gave him a funeral worthy of a soldier and an eminent man, which was attended by all the army; and they had his ashes taken to his mother, wife and children in Cappadocia.

XIX. PHOCION

1. Phocion, the Athenian, although he often commanded armies and held the highest offices, yet was much better known for the integrity of his

labor. Itaque huius memoria est nulla, illius autem magna fama, ex quo cognomine Bonus est appellatus. 2 Fuit enim perpetuo pauper, cum divitissimus esse posset propter frequentis delatos honores potesta- 3 tesque summas, quae ei a populo dabantur. Hic cum a rege Philippo munera magnae pecuniae repudiaret legatique hortarentur accipere simulque admonerent, si ipse iis facile careret, liberis tamen suis prospiceret, quibus difficile esset in summa paupertate tantam 4 paternam tueri gloriam, his ille "Si mei similes erunt, idem hic," inquit, "agellus illos alet qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit; sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo meis impensis illorum ali augerique luxuriam."

2. Idem[1] cum prope ad annum octogesimum prospera pervenisset fortuna, extremis temporibus 2 magnum in odium pervenit suorum civium, primo quod cum Demade de urbe tradenda Antipatro consenserat eiusque consilio Demosthenes cum ceteris qui bene de re publica meriti existimabantur populi scito in exsilium erant expulsi. Neque in eo solum offenderat, quod patriae male consuluerat, sed 3 etiam quod amicitiae fidem non praestiterat. Namque auctus adiutusque a Demosthene eum quem tenebat ascenderat gradum, cum adversus Charetem eum subornaret; ab eodem in iudiciis, cum capitis causam

[1] idem, *Schoppius*; eidem, *MSS.*

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[1] *Honores* are magistracies; *potestates* is a more general term. Both are Roman terms; cf. n. 2, p. 564.

[2] That is, at the expense of his good name.

[3] The second reason follows in § 4.

[4] See xii. 3, 1, and note 4.

life than for his work as a soldier. And so no one remembers the latter, while the former is widely known and led to his surname of "The Good." In fact, he was always in moderate circumstances, although he might have acquired great wealth because of the frequent offices and commissions which the people conferred upon him.[1] When he had refused the gift of a large sum of money from King Philip, the king's envoys urged him to take it, at the same time reminding him that even if he himself could readily do without such things, yet he ought to consider his children, who would find it difficult with narrow means to live up to the great glory inherited from their father. But he replied to them: "If they are like me, they will live on this same little farm which has brought me to my present rank; but if they are going to be different, I do not wish their luxury to be nourished and grow at my expense." [2]

2. After good fortune had attended him almost to his eighteenth year, at the end of his life he incurred 322 B.C. the bitter hatred of his fellow-citizens; at first,[3] because he had made an agreement with Demades to turn the city over to Antipater, and because it was by his advice that Demosthenes and the rest who were thought to have served their country well had been exiled by decree of the people. And in the latter instance he was censured, not merely for having acted contrary to the interests of his country, but also for disloyalty to a friend. For it was through the aid and support of Demosthenes that Phocion had reached the rank that he enjoyed, having gained the orator's secret support against Chares;[4] he had also on several occasions been defended by Demos-

diceret, defensus aliquotiens, liberatus discesserat. Hunc non solum in periculis non defendit, sed etiam prodidit.

4 Concidit autem maxime uno crimine, quod, cum apud eum summum esset imperium populi iussu[1] et Nicanorem, Cassandri praefectum, insidiari Piraeo Atheniensium a Dercylo moneretur idemque[2] postularet ut provideret ne commeatibus civitas privaretur, huic audiente populo Phocion negavit esse periculum 5 seque eius rei obsidem fore pollicitus est. Neque ita multo post Nicanor Piraeo est potitus, sine quo Athenae omnino esse non possunt.[3] Ad quem recuperandum cum populus armatus concurrisset, ille non modo neminem ad arma vocavit, sed ne armatis quidem praeesse voluit.

3. Erant eo tempore Athenis duae factiones, quarum una populi causam agebat, altera optimatium. In hac erat Phocion et Demetrius Phalereus. Harum utraque Macedonum patrociniis utebatur; nam populares Polyperchonti favebant, optimates cum 2 Cassandro sentiebant. Interim a Polyperchonte Cassandrus Macedonia pulsus est. Quo facto populus superior factus, statim duces adversariae factionis capitis damnatos patria propulit, in iis Phocionem et Demetrium Phalereum, deque ea re legatos ad

[1] iussu, *added by Andresen.*

[2] idemque, *u*; eidemque, *MSS.*

[3] *Transposed by Kraffert*; *after* voluit *in MSS.*; *put after* insidiari Piraeo *by Guill.* (*Döderlein*), *who puts* Atheniensium *after* populi.

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[1] That of στρατηγός, or general.

[2] Although the Piraeus had been destroyed in the first Mithridatic war, the harbour was still important in the time of Nepos. For the position of this phrase see the crit. note.

thenes, when charged with capital offences, and had been acquitted. This benefactor Phocion not only did not defend in time of danger, but he even betrayed him.

But his downfall was due particularly to one 317 B.C.
offence, committed when he held the highest office in the gift of the people.[1] On that occasion, being warned by Dercylus that Nicanor, one of Cassander's prefects, was plotting an attack on the Piraeus of the Athenians, and being urged to take heed that the state should not be deprived of supplies, Phocion replied in the hearing of the people that there was no danger and promised to assume all responsibility. Not long afterwards Nicanor got possession of the Piraeus, without which Athens cannot[2] exist at all; and when the people united to recover it by force, Phocion not only issued no call to arms, but refused to take command of the people when they had armed themselves.

3. There were at Athens at that time two parties, one of which favoured the populace, the other the aristocrats. To the latter belonged Phocion and Demetrius of Phalerum. Both these parties depended upon the patronage of the Macedonians; for the popular party sided with Polyperchon, the aristocrats with Cassander. While these events were going on, Cassander was driven from Macedonia by Polyperchon. When that happened, the people, having gained the upper hand, at once outlawed the leaders of the opposing party and drove them from Athens,[3] including Phocion and Demetrius of Phalerum; then with reference to that action they

[3] Some were banished; others were condemned to death and fled from the city.

Polyperchontem misit, qui ab eo peterent ut sua
3 decreta confirmaret. Huc[1] eodem profectus est Phocion. Quo ut venit, causam apud Philippum regem verbo, re ipsa quidem apud Polyperchontem iussus est dicere; namque is tum regis rebus praeerat.
4 Hic ab Agnone accusatus, quod Piraeum Nicanori prodidisset, ex consilii sententia in custodiam coniectus, Athenas deductus est, ut ibi de eo legibus fieret iudicium.

4. Huc ut perventum est, cum propter aetatem pedibus iam non valeret vehiculoque portaretur, magni concursus sunt facti, cum alii, reminiscentes veteris famae, aetatis miserererentur, plurimi vero ira exacuerentur propter proditionis suspicionem Piraei maximeque quod adversus populi commoda in senec-
2 tute steterat. Quare ne[2] perorandi quidem ei data est facultas et dicendi causam. Inde iudicio legitimis quibusdam confectis damnatus, traditus est undecimviris, quibus ad supplicium more Athenien-
3 sium publice damnati tradi solent. Hic cum ad mortem duceretur, obvius ei fuit Euphiletus, quo familiariter fuerat usus. Is cum lacrimans dixisset "O quam indigna perpeteris, Phocion!" huic ille "At non inopinata," inquit; "hunc enim exitum
4 plerique clari viri habuerunt Athenienses." In hoc

[1] huc, *Lambin*; hoc, *MSS.*

[2] quare ne, *Nipp.*; quo harene, *A P*; qua de re ne, *the other MSS.*

[1] This was Philippus Arrhidaeus, half-brother and nominal successor of Alexander the Great.

sent envoys to Polyperchon, to beg him to confirm their decrees. Phocion also went to Polyperchon. On his arrival he was ordered to plead his cause, ostensibly before King Philip,[1] but actually before Polyperchon; for he then had the management of the king's affairs. Phocion was accused by Hagnon of having betrayed the Piraeus to Nicanor, was imprisoned by the decision of the council, and was then taken to Athens, in order that he might there be judged according to the laws of the Athenians.

4. When he arrived in the city, he was now unable to proceed on foot because of his age, and was taken to the court in a carriage. A great crowd collected, some of whom remembered his past glory and pitied his years, although the greater number were filled with bitter anger because of their suspicion that he had betrayed the Piraeus, and especially because in his old age he had opposed the interests of the people. In consequence, he was not even given the opportunity of making a speech and of pleading his cause. Then he was condemned by the court, after certain legal forms had been observed, and was turned over to the Eleven, who, according to the custom of the Athenians, regularly have official charge of the punishment of the condemned.[2] As he was being led to execution, he was met by Euphiletus, who had been his intimate friend. When the latter said with tears in his eyes: "Oh, how unmerited is the treatment you are suffering, Phocion!" the prisoner replied: "But it is not unexpected; for nearly all the distinguished men of Athens have met this end." Such was the hatred

[2] They had charge of executions, which were actually performed by an executioner.

tantum fuit odium multitudinis, ut nemo ausus sit eum liber sepelire. Itaque a servis sepultus est.

XX. TIMOLEON

1. Timoleon Corinthius. Sine dubio magnus omnium iudicio hic vir exstitit. Namque huic uni contigit, quod nescio an nulli,[1] ut et patriam in qua erat natus, oppressam a tyranno liberaret, et a Syracusanis, quibus auxilio erat missus, iam inveteratam servitutem depelleret totamque Siciliam, multos annos bello vexatam a barbarisque oppressam, suo adventu in pristinum restitueret.

2 Sed in his rebus non simplici fortuna conflictatus est et, id quod difficilius putatur, multo sapientius
3 tulit secundam quam adversam fortunam. Nam cum frater eius Timophanes, dux a Corinthiis delectus, tyrannidem per milites mercennarios occupasset particepsque regni ipse posset esse, tantum afuit a societate sceleris, ut antetulerit civium suorum libertatem fratris saluti et parere legibus quam im-
4 perare patriae satius duxerit. Hac mente per haruspicem communemque adfinem, cui soror ex iisdem parentibus nata nupta erat, fratrem tyrannum interficiundum curavit. Ipse non modo manus non attulit, sed ne aspicere quidem fraternum sanguinem voluit. Nam dum res conficeretur, procul in praesidio fuit, ne quis satelles posset succurrere.

[1] nulli, π^1 (n *deleted by second hand*), *Lambin*; ulli, *MSS.*

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[1] Since he had been executed for high treason, he could not be buried within the limits of Attica; see Val. Max. v. 3. ext. 3; Plut. *Phoc.* 37.

[2] 365 or 364 B.C.

of the people for him, that no freeborn man ventured to bury him; and so he was buried by slaves.[1]

XX. TIMOLEON

1. Timoleon, the Corinthian. Without doubt this man has shown himself great in the estimation of all. For he alone had the good fortune, which I am inclined to think fell to the lot of no one else, to free the land of his birth from a tyrant's oppression, to rescue the Syracusans, whom he had been sent to help, from long-continued slavery, and by his mere arrival to restore all Sicily to its former condition, after it had for many years been harassed by wars and subject to barbarians.

But in the course of these events he had to struggle with varied fortune, and he did what is regarded as especially difficult, that is, showed himself far wiser in prosperity than in adversity. For when his brother Timophanes, who had been chosen general by the Corinthians, made himself tyrant with the aid of mercenary troops,[2] although Timoleon might have shared in his power, so far was he from participating in the crime, that he valued the liberty of his fellow-citizens above his brother's life and considered obedience to its laws preferable to ruling over his country. Owing to that feeling, through the aid of a soothsayer and of a relative by marriage, the husband of their own sister, he caused the death of the tyrant, his own brother. He himself not only did not lay hands upon him, but he did not wish even to look upon his brother's blood; for while the deed was being done he was some distance away, keeping guard to prevent any palace guard from coming to the tyrant's aid.

5 Hoc praeclarissimum eius factum non pari modo probatum est ab omnibus ; nonnulli enim laesam ab eo pietatem putabant et invidia laudem virtutis obterebant. Mater vero post id factum neque domum ad se filium admisit neque aspexit quin eum fratricidam
6 impiumque detestans compellaret. Quibus rebus ille adeo est commotus, ut nonnumquam vitae finem facere voluerit atque ex ingratorum hominum conspectu morte decedere.

2. Interim Dione Syracusis interfecto, Dionysius rursus Syracusarum potitus est. Cuius adversarii opem a Corinthiis petierunt ducemque quo in bello uterentur postularunt. Huc Timoleon missus, incredibili felicitate Dionysium tota Sicilia depulit.
2 Cum interficere posset, noluit tutoque ut Corinthum perveniret effecit, quod utrorumque Dionysiorum opibus Corinthii saepe adiuti fuerant, cuius benignitatis memoriam volebat exstare, eamque praeclaram victoriam ducebat in qua plus esset clementiae quam crudelitatis ; postremo ut non solum auribus acciperetur, sed etiam oculis cerneretur quem et ex quanto
3 regno ad quam fortunam detulisset. Post Dionysii decessum cum Hiceta bellavit, qui adversatus erat Dionysio ; quem non odio tyrannidis dissensisse, sed cupiditate indico fuit quod ipse, expulso Dionysio, imperium dimittere noluit.

4 Hoc superato, Timoleon maximas copias Kartha-

[1] 346 B.C. Dionysius the Younger is meant.
[2] 344 B.C.

This glorious deed of his did not meet with equal approval from all; for some thought that he had been false to fraternal loyalty and through jealousy disparaged the glory of his exploit. As for his mother, after that act she would not admit her son to her presence, and she never saw him without calling him an impious fratricide and cursing him. This treatment so affected Timoleon that he sometimes thought of ending his life, and, since men were ungrateful, of leaving their presence by death.

2. In the meantime Dion had been killed at Syracuse and Dionysius had again gained possession of the city.[1] His opponents sought aid from Corinth and asked for a leader to conduct the war. Timoleon was sent to them and with incredible good fortune drove Dionysius from all Sicily.[2] Although he might have put the tyrant to death, he did not choose to do so, but enabled him to reach Corinth in safety; for the Corinthians had often been aided by the power of the two Dionysii, and he wished the memory of that kindness to endure; moreover, he considered that the most glorious victory was one which was marked by greater mercy than cruelty. Finally, he wished men, not only to hear, but to see with their own eyes, what a tyrant he had overcome and from what great power to how humble a fortune he had reduced him. After the departure of Dionysius, Timoleon made war upon Hicetas, who had been the tyrant's opponent; but that his hostility to Dionysius was due rather to ambition than to hatred of tyranny was shown by the fact that after the tyrant was driven from his throne, Hicetas refused to renounce the supreme power.

After overcoming Hicetas, Timoleon routed a huge

giniensium apud Crinissum flumen fugavit ac satis habere coegit si liceret Africam obtinere, qui iam complures annos possessionem Siciliae tenebant. Cepit etiam Mamercum, Italicum ducem, hominem bellicosum et potentem, qui tyrannos adiutum in Siciliam venerat.

3. Quibus rebus confectis, cum propter diuturnitatem belli non solum regiones, sed etiam urbes desertas videret, conquisivit quos potuit primum Siculos, dein Corintho arcessivit colonos, quod ab iis
2 initio Syracusae erant conditae. Civibus veteribus sua restituit, novis bello vacuefactas possessiones divisit, urbium moenia disiecta fanaque deserta refecit, civitatibus leges libertatemque reddidit; ex maximo bello tantum otium totae insulae conciliavit, ut hic conditor urbium earum, non illi qui initio
3 deduxerant, videretur. Arcem Syracusis, quam munierat Dionysius ad urbem obsidendam, a fundamentis disiecit, cetera tyrannidis propugnacula demolitus est deditque operam, ut quam minime multa vestigia servitutis manerent.

4 Cum tantis esset opibus, ut etiam invitis imperare posset, tantum autem amorem haberet omnium Siculorum, ut nullo recusante regnum obtinere,[1] maluit se diligi quam metui. Itaque, cum primum potuit, imperium deposuit ac privatus Syracusis, quod

[1] obtinere, *Freinshem*; obtineret, *MSS.*; obtinere liceret, *Heerwagen.*

force of Carthaginians at the river Crinissus and compelled them to be satisfied with being allowed to possess Africa, after they had for many years been masters of Sicily. He also made a prisoner of an Italian general called Mamercus, a warlike and powerful man, who had come to Sicily to aid the tyrants.

3. After these exploits, seeing that because of the long duration of the war not only the country districts but also the cities were deserted, he first hunted up what Sicilians he could and then summoned settlers from Corinth, because in the beginning Corinthians had founded Syracuse. To the former citizens he restored their property, to the new ones he distributed the estates that had become vacant as the result of war; he repaired the shattered walls of the cities and the deserted temples, and restored to the states their laws and liberty; after a terrible war he won such complete peace for the whole island, that he was regarded as the founder of those cities rather than the men who had first established the colonies. The citadel of Syracuse, which Dionysius had fortified as a menace to the city, he destroyed from its foundations; the other strongholds of the tyranny he demolished, taking care that the fewest possible traces of slavery should survive.

Although Timoleon's power was so great that he might have ruled his fellow-citizens even against their will, and although he possessed the affection of all the Sicilians to such a degree that he might have mounted the throne without opposition, he preferred to be loved rather than feared. Therefore, as soon as he could, he laid down his office and

5 reliquum vitae fuit, vixit. Neque vero id imperite
fecit; nam quod ceteri reges imperio potuerunt, hic
benevolentia tenuit. Nullus honos huic defuit, neque
postea res ulla Syracusis gesta est publice, de qua
prius sit decretum quam Timoleontis sententia cog-
6 nita. Nullius umquam consilium non modo ante-
latum, sed ne comparatum quidem est. Neque id
magis benevolentia factum est quam prudentia.

4. Hic cum aetate iam provectus esset, sine ullo
morbo lumina oculorum amisit. Quam calamitatem
ita moderate tulit, ut neque eum querentem quis-
quam audierit neque eo minus privatis publicisque
2 rebus interfuerit. Veniebat autem in theatrum,
cum ibi concilium populi haberetur, propter valetu-
dinem vectus iumentis iunctis, atque ita de vehiculo
quae videbantur dicebat. Neque hoc illi quisquam
tribuebat superbiae; nihil enim umquam neque
3 insolens neque gloriosum ex ore eius exiit. Qui
quidem, cum suas laudes audiret praedicari, num-
quam aliud dixit quam se in ea re maxime dis agere
gratias atque habere, quod, cum Siciliam recreare
constituissent, tum se potissimum ducem esse voluis-
4 sent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum
numine geri putabat; itaque suae domi sacellum
Automatias constituerat idque sanctissime colebat.

5. Ad hanc hominis excellentem bonitatem mira-
biles accesserant casus; nam proelia maxima natali

lived the rest of his life as a private citizen of Syracuse. And, indeed, he acted wisely in so doing; for the authority which others enjoyed by becoming kings he gained through good-will. There was no office that was not conferred upon him, and after that time no public action was taken at Syracuse without first learning what Timoleon thought about it. Not only was no one's advice never preferred to his, but no one else's was ever even considered. And that was due less to good-will than to discretion.

4. When he was already advanced in years, without suffering any disease he lost the sight of his eyes. This affliction he endured with such patience that no one ever heard him complain, nor did he because of it cease to busy himself with private and public affairs. Moreover, he came to the theatre, when the assembly of the people was held there, riding behind a pair of mules because of his infirmity, and gave his opinion without leaving his carriage. And no one regarded this as arrogance on his part; for nothing either arrogant or boastful ever passed his lips. In fact, when he heard his praises sounded, he never said but one thing, namely, that the main reason why he was particularly thankful to the gods and felt most grateful to them was this, that when they had resolved to restore Sicily, they had chosen him in preference to all others to be their instrument. For he believed that nothing in human affairs happened without the design of the gods; and for that reason he had established in his house a shrine of Fortune, which he venerated most religiously.

5. To this surpassing goodness of the man were

suo die fecit omnia, quo factum est ut eius diem
2 natalem festum haberet universa Sicilia. Huic quidam Laphystius,[1] homo petulans et ingratus, vadimonium cum vellet imponere, quod cum illo se lege agere diceret, et complures concurrissent, qui procacitatem hominis manibus coercere conarentur, Timoleon oravit omnes ne id facerent. Namque id ut Laphystio et cuivis liceret, se maximos labores summaque adiisse pericula. Hanc enim speciem libertatis esse, si omnibus, quod quisque vellet, legibus
3 experiri liceret. Idem, cum quidam Laphystii similis, nomine Demaenetus, in contione populi de rebus gestis eius detrahere coepisset ac nonnulla inveheretur in Timoleonta, dixit nunc demum se voti esse damnatum; namque hoc a dis immortalibus semper precatum, ut talem libertatem restitueret Syracusanis in qua cuivis liceret de quo vellet quod vellet impune dicere.

4 Hic cum diem supremum obisset, publice a Syracusanis in gymnasio quod Timoleonteum appellatur, tota celebrante Sicilia, sepultus est.

XXI. DE REGIBUS[2]

1. Hi fere fuerunt Graecae[3] gentis duces qui memoria digni videantur, praeter reges; namque

[1] Laphystius, *Longueil*; Lamistius, *etc.*, *MSS.*

[2] *Joined in the MSS. to the Life of Timoleon, first separated from it by Caelius Curio, with the title "De Regibus brevis notatio."*

[3] Graecae, *u*; Graeciae, *MSS.*

added remarkable instances of good luck. Thus he fought his most important battles without exception on his birthday, and in consequence all Sicily celebrated that day as a public festival. Once when a certain Laphystius, a quarrelsome and ungrateful fellow, wished to issue a summons against him, saying that he desired to go to law with him, many citizens had come together and were attempting to check the man's effrontery by force; but Timoleon begged them all to desist, saying that this was just the reason why he had undergone great toil and extreme danger, in order that Laphystius, or anyone else, might be allowed to do just that thing. For that was the ideal of liberty, when all were allowed to resort to law for any purpose that anyone wished. Again, when a man like Laphystius, Demaenetus by name, in an assembly of the people had begun to disparage Timoleon's acts and made some attacks upon him, he declared that at last his vow was fulfilled; for he had always prayed the immortal gods to restore such liberty to the Syracusans that anyone might be allowed with impunity to say what he wished on any subject he wished.

When he ended his life, he was buried at public expense by the Syracusans in the gymnasium called Timoleonteum,[1] and all Sicily attended his funeral.

XXI. ON KINGS

1. These have been about all the generals of the Greek nation who seem worthy of mention, with the exception of kings; for upon kings I have been

[1] He was buried in the agora, and the gymnasium was built afterwards at the place where he was interred; see Plut. *Tim.* 39.

eos attingere noluimus, quod omnium res gestae
2 separatim sunt relatae. Neque tamen ii admodum sunt multi. Lacedaemonius autem Agesilaus nomine, non potestate fuit rex, sicut ceteri Spartani. Ex iis vero qui dominatum imperio tenuerunt excellentissimi fuerunt, ut nos iudicamus, Persarum Cyrus et Darius, Hystaspi filius, quorum uterque privatus virtute regnum est adeptus. Prior horum apud Massagetas in proelio cecidit, Darius senectute diem
3 obiit supremum. Tres sunt praeterea eiusdem generis: Xerxes et duo Artaxerxae,[1] Macrochir cognomine[2] et Mnemon. Xerxi maxime est illustre, quod maximis post hominum memoriam exercitibus
4 terra marique bellum intulit Graeciae. At Macrochir praecipuam habet laudem amplissimae pulcherrimaeque corporis formae, quam incredibili ornavit virtute belli; namque illo Perses nemo manu fuit fortior. Mnemon autem iustitiae fama floruit; nam cum matris suae scelere amisisset uxorem, tantum
5 indulsit dolori, ut eum pietas vinceret. Ex his duo eodem nomine morbo naturae debitum reddiderunt, tertius ab Artabano praefecto ferro interemptus est.

2. Ex Macedonum autem gente duo multo ceteros antecesserunt rerum gestarum gloria: Philippus, Amyntae filius, et Alexander Magnus. Horum alter

[1] Artaxerxae, *Heusinger*; Artaxerxe, *P A*; Artaxerxes, *B R M*.

[2] cognomine, *Nipp.*; quoque, *A B M P V*; que, *R*; *omitted in u*.

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[1] In the book entitled *De Regibus Exterarum Gentium*; see Introd., p. 359. In his second edition (see Introd., p. 361) Nepos here added an account of some kings who were also great generals.

[2] That is, kings who were also generals.

unwilling to touch, because the history of all of them has been related in another place.[1] But, after all, these [2] are not very numerous. Now Agesilaus, the Lacedaemonian, had the title, but not the power, of a king, as was true of the other Spartans of that rank. But of those who joined to their title absolute dominion, the most eminent in my estimation were the Persians Cyrus and Darius, son of Hystaspes, both of whom were private citizens who attained royal power through merit. Of these the former fell in battle in the land of the Massagetae; Darius died of old age. There are besides three other eminent kings of the same nation: Xerxes and the two Artaxerxes, surnamed Macrochir, or "Long-hand," and Mnemon, or "of Good Memory."[3] Xerxes owes his fame in particular to having made war on Greece by land and sea with the greatest armies within the memory of man; but Macrochir is principally known for his imposing and handsome figure, which he enhanced by incredible valour in war; for no one of the Persians excelled him in deeds of arms. Mnemon, on the contrary, was celebrated for his justice; for when he had lost his wife through the crime of his mother, he confined the indulgence of his resentment within the bounds of filial piety.[4] Of these kings the two that bore the same name paid their debt to nature as the result of disease; the third was murdered by his prefect Artabanus.

558–529 and 521–548 B.C.

485–464 B.C.

2. Now, among the people of Macedonia two kings far surpassed the rest in the glory of their deeds: Philip, son of Amyntas, and Alexander the

[3] Macrochir reigned from 464 to 425; Mnemon, from 405 to 359 B.C.

[4] He banished her to Babylon.

Babylone morbo consumptus est, Philippus Aegiis a Pausania, cum spectatum ludos iret, iuxta theatrum occisus est. Unus Epirotes, Pyrrhus, qui cum populo
2 Romano bellavit. Is cum Argos oppidum oppugnaret in Peloponneso, lapide ictus interiit. Unus item Siculus, Dionysius prior. Nam et manu fortis et belli peritus fuit et, id quod in tyranno non facile reperitur, minime libidinosus, non luxuriosus, non avarus, nullius denique rei cupidus nisi singularis perpetuique imperii ob eamque rem crudelis; nam dum id studuit munire, nullius pepercit vitae, quem eius
3 insidiatorem putaret. Hic cum virtute tyrannidem sibi peperisset, magna retinuit felicitate; maior enim annos sexaginta natus decessit, florente regno. Neque in tam multis annis cuiusquam ex sua stirpe funus vidit, cum ex tribus uxoribus liberos procreasset multique ei nati essent nepotes.

3. Fuerunt praeterea magni reges ex amicis Alexandri Magni, qui post obitum eius imperia ceperunt, in iis Antigonus et huius filius Demetrius, Lysimachus,
2 Seleucus, Ptolemaeus. Ex his Antigonus in proelio, cum adversus Seleucum et Lysimachum dimicaret, occisus est. Pari leto adfectus est Lysimachus ab Seleuco; namque, societate dissoluta, bellum inter se
3 gesserunt. At Demetrius, cum filiam suam Seleuco in matrimonium dedisset neque eo magis fida inter eos amicitia manere potuisset, captus bello in custodia

[1] It was a tile, hurled from a housetop by a woman.
[2] See x, *passim*.

Great. Of these the latter died a natural death at Babylon; Philip was murdered by Pausanias at Aegiae near the theatre, when he was on his way to see the plays. There was one celebrated Epirote king, Pyrrhus, who made war upon the Romans. When he was attacking Argos, a town in the Peloponnesus, he was killed by a blow from a stone.[1] There was also one great Sicilian king, the elder Dionysius; for he was personally valiant and skilled in warfare, and besides –a quality rarely found in a tyrant—he was free from licentiousness, extravagance and avarice, in a word, from all passions except that for absolute and permanent dominion. That, however, led to cruelty; for in his desire to make his power secure he spared no one whom he suspected of threatening it. Having made himself tyrant by valour, he retained his power with great good-fortune.[2] He was more than sixty years old when he died, leaving his realm in a prosperous condition. And in all those years he did not witness the death of any one of his descendants, although he had begotten children from three wives and had a great number of grandchildren.

359–336 and 336–323 B.C.

297–272 B.C.

406–367 B.C.

3. There were besides many kings among the friends of Alexander the Great, who assumed their power after his death, including Antigonus and his son Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus and Ptolemy. Of these Antigonus was slain in battle, fighting against Seleucus and Lysimachus. A like death overtook Lysimachus at the hands of Seleucus; for they broke off their alliance and warred with each other. But Demetrius, after giving his daughter in marriage to Seleucus, without thereby ensuring the permanence of their friendship, was taken captive and

301 B.C.

281 B.C.

4 socer generi periit a morbo. Neque ita multo post Seleucus a Ptolemaeo Cerauno dolo interfectus est, quem ille a patre expulsum Alexandrea alienarum opum indigentem receperat. Ipse autem Ptolemaeus, cum vivus filio regnum tradidisset, ab illo eodem vita privatus dicitur.

5 De quibus quoniam satis dictum putamus, non incommodum videtur non praeterire Hamilcarem et Hannibalem, quos et animi magnitudine et calliditate omnes in Africa natos praestitisse constat.

XXII. HAMILCAR

1. Hamilcar, Hannibalis filius, cognomine Barca, Karthaginiensis, primo Poenico bello, sed temporibus extremis, admodum adulescentulus in Sicilia praeesse
2 coepit exercitui. Cum ante eius adventum et mari et terra male res gererentur Karthaginiensium, ipse ubi adfuit, numquam hosti cessit neque locum nocendi dedit, saepeque e contrario, occasione data, lacessivit semperque superior discessit. Quo facto, cum paene omnia in Sicilia Poeni amisissent, ille Erycem sic defendit, ut bellum eo loco gestum non videretur.
3 Interim Karthaginienses, classe apud insulas Aegatis a C. Lutatio, consule Romanorum, superati, statuerunt belli facere finem eamque rem arbitrio permiserunt Hamilcaris.

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[1] In the book *De Regibus Exterarum Gentium*.
[2] C. Lutatius Catulus, called Catulus in § 5.

died a natural death in the custody of his son-in-law. 283 B.C.
And not very long after that Seleucus was treacherously killed by Ptolemaeus, surnamed Ceraunus or 280 B.C.
"the Thunderbolt," to whom, when he was exiled by his father from Alexandria and was in need of help from others, Seleucus had given asylum. But Ptolemaeus himself, having made over his kingdom to his son while still living, by him, they say, was 283 B.C.
put to death.

Since I think that I have said enough about these kings,[1] it seems fitting not to pass over Hamilcar and Hannibal, who are generally admitted to have surpassed all men of African birth in greatness of soul and in sagacity.

XXII. HAMILCAR

1. Hamilcar the Carthaginian, son of Hannibal and surnamed Barca, in the first Punic war, but when it was nearly ended, was first put in command of an army in Sicily, when he was a very young man. Although before his arrival the Carthaginians were faring badly by land and sea, wherever he was present in person he never yielded to the enemy or gave them a chance to do harm; on the contrary, he often attacked them, when opportunity offered, and invariably came off victor. Besides that, when the Carthaginians had lost almost everything in Sicily, he defended Eryx with such success that one might have thought that there had been no war in that quarter. In the meantime the Carthaginians, after being defeated in a naval battle off the Aegates 241 B.C.
islands by Gaius Lutatius,[2] the Roman consul, determined to put an end to the war and gave Hamilcar full powers to conduct the negotiations.

Ille etsi flagrabat bellandi cupiditate, tamen paci
4 serviundum putavit, quod patriam exhaustam sumptibus diutius calamitates belli ferre non posse intellegebat, sed ita ut statim mente agitaret, si paulum modo res essent refectae, bellum renovare Romanosque armis persequi, donicum aut virtute vicissent aut
5 victi manus dedissent. Hoc consilio pacem conciliavit, in quo[1] tanta fuit ferocia, cum Catulus negaret bellum compositurum, nisi ille cum suis, qui Erycem tenuerunt, armis relictis, Sicilia decederent, ut, succumbente patria, ipse periturum se potius dixerit, quam cum tanto flagitio domum rediret; non enim suae esse virtutis arma a patria accepta adversus hostes adversariis tradere. Huius pertinaciae cessit Catulus.

2. At ille ut Karthaginem venit, multo aliter ac sperarat rem publicam se habentem cognovit. Namque diuturnitate externi mali tantum exarsit intestinum bellum, ut numquam in pari periculo
2 fuerit Karthago nisi cum deleta est. Primo mercennarii milites, qui adversus Romanos fuerant, desciverunt, quorum numerus erat $\overline{XX}$. Hi totam abalienarunt Africam, ipsam Karthaginem oppugnarunt.
3 Quibus malis adeo sunt Poeni perterriti, ut etiam auxilia ab Romanis petierint, eaque impetrarint. Sed extremo, cum prope iam ad desperationem pervenissent, Hamilcarem imperatorem fecerunt.

[1] in quo, *u*; in qua, *MSS.*

Though he burned with desire for war, yet Hamilcar thought that he ought to strive for peace; for he knew that his country was in financial straits and could no longer support the disasters of war. But in so doing he at once began to plan to renew the war, if only Carthage should recover a little strength, and to bear arms against the Romans until his countrymen won the victory by their valour or were defeated and gave up the contest. It was with that end in view that he conducted the negotiations, in the course of which he was so self-confident that, when Catulus declared that he would not cease from war unless his opponent and all those who defended Eryx would lay down their arms and leave Sicily, he declared that his country should fall and he himself perish before he would return home in such disgrace; for it was unworthy of his courage to surrender to her foes the arms which he had received from his country to use against her enemies. And such was his obstinacy that Catulus yielded.

2. But when he came to Carthage, he learned that the state was in a far different condition than he had hoped; for by the long-continued ill-fortune abroad so serious a civil war had been kindled that Carthage was never in so great danger except when the city was destroyed. To begin with, the mercenary soldiers whom they had used against the Romans had revolted, to the number of twenty thousand men. They roused all Africa to rebellion and even attacked Carthage. By these troubles the Carthaginians were so greatly alarmed that they even asked help of the Romans, and obtained it. But finally, being almost reduced to despair, they made Hamilcar commander-in-chief. 240–238 B.C. 232 B.C.

4 Is non solum hostis a muris Karthaginis removit, cum amplius centum milia facta essent armatorum, sed etiam eo compulit ut, locorum angustiis clausi, plures fame quam ferro interirent. Omnia oppida abalienata, in iis Uticam atque Hipponem, valentis-
5 sima totius Africae, restituit patriae. Neque eo fuit contentus, sed etiam fines imperii propagavit, tota Africa tantum otium reddidit, ut nullum in ea bellum videretur multis annis fuisse.

3. Rebus his ex sententia peractis, fidenti animo atque infesto Romanis, quo facilius causam bellandi reperiret, effecit ut imperator cum exercitu in Hispaniam mitteretur, eoque secum duxit filium Hanni-
2 balem annorum novem. Erat praeterea cum eo adulescens illustris, formosus, Hasdrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius quam par erat ab Hamilcare loquebantur; non enim maledici tanto viro deesse poterant. Quo factum est ut a praefecto morum Hasdrubal cum eo vetaretur esse. Huic ille filiam suam in matrimonium dedit, quod moribus eorum non
3 poterat interdici socero genero. De hoc ideo mentionem fecimus, quod, Hamilcare occiso, ille exercitui praefuit resque magnas gessit et princeps largitione vetustos pervertit mores Karthaginiensium eiusdemque post mortem Hannibal ab exercitu accedit imperium.

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[1] This official is mentioned nowhere else.
[2] This law also is mentioned by Nepos alone.
[3] From 229 to 221 B.C.

That general not only drove the enemy from the walls of Carthage, although they now numbered more than a hundred thousand armed men, but even succeeded in shutting them up in a narrow defile, where more of them died of hunger than by the sword. All the disaffected towns, among which were Utica and Hippo, the strongest places in all Africa, he restored to his country. And not content with that, he even extended the Carthaginian frontiers, and brought about such a state of peace all over Africa as to make it seem that there had been no war there for many years.

3. After finishing these tasks to his satisfaction, confident in spirit and hating the Romans, with the view of more readily finding a pretext for war, he contrived to be sent to Spain in command of an army, and with him he took his son Hannibal, then nine years old. He was accompanied also by a distinguished and handsome young man, Hasdrubal by name, whom some said that Hamilcar loved less honourably than was proper; for so great a man could not escape being slandered. Because of that charge the censor of morals[1] forbade Hasdrubal to be with Hamilcar; but the general gave the young man his daughter in marriage, since according to the code of the Carthaginians a father-in-law could not be denied the society of his son-in-law.[2] I have spoken of Hasdrubal because, when Hamilcar was killed, he commanded the army[3] and accomplished great things, but he was the first by gifts of money to undermine the old-time morals of the Carthaginians; it was after his death too that Hannibal succeeded to the chief command by choice of the army. 237 B.C.

4. At Hamilcar, posteaquam mare transiit in Hispaniamque venit, magnas res secunda gessit fortuna; maximas bellicosissimasque gentes subegit, equis,
2 armis, viris, pecunia totam locupletavit Africam. Hic cum in Italiam bellum inferre meditaretur, nono anno postquam in Hispaniam venerat, in proelio pugnans
3 adversus Vettones occisus est. Huius perpetuum odium erga Romanos maxime concitasse videtur secundum bellum Poenicum; namque Hannibal, filius eius, assiduis patris obtestationibus eo est perductus, ut interire quam Romanos non experiri mallet.

XXIII. HANNIBAL

1. Hannibal, Hamilcaris filius, Karthaginiensis. Si verum est, quod nemo dubitat, ut populus Romanus omnes gentes virtute superarit, non est infitiandum Hannibalem tanto praestitisse ceteros imperatores prudentia quanto populus Romanus antecedat forti-
2 tudine cunctas nationes. Nam quotienscumque cum eo congressus est in Italia, semper discessit superior. Quod nisi domi civium suorum invidia debilitatus esset, Romanos videtur superare potuisse. Sed multorum obtrectatio devicit unius virtutem.
3 Hic autem, velut hereditate relictum, odium paternum erga Romanos sic conservavit, ut prius animam quam id deposuerit, qui quidem, cum patria pulsus esset et alienarum opum indigeret, numquam

4. But Hamilcar, after crossing the sea and coming into Spain, did great deeds through the favour of fortune. He subdued mighty and warlike nations and enriched all Africa with horses, arms, men and money. As he was planning to carry the war into Italy, in the ninth year after his arrival in Spain, he fell in battle, fighting against the Vettones. It was this man's inveterate hatred of Rome that seems to have been the special cause of the second Punic war. For his son Hannibal was so affected by his father's constant entreaties that he preferred to die rather than fail to measure his strength against the Romans.

XXIII. HANNIBAL

1. Hannibal the Carthaginian, son of Hamilcar. If it be true, as no one doubts, that the Roman people have surpassed all other nations in valour, it must be admitted that Hannibal excelled all other commanders in skill as much as the Roman people are superior to all nations in bravery. For as often as he engaged with that people in Italy, he invariably came off victor; and if his strength had not been impaired by the jealousy of his fellow-citizens at home, he would have been able, to all appearance, to conquer the Romans. But the disparagement of the multitude overcame the courage of one man.

Yet after all, he so cherished the hatred of the Romans which had, as it were, been left him as an inheritance by his father, that he would have given up his life rather than renounce it. Indeed, even after he had been driven from his native land and was dependent on the aid of foreigners, he never

destiterit animo bellare cum Romanis. 2. Nam ut omittam Philippum, quem absens hostem reddidit Romanis, omnium iis temporibus potentissimus rex Antiochus fuit. Hunc tanta cupiditate incendit bellandi, ut usque a rubro mari arma conatus sit inferre Italiae.

2 Ad quem cum legati venissent Romani, qui de eius voluntate explorarent darentque operam consiliis clandestinis ut Hannibalem in suspicionem regi adducerent, tamquam ab ipsis corruptus alia atque antea sentiret,[1] neque id frustra fecissent idque Hannibal comperisset seque ab interioribus consiliis segregari 3 vidisset, tempore dato adiit ad regem, eique cum multa de fide sua et odio in Romanos commemorasset, hoc adiunxit: "Pater meus," inquit, "Hamilcar puerulo me, utpote non amplius novem annos nato, in Hispaniam imperator proficiscens, Karthagine Iovi 4 optimo maximo hostias immolavit. Quae divina res dum conficiebatur, quaesivit a me vellemne secum in castra proficisci. Id cum libenter accepissem atque ab eo petere coepissem ne dubitaret ducere, tum ille, 'Faciam,' inquit, 'si mihi fidem quam postulo dederis.' Simul me ad aram adduxit apud quam sacrificare instituerat eamque ceteris remotis tenentem iurare iussit numquam me in amicitia cum Romanis fore. 5 Id ego iusiurandum patri datum usque ad hanc aetatem ita conservavi, ut nemini dubium esse debeat quin reliquo tempore eadem mente sim futurus.

[1] corruptus . . . sentiret, *Bosius*; corruptum . . . sentire, *MSS.*

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[1] Philip V, of Macedon (220–179 B.C.).
[2] From 215 to 205 B.C.
[3] The Persian Gulf.
[4] 192 B.C.

ceased to war with the Romans in spirit. **2.** For not to mention Philip,[1] whom from afar he made an enemy of the Romans,[2] he fired Antiochus, the most powerful of all kings in those times, with such a desire for war, that from far away on the Red Sea[3] he made preparations to invade Italy.[4]

To his court came envoys from Rome to sound his intentions and try by secret intrigues to arouse his suspicions of Hannibal, alleging that they had bribed him and that he had changed his sentiments. These attempts were not made in vain, and when Hannibal learned it and noticed that he was excluded from the king's more intimate councils, he went to Antiochus, as soon as the opportunity offered, and after calling to mind many proofs of his loyalty and his hatred of the Romans, he added: "My father Hamilcar, when I was a small boy not more than nine years old, just as he was setting out from Carthage to Spain as commander-in-chief, offered up victims to Jupiter, Greatest and Best of gods.[5] While this ceremony was being performed, he asked me if I would like to go with him on the campaign. I eagerly accepted and began to beg him not to hesitate to take me with him. Thereupon he said: 'I will do it, provided you will give me the pledge that I ask.' With that he led me to the altar on which he had begun his sacrifice, and having dismissed all the others, he bade me lay hold of the altar and swear that I would never be a friend to the Romans. For my part, up to my present time of life, I have kept the oath which I swore to my father so faithfully, that no one ought to doubt that in the future I shall be of the same mind. Therefore, if

[5] Really to Baal, the great god of the Carthaginians.

6 Quare si quid amice de Romanis cogitabis, non imprudenter feceris, si me celaris; cum quidem bellum parabis, te ipsum frustraberis, si non me in eo principem posueris."

3. Hac igitur qua diximus aetate cum patre in Hispaniam profectus est, cuius post obitum, Hasdrubale imperatore suffecto, equitatui omni praefuit. Hoc quoque interfecto, exercitus summam imperii ad eum detulit. Id Karthaginem delatum publice com-
2 probatum est. Sic Hannibal minor V et XX annis natus imperator factus, proximo triennio omnes gentes Hispaniae bello subegit, Saguntum, foederatam civitatem, vi expugnavit, tres exercitus maximos
3 comparavit. Ex his unum in Africam misit, alterum cum Hasdrubale fratre in Hispania reliquit, tertium in Italiam secum duxit. Saltum Pyrenaeum transiit; quacumque iter fecit, cum omnibus incolis conflixit, neminem nisi victum dimisit.

4 Ad Alpes posteaquam venit, quae Italiam ab Gallia seiungunt, quas nemo umquam cum exercitu ante eum praeter Herculem Graium transierat—quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur—Alpicos conantes prohibere transitu concidit, loca patefecit, itinera muniit, effecit ut ea elephantus ornatus ire posset qua antea unus homo inermis vix poterat repere. Hac copias traduxit in Italiamque pervenit.

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[1] In reality, he was twenty-six.

[2] The origin of the name is uncertain; it may come from some unknown tribe.

you have any kindly intentions with regard to the Roman people, you will be wise to hide them from me; but when you prepare war, you will go counter to your own interests if you do not make me the leader in that enterprise."

3. Accordingly, at the age which I have named, Hannibal went with his father to Spain, and after Hamilcar died and Hasdrubal succeeded to the chief command, he was given charge of all the cavalry. When Hasdrubal died in his turn, the army chose Hannibal as its commander, and on their action being reported at Carthage, it was officially 221 B.C. confirmed. So it was that when he was less than twenty-five years old,[1] Hannibal became commander-in-chief; and within the next three years he subdued all the peoples of Spain by force of arms, stormed Saguntum, a town allied with Rome, and mustered 219 B.C. three great armies. Of these armies he sent one to Africa, left the second with his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, and led the third with him into Italy. He crossed the range of the Pyrenees. Wherever he marched, he warred with all the natives, and he was everywhere victorious.

When he came to the Alps separating Italy from Gaul, which no one before him had ever crossed with an army except the Grecian Hercules—because of which that place is called the Grecian Pass[2]—he cut to pieces the Alpine tribes that tried to keep him from crossing, opened up the region, built roads, and made it possible for an elephant with its equipment to go over places along which before that a single unarmed man could barely creep. By this route he led his forces across the Alps and came into Italy.

4. Conflixerat apud Rhodanum cum P. Cornelio Scipione consule eumque pepulerat. Cum hoc eodem Clastidi apud Padum decernit sauciumque inde ac
2 fugatum dimittit. Tertio idem Scipio cum collega Ti. Longo apud Trebiam adversus eum venit. Cum his manum conseruit utrosque profligavit. Inde per
3 Ligures Appenninum transiit, petens Etruriam. Hoc itinere adeo gravi morbo adficitur oculorum, ut postea numquam dextro aeque bene usus sit. Qua valetudine cum etiam tum [1] premeretur lecticaque ferretur, C. Flaminium consulem apud Trasumenum cum exercitu insidiis circumventum occidit, neque multo post C. Centenium praetorem cum delecta manu saltus occupantem.
4 Hinc in Apuliam pervenit. Ibi obviam ei venerunt duo consules, C. Terentius et L. Aemilius. Utriusque exercitus uno proelio fugavit, Paulum consulem occidit et aliquot praeterea consulares, in his Cn.[2] Servilium Geminum, qui superiore anno fuerat consul.

5. Hac pugna pugnata, Romam profectus nullo resistente, in propinquis urbi [3] montibus moratus est. Cum aliquot ibi dies castra habuisset et Capuam reverteretur, Q. Fabius Maximus, dictator Romanus,
2 in agro Falerno ei se obiecit. Hic, clausus locorum angustiis, noctu sine ullo detrimento exercitus se expedivit Fabioque, callidissimo imperatori, dedit verba; namque obducta nocte sarmenta in cornibus

[1] etiam tum, *R M*; etiamnum, *A u*; etiam nunc, *B*; nimium, *P*.
[2] Cn. *Lambin*; P., *MSS*.
[3] urbi, *Fleck.*; urbis, *MSS*.

4. He had already fought at the Rhone with Publius Cornelius Scipio, the consul, and routed him; with the same man he engaged at Clastidium on the Po, wounded him, and drove him from the field. A third time that same Scipio, with his colleague Tiberius Longus, opposed him at the Trebia. With those two he joined battle and routed 216 B.C. them both. Then he passed through the country of the Ligurians over the Apennines, on his way to Etruria. In the course of that march he contracted such a severe eye trouble that he never afterwards had equally good use of his right eye. While he was still suffering from that complaint and was carried in a litter, he ambushed the consul Gaius Flaminius with his army at Trasumenus and slew him; and 217 B.C. not long afterwards Gaius Centenius, the praetor, who was holding a pass with a body of picked men, met the same fate.

Next, he arrived in Apulia. There he was opposed by two consuls, Gaius Terentius and Lucius Aemilius, 216 B.C. both of whose armies he put to flight in a single battle; the consul Paulus was slain, besides several ex-consuls, including Gnaeus Servilius Geminus, who had been consul the year before.

5. After having fought that battle, Hannibal advanced upon Rome without resistance. He halted in the hills near the city. After he had remained in camp there for several days and was returning to Capua, the Roman dictator Quintus Fabius Maximus 211 B.C. opposed himself to him in the Falernian region. But Hannibal, although caught in a defile, extricated himself by night without the loss of any of his men, and thus tricked Fabius, that most skilful of generals. For under cover of night the Carthaginian bound

iuvencorum deligata incendit eiusque generis multitudinem magnam dispalatam immisit. Quo repentino obiecto visu[1] tantum terrorem iniecit exercitui Romanorum, ut egredi extra vallum nemo sit ausus.
3 Hanc post rem gestam non ita multis diebus M. Minucium Rufum, magistrum equitum pari ac dictatorem imperio, dolo productum in proelium, fugavit. Ti. Sempronium Gracchum, iterum consulem, in Lucanis absens in insidias inductum sustulit. M. Claudium Marcellum, quinquiens consulem, apud Venusiam pari modo interfecit.
4 Longum est omnia enumerare proelia. Qua re hoc unum satis erit dictum, ex quo intellegi possit quantus ille fuerit: quamdiu in Italia fuit, nemo ei in acie restitit, nemo adversus eum post Cannensem pugnam in campo castra posuit.

6. Hinc invictus patriam defensum revocatus, bellum gessit adversus P. Scipionem, filium eius[2] quem ipse primo apud Rhodanum, iterum apud Padum,
2 tertio apud Trebiam fugarat. Cum hoc, exhaustis iam patriae facultatibus, cupivit impraesentiarum bellum componere, quo valentior postea congrederetur. In colloquium convenit, condiciones non con-
3 venerunt. Post id factum paucis diebus apud Zamam cum eodem conflixit; pulsus—incredibile dictu—biduo et duabus noctibus Hadrumetum pervenit, quod

[1] obiecto visu, *C. W. Nauck*; obiectu viso, *MSS.*

[2] S. filium eius (eius *omitted by M*) *R M F λ u*; filium eius *omitted by P A B π μ*; S. f. eius Scipionis, *Nipp.*

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[1] Nepos should have written *bis* and *quintum*; see Gellius, x. 1.

[2] The battle actually took place on the day after the conference.

faggots to the horns of cattle and set fire to them, then sent a great number of animals in that condition to wander about in all directions. The sudden appearance of such a sight caused so great a panic in the Roman army that no one ventured to go outside the entrenchments. Not so many days after this exploit, when Marcus Minucius Rufus, master of horse, had been given the same powers as the dictator, he craftily lured him into fighting, and utterly defeated the Roman. Although not present in person, he enticed Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who had been twice consul,[1] into an ambuscade in 212 B.C. Lucania and destroyed him. In a similar manner, at Venusia, he slew Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who was 208 B.C. holding his fifth consulship.[1]

It would be a long story to enumerate all his battles. Therefore it will suffice to add this one fact, to show how great a man he was: so long as he was in Italy, no one was a match for him in the field, and after the battle of Cannae no one encamped face to face with him on open ground.

6. Then, undefeated, he was recalled to defend his 202 B.C. native land; there he carried on war against Publius Scipio, the son of that Scipio whom he had put to flight first at the Rhone, then at the Po, and a third time at the Trebia. With him, since the resources of his country were now exhausted, he wished to arrange a truce for a time, in order to carry on the war later with renewed strength. He had an interview with Scipio, but they could not agree upon terms. A few days[2] after the conference he fought with Scipio at Zama. Defeated—incredible to relate 202 B.C. —he succeeded in a day and two nights in reaching Hadrumetum, distant from Zama about three

4 abest ab Zama circiter milia passuum[1] trecenta. In hac fuga Numidae qui simul cum eo ex acie excesserant insidiati sunt ei, quos non solum effugit, sed etiam ipsos oppressit. Hadrumeti reliquos e fuga conlegit, novis dilectibus paucis diebus multos contraxit.

7. Cum in apparando acerrime esset occupatus, Karthaginienses bellum cum Romanis composuerunt. Ille nihilo setius exercitui postea praefuit resque in Africa gessit[2] usque ad P. Sulpicium C. Aurelium con-
2 sules. His enim magistratibus legati Karthaginienses Romam venerunt, qui senatui populoque Romano gratias agerent, quod cum iis pacem fecissent ob eamque rem corona aurea eos donarent simulque peterent ut obsides eorum Fregellis essent captivique
3 redderentur. His ex senatus consulto responsum est : munus eorum gratum acceptumque esse; obsides quo loco rogarent futuros; captivos non remissuros, quod Hannibalem, cuius opera susceptum bellum foret, inimicissimum nomini Romano, etiamnunc cum imperio apud exercitum haberent itemque
4 fratrem eius Magonem. Hoc responso Karthaginienses cognito, Hannibalem domum et Magonem revocarunt. Huc ut rediit, rex[3] factus est, postquam praetor[4] fuerat anno secundo et vicesimo—ut enim Romae consules, sic Karthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur.

[1] passuum, *Ascensius, Can.*; passus, *the other MSS.*
[2] *After* gessit *the MSS. have* itemque Mago frater eius; *deleted by Bosius.*
[3] rex, *Heusinger*; praetor, *MSS.*
[4] praetor, *Heusinger* (imperator, *Nipp.*); rex, *MSS.*

hundred miles. In the course of that retreat the Numidians who had left the field with him laid a trap for him, but he not only eluded them, but even crushed the plotters. At Hadrumetum he rallied the survivors of the retreat and by means of new levies mustered a large number of soldiers within a few days.

7. While he was busily engaged in these preparations, the Carthaginians made peace with the Romans. 201 B.C. Hannibal, however, continued after that to command the army and carried on war in Africa until the consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Gaius Aurelius. For 200 B.C. in the time of those magistrates Carthaginian envoys came to Rome, to return thanks to the Roman senate and people for having made peace with them; and as a mark of gratitude they presented them with a golden crown, at the same time asking that their hostages might live at Fregellae and that their prisoners should be returned. To them, in accordance with a decree of the senate, the following answer was made: that their gift was received with thanks; that the hostages should live where they had requested; that they would not return the prisoners, because Hannibal, who had caused the war and was bitterly hostile to the Roman nation, still held command in their army, as well as his brother Mago. Upon receiving that reply the Carthaginians recalled Hannibal and Mago to Carthage. On his return Hannibal was made a king,[1] after he had been general for twenty-one years. For, as is true of the consuls at Rome, so at Carthage two kings were elected annually for a term of one year.

[1] Really, one of the highest magistrates at Carthage, called *suffetes*, or judges.

5 In eo magistratu pari diligentia se Hannibal praebuit ac fuerat in bello. Namque effecit ex novis vectigalibus non solum ut esset pecunia quae Romanis ex foedere penderetur, sed etiam superesset quae in
6 aerario reponeretur. Deinde [1] M. Claudio L. Furio consulibus, Roma legati Karthaginem venerunt. Hos Hannibal ratus sui exposcendi gratia missos, priusquam iis senatus daretur, navem ascendit clam
7 atque in Syriam ad Antiochum perfugit. Hac re palam facta, Poeni naves duas quae eum comprehenderent, si possent consequi, miserunt, bona eius publicarunt, domum a fundamentis disiecerunt, ipsum exsulem iudicarunt.

8. At Hannibal anno tertio [2] postquam domo profugerat, L. Cornelio Q. Minucio consulibus, cum quinque navibus Africam accessit in finibus Cyrenaeorum, si forte Karthaginienses ad bellum Antiochi spe fiduciaque inducere posset, cui iam persuaserat ut cum exercitibus in Italiam proficisceretur. Huc
2 Magonem fratrem excivit. Id ubi Poeni resciverunt, Magonem eadem qua fratrem absentem adfecerunt poena. Illi, desperatis rebus, cum solvissent naves ac vela ventis dedissent, Hannibal ad Antiochum pervenit. De Magonis interitu duplex memoria prodita est: namque alii naufragio, alii a servolis ipsius inter-

[1] *The MSS. have* anno post praeturam *after* deinde; *deleted by Fleck.*; praeturam *deleted by Heusinger.*
[2] quarto, *Nipp.*

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[1] The Carthaginian body corresponding to the Roman senate.

In that office Hannibal gave proof of the same energy that he had shown in war. For by means of new taxes he provided, not only that there should be money to pay to the Romans according to the treaty, but also that there should be a surplus to be deposited in the treasury. Then in the following year, when Marcus Claudius and Lucius Furius were consuls, 196 B.C. envoys came to Carthage from Rome. Hannibal thought that they had been sent to demand his surrender; therefore, before they were given audience by the senate,[1] he secretly embarked on a ship and took refuge with King Antiochus in Syria. When this became known, the Carthaginians sent two ships to arrest Hannibal, if they could overtake him; then they confiscated his property, demolished his house from its foundations, and declared him an outlaw.

8. But Hannibal, in the third[2] year after he had fled from his country, in the consulship of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius, with five ships landed 193 B.C. in Africa in the territories of Cyrene, to see whether the Carthaginians could by any chance be induced to make war by the hope of aid from King Antiochus, whom Hannibal had already persuaded to march upon Italy with his armies. To Italy also he dispatched his brother Mago. When the Carthaginians learned this, they inflicted on Mago in his absence the same penalty that Hannibal had suffered. The brothers, regarding the situation as desperate, raised anchor and set sail. Hannibal reached Antiochus; as to the death of Mago there are two accounts; some have written that he was shipwrecked; others,

[2] According to the usual Roman method of reckoning it would be the fourth year, and Nipperdey emended *tertio* to *quarto*.

3 fectum eum scriptum reliquerunt. Antiochus autem si tam in agendo [1] bello consiliis eius parere voluisset, quam in suscipiendo instituerat, propius Tiberi quam Thermopylis de summa imperii dimicasset. Quem etsi multa stulte conari videbat, tamen nulla deseruit
4 in re. Praefuit paucis navibus, quas ex Syria iussus erat in Asiam ducere, iisque adversus Rhodiorum classem in Pamphylio mari conflixit. Quo cum multitudine adversariorum sui superarentur, ipse quo cornu rem gessit fuit superior.

9. Antiocho fugato, verens ne dederetur, quod sine dubio accidisset, si sui fecisset potestatem, Cretam ad Gortynios venit, ut ibi quo se conferret consideraret.
2 Vidit autem vir omnium callidissimus in [2] magno se fore periculo, nisi quid providisset, propter avaritiam Cretensium; magnam enim secum pecuniam portabat, de qua sciebat exisse famam. Itaque capit tale
3 consilium. Amphoras complures complet plumbo, summas operit auro et argento. Has, praesentibus principibus, deponit in templo Dianae, simulans se suas fortunas illorum fidei credere. His in errorem inductis, statuas aeneas, quas secum portabat, omni [3] sua pecunia complet easque in propatulo domi abicit.
4 Gortynii templum magna cura custodiunt, non tam a

[1] agendo, *MSS.*; *cf. Sallust, Or. Cott.* 11 (*p.* 412, *L.C.L.*) *belli ab aliis acti ratio*; gerendo, *Lambin.*
[2] in, *added by Fleck.*
[3] omni, *Nipp.*; omnes, *MSS.*

[1] He was defeated at Thermopylae in 191 B.C.

that he was killed by his own slaves. As for Antiochus, if he had been as willing to follow Hannibal's advice in the conduct of the war as he had been in declaring it, he would not have fought for the rule of the world at Thermopylae,[1] but nearer to the Tiber. But although Hannibal saw that many of the king's plans were unwise, yet he never deserted him. On one occasion he commanded a few ships, which he had been ordered to take from Syria to Asia, and with them he fought against a fleet of the Rhodians in the Pamphylian Sea. Although in that engagement his forces were defeated by the superior numbers of their opponents, he was victorious on the wing where he fought in person.

9. After Antiochus had been defeated, Hannibal, 190 B.C. fearing that he would be surrendered to the Romans —as undoubtedly would have happened, if he had let himself be taken—came to the Gortynians in Crete, there to deliberate where to seek asylum. But being the shrewdest of all men, he realized that he would be in great danger, unless he devised some means of escaping the avarice of the Cretans; for he was carrying with him a large sum of money, and he knew that news of this had leaked out. He therefore devised the following plan: he filled a number of large jars with lead and covered their tops with gold and silver. These, in the presence of the leading citizens, he deposited in the temple of Diana, pretending that he was entrusting his property to their protection. Having thus misled them, he filled some bronze statues which he was carrying with him with all his money and threw them carelessly down in the courtyard of his house. The Gortynians guarded the temple with great care, not so much

ceteris quam ab Hannibale, ne ille inscientibus iis tolleret secumque duceret.

10. Sic conservatis suis rebus, Poenus illusis Cretensibus omnibus, ad Prusiam in Pontum pervenit. Apud quem eodem animo fuit erga Italiam neque aliud quicquam egit quam regem armavit et exercuit[1] 2 adversus Romanos. Quem cum videret domesticis opibus minus esse robustum, conciliabat ceteros reges adiungebat bellicosas nationes. Dissidebat ab eo Pergamenus rex Eumenes, Romanis amicissimus, 3 bellumque inter eos gerebatur et mari et terra. Sed utrobique Eumenes plus valebat propter Romanorum societatem.[2] Quo magis cupiebat eum Hannibal opprimi; quem si removisset, faciliora sibi cetera fore arbitrabatur.

Ad hunc interficiundum talem iniit rationem. 4 Classe paucis diebus erant decreturi. Superabatur navium multitudine; dolo erat pugnandum, cum par non esset armis. Imperavit quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas conligi easque in vasa fictilia conici. 5 Harum cum effecisset magnam multitudinem, die ipso quo facturus erat navale proelium classiarios convocat iisque praecipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, a ceteris tantum satis habeant se defendere. Id illos facile serpentium multitudine 6 consecuturos. Rex autem in qua nave veheretur ut

[1] exacuit, *Heinrich.*

[2] sed . . . societatem, *transposed by Fleck.*; *after* opprimi *in MSS.*

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[1] Prusias was king of Bithynia. Why he was in Pontus is not stated.

[2] See note 1, p .573.

against others as against Hannibal, to prevent him from taking anything without their knowledge and carrying it off with him.

10. Thus he saved his goods, and having tricked all the Cretans, the Carthaginian joined Prusias in Pontus.[1] At his court he was of the same mind towards Italy and gave his entire attention to arming the king and training his forces to meet the Romans. And seeing that Prusias' personal resources did not give him great strength, he won him the friendship of the other kings of that region and allied him with warlike nations. Prusias had quarrelled with Eumenes, 184 B.C. king of Pergamum,[2] a strong friend of the Romans, and they were fighting with each other by land and sea. But Eumenes was everywhere the stronger because of his alliance with the Romans, and for that reason Hannibal was the more eager for his overthrow, thinking that if he got rid of him, all his difficulties would be ended.

To cause his death, he formed the following plan. Within a few days they were intending to fight a decisive naval battle. Hannibal was outnumbered in ships; therefore it was necessary to resort to a ruse, since he was unequal to his opponent in arms. He gave orders to collect the greatest possible number of venomous snakes and put them alive in earthenware jars. When he had got together a great number of these, on the very day when the sea-fight was going to take place he called the marines together and bade them concentrate their attack on the ship of Eumenes and be satisfied with merely defending themselves against the rest; this they could easily do, thanks to the great number of snakes. Furthermore, he promised to let them know in what ship Eumenes was

scirent se facturum; quem si aut cepissent aut interfecissent, magno iis pollicetur praemio fore.

11. Tali cohortatione militum facta, classis ab utrisque in proelium deducitur. Quarum acie constituta, priusquam signum pugnae daretur, Hannibal, ut palam faceret suis quo loco Eumenes esset, tabellarium
2 in scapha cum caduceo mittit. Qui ubi ad naves adversariorum pervenit epistulamque ostendens, se regem professus est quaerere, statim ad Eumenem deductus est, quod nemo dubitabat quin aliquid de pace esset scriptum. Tabellarius, ducis nave declarata suis, eodem unde erat egressus se recepit.
3 At Eumenes soluta epistula nihil in ea repperit nisi quae ad irridendum eum pertinerent. Cuius etsi causam mirabatur neque reperiebat,[1] tamen proelium statim committere non dubitavit.

4 Horum in concursu Bithynii Hannibalis praecepto universi navem Eumenis adoriuntur. Quorum vim rex cum sustinere non posset, fuga salutem petiit, quam consecutus non esset, nisi intra sua praesidia se recepisset, quae in proximo litore erant conlocata.
5 Reliquae Pergamenae naves cum adversarios premerent acrius, repente in eas vasa fictilia de quibus supra mentionem fecimus conici coepta sunt. Quae iacta initio risum pugnantibus concitarunt, neque
6 qua re id fieret poterat intellegi. Postquam autem naves suas oppletas conspexerunt serpentibus, nova re perterriti, cum quid potissimum vitarent non vide-

[1] reperiebat, *Lambin*; reperiebatur, *MSS.*

sailing, and to give them a generous reward if they succeeded in either capturing or killing the king.

11. After he had encouraged the soldiers in this way, the fleets on both sides were brought out for battle. When they were drawn up in line, before the signal for action was given, in order that Hannibal might make it clear to his men where Eumenes was, he sent a messenger in a skiff with a herald's staff. When the emissary came to the ships of the enemy, he exhibited a letter and said that he was looking for the king. He was at once taken to Eumenes, since no one doubted that it was some communication about peace. The letter-carrier, having pointed out the commander's ship to his men, returned to the place from which he came. But Eumenes, on opening the missive, found nothing in it except what was designed to mock at him. Although he wondered at the reason for such conduct and could not find one, he nevertheless did not hesitate to join battle at once.

When the clash came, the Bithynians did as Hannibal had ordered and fell upon the ship of Eumenes in a body. Since the king could not resist their force, he sought safety in flight, which he secured only by retreating within the entrenchments which had been thrown up on the neighbouring shore. When the other Pergamene ships began to press their opponents too hard, on a sudden the earthenware jars of which I have spoken began to be hurled at them. At first these projectiles excited the laughter of the combatants, and they could not understand what it meant. But as soon as they saw their ships filled with snakes, terrified by the strange weapons and not knowing how to avoid them, they turned

rent, puppes verterunt[1] seque ad sua castra nautica
7 rettulerunt. Sic Hannibal consilio arma Pergamenorum superavit, neque tum solum, sed saepe alias pedestribus copiis pari prudentia pepulit adversarios.

12. Quae dum in Asia geruntur, accidit casu ut legati Prusiae Romae apud T.[2] Quinctium Flamininum[3] consularem cenarent, atque ibi de Hannibale mentione facta, ex iis unus diceret eum in Prusiae
2 regno esse. Id postero die Flamininus senatui detulit. Patres conscripti, qui Hannibale vivo numquam se sine insidiis futuros existimarent, legatos in Bithyniam miserunt, in iis Flamininum, qui ab rege peterent ne inimicissimum suum secum haberet
3 sibique dederet. His Prusia negare ausus non est; illud recusavit, ne id a se fieri postularent quod adversus ius hospitii esset: ipsi, si possent, comprehenderent; locum, ubi esset, facile inventuros. Hannibal enim uno loco se tenebat, in castello quod ei a rege datum erat muneri idque sic aedificarat, ut in omnibus partibus aedificii exitus haberet, scilicet verens ne usu veniret quod accidit.

4 Huc cum legati Romanorum venissent ac multitudine domum eius circumdedissent, puer, ab ianua prospiciens, Hannibali dixit plures praeter consuetudinem armatos apparere. Qui imperavit ei ut omnes fores aedificii circumiret ac propere sibi nuntiaret num eodem modo undique obsideretur.

[1] verterunt, *Nipp.*; averterunt, *MSS.*; converterunt, *Buchner.*

[2] T., *Magius*; L., *MSS.*

[3] Flamininum, *Lambin*; Flamminium, etc., *MSS.*

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[1] The *praesidia* of § 4.

their ships about and retreated to their naval camp.[1] Thus Hannibal overcame the arms of Pergamum by strategy; and that was not the only instance of the kind, but on many other occasions in land battles he defeated his antagonists by a similar bit of cleverness.

12. While this was taking place in Asia, it chanced that in Rome envoys of Prusias were dining with Titus Quinctius Flamininus, the ex-consul, and that 183 B.C. mention being made of Hannibal, one of the envoys said that he was in the kingdom of Prusias. On the following day Flamininus informed the senate. The Fathers, believing that while Hannibal lived they would never be free from plots, sent envoys to Bithynia, among them Flamininus, to request the king not to keep their bitterest foe at his court, but to surrender him to the Romans. Prusias did not dare to refuse; he did, however, stipulate that they would not ask him to do anything which was in violation of the laws of hospitality. They themselves, if they could, might take him; they would easily find his place of abode. As a matter of fact, Hannibal kept himself in one place, in a stronghold which the king had given him, and he had so arranged it that he had exits in every part of the building, evidently being in fear of experiencing what actually happened.

When the envoys of the Romans had come to the place and surrounded his house with a great body of troops, a slave looking out from one of the doors reported that an unusual number of armed men were in sight. Hannibal ordered him to go about to all the doors of the building and hasten to inform him whether he was beset in the same way on every side.

5 Puer cum celeriter quid esset renuntiasset omnisque exitus occupatos ostendisset, sensit id non fortuito factum, sed se peti neque sibi diutius vitam esse retinendam. Quam ne alieno arbitrio dimitteret, memor pristinarum virtutum, venenum quod semper secum habere consuerat sumpsit.

13. Sic vir fortissimus, multis variisque perfunctus laboribus, anno adquievit septuagesimo. Quibus consulibus interierit non convenit. Namque Atticus M. Claudio Marcello Q. Fabio Labeone consulibus mortuum in Annali suo scriptum reliquit, at Polybius L. Aemilio Paulo Cn. Baebio Tamphilo, Sulpicius autem Blitho P. Cornelio Cethego M. Baebio Tam-
2 philo. Atque hic tantus vir tantisque bellis districtus non nihil temporis tribuit litteris. Namque aliquot eius libri sunt, Graeco sermone confecti, in iis ad Rhodios de Cn. Manlii Volsonis in Asia rebus gestis.
3 Huius belli gesta multi memoriae prodiderunt, sed ex iis duo, qui cum eo in castris fuerunt simulque vixerunt, quam diu fortuna passa est, Silenus et Sosylus Lacedaemonius. Atque hoc Sosylo Hannibal litterarum Graecarum usus est doctore.

4 Sed nos tempus est huius libri facere finem et Romanorum explicare imperatores, quo facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri praeferendi sint possit iudicari.[1]

[1] *For the verses added in A P and a few other MSS. see Introd., pp. 359 f.*

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[1] In a ring; cf. Juvenal x. 164, sed ille Cannarum vindex ac tanti sanguinis ultor, anulus.

[2] In 183 B.C. Hannibal was sixty-three years old.

[3] See xxv. 18. 1.

[4] Cn. Manlius Volso defeated the Gauls in Asia Minor in 189 B.C., and in the following year brought about peace with

The slave having quickly reported the facts and told him that all the exits were guarded, Hannibal knew that it was no accident; that it was he whom they were after and he must no longer think of preserving his life. But not wishing to lose it at another's will, and remembering his past deeds of valour, he took the poison which he always carried about his person.[1]

13. Thus that bravest of men, after having performed many and varied labours, entered into rest in his seventieth[2] year. Under what consuls he died is disputed. For Atticus has recorded in his *Annals*[3] that he died in the consulate of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labeo; Polybius, under Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus; and Sulpicius Blitho, in the time of Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Baebius Tamphilus. And that great man, although busied with such great wars, devoted some time to letters; for there are several books of his, written in Greek, among them one, addressed to the Rhodians, on the deeds of Gnaeus Manlius Volso in Asia.[4] Hannibal's deeds of arms have been recorded by many writers, among them two men who were with him in camp and lived with him so long as fortune allowed, Silenus and Sosylus of Lacedaemon. And it was this Sosylus whom Hannibal employed as his teacher of Greek.

183 B.C. 182 B.C. 181 B.C.

But it is time for us to put an end to this book and give an account of the Roman generals, to make it possible by comparing their deeds with those of the foreigners to judge which heroes ought to be given the higher rank.

Antiochus. The Rhodians had joined with the Romans in the campaigns.

XXIV. CATO

EXCERPTUM E LIBRO CORNELII NEPOTIS DE LATINIS HISTORICIS

1. M.[1] Cato, ortus municipio Tusculo, adulescentulus, priusquam honoribus operam daret, versatus est in Sabinis, quod ibi heredium a patre relictum habebat. Inde hortatu L. Valerii Flacci, quem in consulatu censuraque habuit collegam, ut M. Perpenna censorius[2] narrare solitus est, Romam
2 demigravit in foroque esse coepit. Primum stipendium meruit annorum decem septemque. Q. Fabio M. Claudio consulibus tribunus militum in Sicilia fuit. Inde ut rediit, castra secutus est C.[3] Claudii Neronis, magnique opera eius existimata est in proelio apud Senam, quo cecidit Hasdrubal, frater
3 Hannibalis. Quaestor obtigit P. Africano consuli, cum quo non pro sortis necessitudine vixit; namque ab eo perpetua dissensit vita. Aedilis plebi factus
4 est cum C. Helvio. Praetor provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex qua quaestor superiore tempore ex Africa decedens, Q. Ennium poetam deduxerat, quod non minoris aestimamus quam quemlibet amplissimum Sardiniensem triumphum.

2. Consulatum gessit cum L. Valerio Flacco.

[1] M., *A*; *the other MSS. omit.*
[2] censorius, *Magius*; censorinus, *A B P R.*
[3] C. *Lambin*; P., *MSS.*

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[1] More commonly known as the battle of the Metaurus river, 207 B.C.

[2] P. Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.

[3] The relations of a quaestor to the consul or praetor under whom he served were like those of a son to his father; cf. Cic. *Div. in Caec.* 61.

XXIV. CATO

AN EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK OF CORNELIUS NEPOS ON LATIN HISTORIANS

1. Marcus Cato, born in the town of Tusculum, in his early youth, before entering on an official career, lived in the land of the Sabines, since he had there an hereditary property, left him by his father. Then, with the encouragement of Lucius Valerius Flaccus, later his colleague in the consulship and the censorship—as Marcus Perpenna, the ex-censor, was fond of mentioning—he moved to Rome and entered public life. He served his first campaign at the age of seventeen. In the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Marcus Claudius he was tribune of the soldiers in Sicily. On his return from there he joined the army of Gaius Claudius Nero and won high praise in the battle at Sena,[1] in which Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, fell. As quaestor the chance of the lot assigned him to the consul Publius Africanus,[2] with whom he did not live as the intimacy of their association demanded;[3] for he disagreed with him throughout his whole life. He was chosen plebeian aedile with Gaius Helvius. As praetor he was allotted the province of Sardinia, from which at an earlier time, when leaving Africa after his quaestorship, he had brought the poet Ennius to Rome—an act which, in my opinion, was no less glorious than the greatest possible victory in Sardinia.[4]

217 B.C. 125 B.C. 199 B.C. 198 B.C.

2. He was consul with Lucius Valerius Flaccus,

195 B.C.

[4] That Ennius came back with Cato was mere chance. Cato was bitterly opposed to the tendencies which Ennius represented.

Sorte provinciam nactus Hispaniam citeriorem, exque
2 ea triumphum deportavit. Ibi cum diutius moraretur, P. Scipio Africanus consul iterum, cuius in priore consulatu quaestor fuerat, voluit eum de provincia depellere et ipse ei succedere; neque hoc per senatum efficere potuit, cum quidem Scipio principatum in civitate obtineret, quod tum non potentia, sed iure res publica administrabatur. Qua ex re iratus senatui, consulatu [1] peracto, privatus in
3 urbe mansit. At Cato, censor cum eodem Flacco factus, severe praefuit ei potestati; nam et in complures nobiles animadvertit et multas res novas in edictum addidit qua re luxuria reprimeretur, quae
4 iam tum incipiebat pullulare. Circiter annos octoginta, usque ad extremam aetatem ab adulescentia, rei publicae causa suscipere inimicitias non destitit. A multis temptatus, non modo nullum detrimentum existimationis fecit, sed quoad vixit virtutum laude crevit.

3. In omnibus rebus singulari fuit industria; nam et agricola sollers et peritus [2] iuris consultus et magnus imperator et probabilis orator et cupidis-
2 simus litterarum fuit. Quarum studium etsi senior adripuerat, tamen tantum progressum fecit, ut non facile reperiri possit neque de Graecis neque de
3 Italicis rebus quod ei fuerit incognitum. Ab adulescentia confecit orationes. Senex historias scribere instituit. Earum sunt libri septem. Primus con-

[1] consulatu, *added by Bosius.*
[2] peritus, *Klotz*; rei publicae peritus, *MSS.*

[1] The censor's edict contained numerous standing provisions (*edictum tralaticium*) handed down from his predecessors, to which new ones were added from time to time.

and being allotted the province of Hither Spain, from 194 B.C.
it won a triumph. When he lingered there somewhat too long, Publius Scipio Africanus, then consul for the second time—in his former consulship Cato had been his quaestor—wished to force him to leave the province, in order himself to succeed him. But the senate would not support Scipio in the attempt, although he was the leading man in the state, because in those days the government was administered, not by influence, but by justice. Therefore Scipio was at odds with the senate and, after his consulship was ended, he lived the life of a private citizen in Rome. But Cato was chosen censor, once more with Flaccus 184 B.C.
as his colleague, and administered the office with severity; for he inflicted punishment upon several nobles, and added to his edict[1] many new provisions for checking luxury, which even then was beginning to grow rank. For about eighty years, from youth to the end of his life, he never ceased to incur enmity through his devotion to his country. But although often attacked, he not only suffered no loss of reputation, but as long as he lived the fame of his virtues increased.

3. In all lines he was a man of extraordinary activity; for he was an expert husbandman, an able jurist, a great general, a praiseworthy[2] orator and greatly devoted to letters. Although he took up literary work late in life, yet he made such progress that it is not easy to find anything either in the history of Greece or of Italy which was unknown to him. From early youth he composed speeches. He was already an old man when he began to write history, of which he left seven books. The first contains

[2] Cato was the greatest orator of his time.

tinet res gestas regum populi Romani, secundus et tertius unde quaeque civitas orta sit Italica; ob quam rem omnes Origines videtur appellasse. In quarto autem bellum Poenicum est primum, in
4 quinto secundum. Atque haec omnia capitulatim sunt dicta; reliquaque bella pari modo persecutus est usque ad praeturam Ser. Galbae, qui diripuit Lusitanos. Atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, sed sine nominibus res notavit. In iisdem exposuit quae in Italia Hispaniisque aut fierent aut viderentur admiranda; in quibus multa industria et diligentia comparet, nulla doctrina.

5 Huius de vita et moribus plura in eo libro persecuti sumus quem separatim de eo fecimus rogatu T. Pomponii Attici. Qua re studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen delegamus.

XXV. ATTICUS

1. T. Pomponius Atticus, ab origine ultima stirpis Romanae generatus, perpetuo a maioribus acceptam
2 equestrem obtinuit dignitatem. Patre usus est diligente et, ut tum erant tempora, diti imprimisque studioso litterarum. Hic, prout ipse amabat litteras, omnibus doctrinis quibus puerilis aetas impertiri
3 debet filium erudivit. Erat autem in puero praeter docilitatem ingenii summa suavitas oris atque vocis,

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[1] This extract is therefore only a brief summary of his larger work, put in to make his list of *Roman Historians* complete, just as the brief extract *XXI, De Regibus*, is added to make his list of *Generals of Foreign Nations* complete; see note 1, p. 614.

an account of the kings of the Roman people; the second and third, the origin of all the states of Italy —and it seems to be for that reason that he called the entire work *The Origins*. Then in the fourth book we have the first Punic war, and in the fifth, the second. All this is told in summary fashion, and he treated the other wars in the same manner down to the praetorship of Servius Galba, who plundered the 150 B.C.
Lusitanians. In his account of all these wars he did not name the leaders, but related the events without mentioning names. In the same work he gave an account of noteworthy occurrences and sights in Italy and the Spains; and in it he showed great industry and carefulness, but no learning.

Concerning this man's life and character I have given fuller details in the separate book which I devoted to his biography at the urgent request of Titus Pomponius Atticus. Therefore I may refer those who are interested in Cato to that volume.[1]

XXV. ATTICUS

1. Titus Pomponius Atticus, descended from the most ancient Roman stock,[2] never abandoned the equestrian rank which he had inherited from his ancestors. His father was attentive to business and rich for those days. He was besides particularly interested in literature, and because of his own love of letters, trained his son in all the studies essential for the education of the young. Moreover, the boy had, in addition to a capacity for learning, a most

[2] The Pomponii claimed descent from Pompo, a son of King Numa. Such fanciful family trees were not uncommon; cf. *e.g.* Suet. *Galba*, 2; *Vesp.* 12.

ut non solum celeriter acciperet quae tradebantur, sed etiam excellenter pronuntiaret. Qua ex re in pueritia nobilis inter aequales ferebatur clariusque exsplendescebat quam generosi condiscipuli animo
4 aequo ferre possent. Itaque incitabat omnes studio suo, quo in numero fuerunt L. Torquatus, C. Marius filius, M. Cicero; quos consuetudine sua sic devinxit, ut nemo iis perpetuo [1] fuerit carior.

2. Pater mature decessit. Ipse adulescentulus propter adfinitatem P. Sulpicii, qui tribunus plebi interfectus est, non expers fuit illius periculi; namque Anicia, Pomponii consobrina, nupserat Servio,[2]
2 fratri Sulpicii. Itaque interfecto Sulpicio, posteaquam vidit Cinnano tumultu civitatem esse perturbatam neque sibi dari facultatem pro dignitate vivendi quin alterutram partem offenderet, dissociatis animis civium cum alii Sullanis, alii Cinnanis faverent partibus, idoneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendi suis, Athenas se contulit. Neque eo setius adulescentem Marium hostem iudicatum iuvit opibus suis,
3 cuius fugam pecunia sublevavit. Ac ne illa peregrinatio detrimentum aliquod adferret rei familiari, eodem magnam partem fortunarum traiecit suarum.

Hic ita vixit, ut universis Atheniensibus merito
4 esset carissimus; nam praeter gratiam, quae iam

[1] perpetua, *A*, *Voss. I*; perpetua vita, *Fleck*.
[2] Servio, *Lambin*; M. Servilio, *Leid.*; M. Servio, *the other MSS.*

[1] In 88 B.C. he caused the command in the war against Mithridates to be transferred from Sulla to Marius.

agreeable enunciation and quality of voice, so that he not only quickly learned passages that were set, but also declaimed them admirably. Hence in childhood he was conspicuous among those of his own age, and showed greater superiority than his high-born schoolfellows could accept with indifference. Consequently, he inspired them all with a spirit of rivalry; and among them were Lucius Torquatus, the younger Gaius Marius, and Marcus Cicero, with all of whom he became so intimate that as long as he lived no one was dearer to them.

2. His father died early. He himself, when a mere youth, because he was related by marriage to Publius Sulpicius, who was killed while tribune of the commons,[1] was involved in the same danger; for Anicia, cousin german of Atticus, had married Servius, the brother of Sulpicius. Therefore, after Sulpicius had been killed, seeing that the state was in disorder because of the rebellion of Cinna, and that no opportunity was given him of living as his rank demanded without offending one or the other faction —for the feelings of the citizens were at variance, some favouring the party of Sulla, the others that of Cinna—he thought it was a favourable opportunity for gratifying his tastes, and went to Athens. But 86 B.C. nevertheless when the younger Marius had been pronounced a public enemy, he aided him with his resources and facilitated his flight by furnishing money. And in order that his sojourn abroad might not inflict any loss upon his property, he transported a great part of his fortunes to Athens.

There he lived in such a manner that he was deservedly very dear to all the Athenians. For not to mention his influence which was great even in

in adulescentulo magna erat, saepe suis opibus inopiam eorum publicam levavit. Cum enim versuram facere publice necesse esset neque eius condicionem aequam haberent, semper se interposuit, atque ita, ut neque usuram umquam iniquam[1] ab iis acceperit neque longius quam dictum esset debere
5 passus sit. Quod utrumque erat iis salutare; nam neque indulgendo inveterascere eorum aes alienum patiebatur neque multiplicandis usuris crescere.
6 Auxit hoc officium alia quoque liberalitate; nam universos frumento donavit, ita ut singulis VI[2] modii tritici darentur, qui modus mensurae medimnus Athenis appellatur.

3. Hic autem sic se gerebat, ut communis infimis, par principibus videretur. Quo factum est ut huic omnes honores, quos possent, publice haberent civemque facere studerent; quo beneficio ille uti noluit, quod consulti[3] ita interpretantur amitti civi-
2 tatem Romanam alia ascita. Quamdiu affuit, ne qua sibi statua poneretur restitit, absens prohibere non potuit. Itaque aliquot ipsi et Piliae[4] locis sanctissimis posuerunt; hunc enim in omni procuratione rei publicae actorem auctoremque habe-
3 bant. Igitur primum illud munus fortunae, quod in ea urbe potissimum natus est in qua domicilium orbis terrarum esset imperii, ut eandem et patriam haberet et domum; hoc specimen prudentiae, quod, cum in eam se civitatem contulisset quae antiquitate,

[1] umquam iniquam *Gottschalch*; numquam *A B R H* (*H before* usuram); umquam, *the other MSS.*
[2] sex, *Faërnus*; septem *or* VII, *MSS.*; seni, *Fleck.*
[3] consulti, *Wagner*; nonnulli, *MSS.*
[4] Piliae, *Lambin*; Phidiae (Fid-), *MSS.*; ipsi effigies, *Wagner.*

[1] There is a word-play on *opibus* and *inopia*.

his youth, he often relieved their public necessities by his wealth.[1] For example, when the state needed to negotiate a loan and could not do so on fair terms, he always came to the rescue, and in such a way that he never exacted from them excessive interest, nor would he allow them to remain in debt beyond the stipulated time. And both those conditions were to their advantage, since he did not by indulgence allow their debt to grow old, nor yet to increase by the piling up of interest. He added to this service still another act of generosity; for he made a distribution of grain to the entire people, giving each man six bushels of wheat, the equivalent of the measure which at Athens is called a *medimnus*.

3. Furthermore, his conduct in Athens was such that he showed himself gracious to the humble and on an equality with the great. The result was that the state conferred upon him all possible honours and wished to make him a citizen of Athens. But that favour he declined to accept, because the jurists hold that if one becomes a citizen elsewhere, Roman citizenship is lost. So long as he was in Athens, he opposed the erection of any statue in his honour; but he could not prevent it after he left. And so they set up several to himself and Pilia[2] in their most sacred places; for they found him an adviser and a help in all the administration of their state. Thus in the first place it was a gift of fortune that he was born in no other city than that which was the abode of universal empire, and that it was at once his native land and his home. And it was a mark of his wisdom that when he had gone to the city which

[2] The wife of Atticus; the MSS. give the name of an otherwise unknown Phidias.

humanitate doctrinaque praestaret omnes unus ei fuit [1] carissimus.

4. Huc ex Asia Sulla decedens cum venisset, quam diu ibi fuit, secum habuit Pomponium, captus adulescentis et humanitate et doctrina. Sic enim Graece loquebatur, ut Athenis natus videretur; tanta autem suavitas erat sermonis Latini, ut appareret in eo nativum quemdam leporem esse, non ascitum. Idem poemata pronuntiabat et Graece
2 et Latine sic ut supra nihil posset addi. Quibus rebus factum est ut Sulla nusquam eum [2] ab se dimitteret cuperetque secum deducere. Qui cum persuadere temptaret, "Noli, oro te," inquit Pomponius, "adversum eos me velle ducere cum quibus ne contra te arma ferrem, Italiam reliqui." At Sulla, adulescentis officio collaudato, omnia munera ei quae Athenis acceperat proficiscens iussit deferri.
3 Hic complures annos moratus, cum et rei familiari tantum operae daret quantum non indiligens deberet pater familias, et omnia reliqua tempora aut litteris aut Atheniensium rei publicae tribueret, nihilo
4 minus amicis urbana officia praestitit; nam et ad comitia eorum ventitavit, et si qua res maior acta est, non defuit. Sicut Ciceroni in omnibus eius periculis singularem fidem praebuit; cui ex patria fugienti HS [3] ducenta et quinquaginta milia donavit.

[1] fuit, *Heusinger*; fuerit, *MSS.*
[2] eum, *added by Lambin.*
[3] HS, *Lambin*; sextertia(-cia), *MSS.*

surpassed all others in antiquity, culture and learning, he was dearer to it than all other men.

4. When Sulla had come to Athens on his way home from Asia, so long as he remained there he kept Atticus with him, attracted by the young man's refinement and culture. For he spoke Greek so well that one would have thought that he had been born in Athens, while on the other hand he used the Latin language with such grace that it was clear that the elegance of his diction was native and not the result of study. He recited poems, too, both in Greek and in Latin, in a manner which left nothing to be desired. The effect of this was, that Sulla would not be parted from him and wished to take him in his company to Rome. But when he tried to persuade him, Atticus answered: "Do not, I pray you, try to lead me against those with whom I refused to bear arms against you but preferred to leave Italy." Whereupon Sulla praised the young man for his sense of duty and gave orders, when he left, that all the gifts that he had received in Athens should be taken to Atticus.

During his residence of many years in Athens, Atticus gave to his property as much attention as was the duty of a careful head of a family and devoted all the rest of his time either to literature or to the public business of the Athenians. At the same time he rendered service to his friends in Rome; for he always appeared on the occasion of their candidacy for office, and was at hand whenever any important action was taken. Thus to Cicero in all his times of peril he showed unparalleled loyalty, and when the orator was on his way to exile, he made him a present of two hundred and fifty thousand

5 Tranquillatis autem rebus Romanis, remigravit Romam, ut opinor L. Cotta et L. Torquato consulibus; quem discedentem[1] sic universa civitas Atheniensium prosecuta est, ut lacrimis desiderii futuri dolorem indicaret.

5. Habebat avunculum Q. Caecilium, equitem Romanum, familiarem L. Luculli, divitem, difficillima natura; cuius sic asperitatem veritus est, ut quem nemo ferre posset, huius sine offensione ad summam senectutem retinuerit benevolentiam. Quo facto
2 tulit pietatis fructum. Caecilius enim moriens testamento adoptavit eum heredemque fecit ex dodrante; ex qua hereditate accepit circiter centiens sestertium.
3 Erat nupta soror Attici Q. Tullio Ciceroni, easque nuptias M. Cicero conciliarat, cum quo a condiscipulatu vivebat coniunctissime, multo etiam familiarius quam cum Quinto; ut iudicari possit plus in amicitia valere similitudinem morum quam adfini-
4 tatem. Utebatur autem intime Q. Hortensio, qui iis temporibus principatum eloquentiae tenebat, ut intellegi non posset uter eum plus diligeret, Cicero an Hortensius; et, id quod erat difficillimum, efficiebat ut inter quos tantae laudis esset aemulatio nulla intercederet obtrectatio essetque talium virorum copula.

6. In re publica ita est versatus, ut semper optima-

[1] discedentem, *Aldus*; diem, *MSS.*

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[1] It is strange that Nepos did not verify this date by questioning Atticus. The sentence may have been added in his second edition.

sesterces. After calm had been established at Rome he returned to the city, in the consulship, I believe,[1] of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus. When he left 65 B.C.
Athens, all the citizens attended[2] him, showing by tears the grief that they would feel at losing him.

5. His maternal uncle was Quintus Caecilius, a Roman knight and a friend of Lucius Lucullus, rich but very hard to please. Atticus treated the sour-tempered old man with such deference, that although no one else could endure him, his nephew retained his good-will without giving him any offence until he reached extreme old age. By such conduct he reaped the fruits of his devotion; for Caecilius on his death- 53 B.C.
bed adopted him by will and made him heir to three-fourths of his estate; and his share came to about ten million sesterces. Atticus' sister was married to Quintus Tullius Cicero; the marriage was arranged by Marcus Cicero, with whom Atticus had lived in the closest intimacy from the time when they were schoolfellows, much more intimately than with Quintus; which shows that likeness of character is of more weight in friendship than family alliances. He was also a close friend of Quintus Hortensius, who in those days held the first rank in eloquence—so dear a friend that it was uncertain which loved him the better, Cicero or Hortensius. He even accomplished the difficult task of preventing any ill-feeling between those rivals for a position of such glory,[3] and was the bond of union between those great men.

6. In public life he so conducted himself as always

[2] On his way to the ship.
[3] That is, the first rank in eloquence.

rum partium et esset et existimaretur, neque tamen se civilibus fluctibus committeret, quod non magis eos in sua potestate existimabat esse qui se his
2 dedissent, quam qui maritimis iactarentur. Honores non petiit, cum ei paterent propter vel gratiam vel dignitatem, quod neque peti more maiorum neque capi possent, conservatis legibus, in tam effusi ambitus largitionibus neque geri[1] e re publica sine
3 periculo corruptis civitatis moribus. Ad hastam publicam numquam accessit. Nullius rei neque praes neque manceps factus est. Neminem neque suo nomine neque subscribens accusavit, in ius de
4 sua re numquam iit, iudicium nullum habuit. Multorum consulum praetorumque praefecturas delatas sic accepit, ut neminem in provinciam sit secutus, honore fuerit contentus, rei familiaris despexerit fructum; qui ne cum Q. quidem Cicerone voluerit ire in Asiam, cum apud eum legati locum obtinere posset. Non enim decere se arbitrabatur, cum praeturam gerere noluisset, adsecIam esse praetoris.
5 Qua in re non solum dignitati serviebat, sed etiam tranquillitati, cum suspiciones quoque vitaret criminum. Quo fiebat ut eius observantia omnibus esset

[1] geri, *added by Lambin.*

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[1] *Optimarum partium* is equivalent to *optimatium partium*, the self-applied designation of the senatorial party.

[2] The *hasta publica* was a spear set up to announce the sale of booty taken in war. Then it came to denote a public auction of any kind.

[3] That is, he took no part in the farming of the revenues, either as a principal (*manceps*) or as a surety or bondsman (*praes*); the latter shared in the profits.

[4] These were positions of the third rank under governors of provinces, the second rank being that of the *legatus*. They

to be, and to be regarded as being, on the side of the best men,[1] yet he did not trust himself to the waves of civic strife, since he thought that those who had delivered themselves up to them had no more control of themselves than those who were tossed on the billows of the sea. He did not seek offices, although they were open to him either through influence or merit, because they could not be canvassed for in the traditional way, nor gained amid such unlimited bribery and corruption without violence to the laws, nor administered to the advantage of the state without risk in so debauched a condition of public morals. He was never present at an auction sale of confiscated property.[2] He never acted as a public contractor or a surety.[3] He accused no one either in his own name or in partnership with another. He never went to law about his own property, he never acted as judge. He accepted the prefectures[4] offered him by numerous consuls and praetors on the condition that he should accompany no one to his province, being content with the honour and disdaining to increase his means. He would not even consent to go with Quintus Cicero[5] to Asia, although he might have had the post of his lieutenant-governor. For he did not think it becoming, after having declined a praetorship, to become the attendant of a praetor. In so acting he had an eye, not only to his dignity, but to his peace of mind as well, since he thus avoided even the suspicion of wrong-doing.[6] The result was that his attentions were more highly valued by all, since

61 B.C.

were commonly held by Roman knights and offered numerous opportunities for personal profit.

[5] He was propraeter in 61 B.C.

[6] That is, of maladministration in the provinces.

carior, cum eam officio, non timori neque spei tribui viderent.

7. Incidit Caesarianum civile bellum. Cum haberet annos circiter sexaginta, usus est aetatis vacatione neque se quoquam movit ex urbe. Quae amicis suis opus fuerant ad Pompeium proficiscentibus, omnia ex sua re familiari dedit, ipsum Pompeium coniunc-
2 tum non offendit. Nullum ab eo habebat ornamentum, ut ceteri, qui per eum aut honores aut divitias ceperant; quorum partim invitissimi castra sunt secuti, partim summa cum eius offensione domi
3 remanserunt. Attici autem quies tanto opere Caesari fuit grata, ut victor, cum privatis pecunias per epistulas imperaret, huic non solum molestus non fuerit, sed etiam sororis filium et Q. Ciceronem ex Pompei castris concesserit. Sic vetere instituto vitae effugit nova pericula.

8. Secutum est illud tempus,[1] occiso Caesare, quo[2] res publica penes Brutos videretur esse et Cassium
2 ac tota civitas se ad eos convertisse videretur. Sic M. Bruto usus est, ut nullo ille adulescens aequali familiarius quam hoc sene, neque solum eum princi-
3 pem consilii haberet, sed etiam in convictu. Excogitatum est a quibusdam, ut privatum aerarium Caesaris interfectoribus ab equitibus Romanis constitueretur. Id facile effici posse arbitrati sunt, si[3] principes eius ordinis pecunias contulissent. Itaque

[1] illud tempus, *Cod. Mon.* 433; tempus *omitted by* *A B H R θ λ*.
[2] quando, *R*; quom, *Fleck.*
[3] si, *Nipp.*; si et, *MSS.*

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[1] That is, he remained neutral.
[2] Namely, Marcus and Decimus Brutus.

they saw that they were inspired by a desire to be of service and not by fear or hope.

7. Caesar's civil war broke out when Atticus was about sixty years old. He took advantage of the exemption due his years and did not stir from the city. Whatever his friends needed when they went out to join Pompey he supplied from his own means, and he escaped giving offence to Pompey himself.[1] He had no emolument at his friend's hands, as the rest had who through him had gained either offices or riches, some of whom joined his army most reluctantly, while others bitterly offended him by remaining at home. Moreover, Atticus' neutrality so gratified Caesar, that after his victory, when he made written demand of contributions from private citizens, he not only caused Atticus no trouble, but even granted to his entreaties the pardon of his nephew and of Quintus Cicero, who were in Pompey's camp. Thus by the long-standing policy of his life he avoided the new dangers. 49 B.C.

8. There followed that period after the death of Caesar, when the government was apparently in the hands of the Brutuses[2] and Cassius, and all the state seemed to have espoused their cause. Atticus' relations with Marcus Brutus were such, that there were none of his own age with whom the younger man was more intimate than with the old knight,[3] whom he made, not only his chief adviser, but also his boon companion. Certain men had formed the plan of making up a private fund for the assassins of Caesar through the Roman knights. They thought that their purpose could easily be effected, if the leading men of that order would contribute. Accordingly, 44 B.C.

[3] Brutus was thirty-four, and Atticus was thirty-one years his senior.

appellatus est a C. Flavio, Bruti familiari, Atticus,
4 ut eius rei princeps esse vellet. At ille, qui officia amicis praestanda sine factione existimaret semperque a talibus se consiliis removisset, respondit: si quid Brutus de suis facultatibus uti voluisset, usurum quantum eae paterentur, sed neque cum quoquam de ea re collocuturum neque coiturum. Sic ille consensionis globus huius unius dissensione disiectus est.

5 Neque multo post superior esse coepit Antonius, ita ut Brutus et Cassius destituta tutela[1] provinciarum, quae iis dicis[2] causa datae erant a consule, desperatis rebus, in exsilium proficiscerentur; neque eo magis potenti adulatus est Antonio neque
6 desperatos reliquit.[3] Atticus, qui pecuniam simul cum ceteris conferre noluerat florenti illi parti, abiecto Bruto Italiaque cedenti HS[4] centum milia muneri misit. Eidem in Epiro absens trecenta iussit dari.

9. Secutum est bellum gestum apud Mutinam. In quo si tantum eum prudentem dicam, minus quam debeam praedicem, cum ille potius divinus

[1] destituta tutela, *H*; *the other MSS. omit*; omissa cura, *Halm.*

[2] dicis, *Cuiacius*; necis, *MSS.*

[3] neque . . . reliquit, *transposed by Guill.*; *after* dari, *MSS.*

[4] HS, *Lambin*; sextertia (-cia), *MSS.*

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[1] *Provinciarum* here has the meaning of "spheres of duty"; Brutus was to send grain to Rome from Asia, Cassius from Sicily.

[2] They had left Rome through fear of Caesar's veterans, although as praetors it was unlawful for them to be absent

Gaius Flavius, a friend of Brutus, appealed to Atticus to consent to take the initiative in the enterprise. He, however, thinking that he ought to render service to his friends, but not join parties, and having consistently held aloof from such measures, replied that if Brutus wished to make any use of his means, he might do so to the limit of his resources, but that he would neither confer with anyone on the subject nor meet with anyone. Thus the unanimity of that clique was broken by the disagreement of this one man.

Not long after that, Antony began to gain the upper hand, to such a degree that Brutus and Cassius ceased to perform the duties[1] which had been assigned them as a pretext[2] by the consul, and in utter despair went into exile.[3] But Atticus did not the more on that account flatter the power of Antony or abandon the lost cause. In fact, the man who had declined to join with the rest in contributing money when the party was prosperous, after Brutus had fallen from power and was leaving Italy sent him a gift of a hundred thousand sesterces; and again, when Brutus was in Epirus,[4] he sent orders from Rome that three hundred thousand more be given to the regicide.

9. After that came the war at Mutina. In the course of which if I were merely to say that he showed foresight, I should give him less credit than I ought, since it was more properly divination, if the term 43 B.C.

from the city for more than ten days. To conceal the real reason for their departure, Antony had given them the charge mentioned in note 1.

[3] That was their version of their action; in reality, they took possession of Syria and Macedonia, which had been assigned them as provinces by Caesar, and prepared for war.

[4] Atticus had a large estate in Epirus; see 14. 3.

fuerit, si divinatio appellanda est perpetua naturalis bonitas, quae nullis casibus agitur neque minuitur.
2 Hostis Antonius iudicatus Italia cesserat; spes restituendi nulla erat. Non solum inimici, qui tum erant potentissimi et plurimi, sed etiam qui adversariis eius se dabant et in eo laedendo aliquam consecuturos sperabant commoditatem, Antonii familiares insequebantur, uxorem Fulviam omnibus rebus spoliare cupiebant, liberos etiam exstinguere parabant.
3 Atticus cum Ciceronis intima familiaritate uteretur, amicissimus esset Bruto, non modo nihil iis indulsit ad Antonium violandum, sed e contrario familiares eius ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit,
4 quibus rebus indiguerunt, adiuvit. P. vero Volumnio ea tribuit, ut plura a parente proficisci non potuerint. Ipsi autem Fulviae, cum litibus distineretur magnisque terroribus vexaretur, tanta diligentia officium suum praestitit, ut nullum illa stiterit vadimonium sine Attico, Atticus [1] sponsor omnium rerum fuerit.
5 Quin etiam, cum illa fundum secunda fortuna emisset in diem neque post calamitatem versuram facere potuisset, ille se interposuit pecuniamque sine faenore sineque ulla stipulatione credidit, maximum existimans quaestum memorem gratumque cognosci simulque aperiens [2] se non fortunae, sed hominibus solere esse amicum.
6 Quae cum faciebat, nemo cum temporis causa facere poterat existimare; nemini enim in opinionem
7 veniebat Antonium rerum potiturum. Sed sensim

[1] Atticus, *added by Lambin*; hic, *Bosius*.
[2] aperiens, *Hofman-Peerlkamp*; aperire, *MSS*.

[1] He went to join Lepidus in Cisalpine Gaul.

divination ought to be applied to an invariable natural goodness which is shaken or diminished by nothing that happens. When Antony was judged a public enemy and had left Italy,[1] no one expected to see his power restored. Not only his personal enemies, who were then very numerous and powerful, but also those who joined his opponents and hoped to gain some advantage by injuring him persecuted his friends, tried to rob his wife Fulvia of all her possessions, and were even preparing to destroy his children.

Although Atticus was very intimate with Cicero and a close friend of Brutus, so far was he from being induced to help them injure Antony, that on the contrary he protected the latter's friends as much as he could in their flight from the city, and gave them what help they required. To Publius Volumnius, indeed, he rendered as great service as could come from a parent. Further, to Fulvia herself, when she was distracted by lawsuits and tormented by great anxiety, he was so unremitting in his attentions, that she never appeared in court without Atticus, Atticus was her surety in all cases. Nay, more, when she had bought an estate in the time of her prosperity with a fixed date for payment, and after her reverses was unable to negotiate a loan, he came to the rescue and lent her the money without interest and without any contract, considering it the greatest profit to be known as mindful and grateful, and at the same time desiring to show that it was his way to be a friend to mankind and not to their fortunes.

In so doing he could not be suspected by anyone of being a time-server; for no one had any idea that Antony would regain his power. But gradually

is a nonnullis optimatibus reprehendebatur, quod parum odisse malos cives videretur. Ille autem, vir[1] sui iudicii, potius quid se facere par esset intuebatur quam quid alii laudaturi forent.

10. Conversa subito fortuna est. Ut Antonius rediit in Italiam, nemo non magno in periculo Atticum putarat propter intimam familiaritatem
2 Ciceronis et Bruti. Itaque ad adventum imperatorum de foro decesserat, timens proscriptionem, latebatque apud P. Volumnium, cui, ut ostendimus, paulo ante opem tulerat—tanta varietas iis temporibus fuit fortunae, ut modo hi, modo illi in summo essent aut fastigio aut periculo—habebatque secum Q. Gellium Canum, aequalem simillimumque sui.
3 Hoc quoque sit Attici bonitatis exemplum, quod cum eo, quem puerum in ludo cognorat, adeo coniuncte vixit, ut ad extremam aetatem amicitia eorum creverit.

4 Antonius autem, etsi tanto odio ferebatur in Ciceronem, ut non solum ei, sed etiam omnibus eius amicis esset inimicus eosque vellet proscribere, multis hortantibus, tamen Attici memor fuit officii, et ei, cum requisisset ubinam esset, sua manu scripsit, ne timeret statimque ad se veniret: se eum et illius causa[2] Canum de proscriptorum
5 numero exemisse. Ac ne quod periculum incideret,

[1] vir, *addidi, but cf. Suet. Tib.* 18. 1.
[2] illius causa, *Mon.* 433; illius *omitted by R*; causa, *by most MSS.*

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[1] The opposite of *boni* (*cives*) (cf. note 1, p. 662) from the point of view of the *optimates*.
[2] See 9. 3–5.

criticism of him arose from some of the aristocrats, because in their opinion he was not sufficiently hostile to bad citizens.[1] But Atticus, being a man of independent judgment, had an eye rather to what it was right for him to do than to what others were likely to commend.

10. There came a sudden change of fortune. Antony returned to Italy, and there was no one but thought that Atticus was in extreme danger because of his intimacy with Cicero and Brutus. Therefore, on the eve of the arrival of the triumvirs he had retired from public life, fearing proscription, and was in hiding at the house of Publius Volumnius, to whom, as I have stated, he had shortly before rendered aid—such were the changes of fortune in those times that now these, now those, were at the summit of power or the extremity of danger—and he had with him Quintus Gellius Canus, a man of his own age and of very similar opinions. This too is an indication of Atticus' good-heartedness, that he lived in such harmony with this man, whom he had known as a boy in school, that their friendship increased constantly up to extreme old age.

Antony felt such hatred of Cicero that he was the personal enemy, not only of the orator himself, but of all his friends, and desired to proscribe them—a course to which many urged him. But nevertheless he was mindful of the services rendered him by Atticus.[2] Therefore, when he learned where Atticus was, he wrote to him with his own hand, telling him not to be afraid but to come to him at once; that he had erased his name, and for his sake that of Canus, from the list of the proscribed. And that no danger might befall him—for this happened

quod noctu fiebat, praesidium ei misit. Sic Atticus in summo timore non solum sibi, sed etiam ei quem carissimum habebat praesidio fuit. Neque enim suae solum a quoquam auxilium petit salutis,[1] ut appareret nullam seiunctam sibi ab eo velle fortunam.
6 Quod si gubernator praecipua laude effertur,[2] qui navem ex hieme marique scopuloso servat, cur non singularis eius existimetur prudentia qui ex tot tamque gravibus procellis civilibus ad incolumitatem pervenit?

11. Quibus ex malis ut se emersit, nihil aliud egit quam ut quam[3] plurimis, quibus rebus posset, esset auxilio. Cum proscriptos praemiis imperatorum vulgus conquireret, nemo in Epirum venit cui res ulla defuerit, nemini non ibi perpetuo manendi
2 potestas facta est; quin etiam post proelium Philippense interitumque C. Cassii et M. Bruti L. Iulium Mocillam praetorium et filium eius Aulumque Torquatum ceterosque pari fortuna perculsos instituit[4] tueri atque ex Epiro iis omnia Samothraciam supportari iussit.[5] Difficile est omnia persequi et
3 non necessarium. Illud unum intellegi volumus, illius liberalitatem neque temporariam neque calli-
4 dam fuisse. Id ex ipsis rebus ac temporibus iudicari potest, quod non florentibus se venditavit, sed afflictis semper succurrit; qui quidem Serviliam,

[1] *After* salutis *the MSS. have* sed coniuncti, *which was deleted by Vielhaber*; neque . . . coniuncti, *deleted by Eberhard.*

[2] effertur, *Eussner*; fertur, *MSS.*

[3] quam, *added by Grasberger.*

[4] instituit, *Lambin*; instituerit, *MSS.*

[5] iussit, *Lambin*; iusserit, *MSS.*

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[1] See note on 8. 6 (p. 667).

at night—he sent him an escort. Thus it was that Atticus in a time of extreme anxiety saved not only himself but also his dearest friend. For he did not seek aid from anyone for his own safety alone, thus making it clear that he desired no good fortune that was not shared by his friend. But if that pilot is extolled with the highest praise who saves his ship from the storm in a rock-strewn sea, why should not that man's skill be regarded as without parallel, who from such numerous and terrible civil tempests comes safe into port?

11. Once escaped from those evils, Atticus' sole effort was to help as many as possible in whatever manner he could. At a time when the rewards offered by the triumvirs caused a general hounding of the proscribed, no one came to Epirus [1] who did not get everything that he needed, no one who was not given the opportunity of living there permanently. Nay, more, after the battle of Philippi and the death 42 B.C. of Gaius Cassius and Marcus Brutus he undertook to protect the ex-praetor Lucius Julius Mocilla and his son, as well as Aulus Torquatus and the other victims of the same ill-fortune, ordering that all that they needed should be sent for them from Epirus to Samothrace. It is difficult to enumerate everything, and needless besides. This one thing I wish to make clear, that his generosity was neither time-serving nor calculated.[2] This may be inferred from the circumstances themselves and from the times, because he never bought the favour of those in power, but always succoured the afflicted; for example, he showed no less regard to Servilia, the

[2] Here, as elsewhere, Nepos gives Atticus too much credit. The keynote of his character appears in 6. 5, *tranquillitati serviebat.*

Bruti matrem, non minus post mortem eius quam florentem coluerit.

5 Sic liberalitate utens nullas inimicitias gessit, quod neque laedebat quemquam, neque, si quam iniuriam acceperat, non malebat oblivisci quam ulcisci. Idem immortali memoria percepta retinebat beneficia; quae autem ipse tribuerat, tam diu meminerat quoad ille gratus erat qui acceperat.

6 Itaque hic fecit ut vere dictum videatur:

Sui cuíque mores fíngunt fortunam hóminibus.

Neque tamen ille prius fortunam quam se ipse finxit, qui cavit ne qua in re iure plecteretur.

12. His igitur rebus effecit ut M. Vipsanius Agrippa, intima familiaritate coniunctus adulescenti Caesari, cum propter suam gratiam et Caesaris potentiam nullius condicionis non haberet potestatem, potissimum eius deligeret adfinitatem praeoptaretque equitis Romani filiam generosarum

2 nuptiis. Atque harum nuptiarum conciliator fuit —non est enim celandum—M. Antonius, triumvir rei publicae constituendae.[1] Cuius gratia cum augere possessiones posset suas, tantum afuit a cupiditate pecuniae, ut nulla in re usus sit ea, nisi in deprecandis amicorum aut periculis aut incommodis.

3 Quod quidem sub ipsa proscriptione perillustre fuit. Nam cum L. Saufei equitis Romani, aequalis

[1] constituendae, *added by Lambin.*

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[1] The author of this iambic senarius is unknown; it is attributed by Cicero (*Parad.* v. 34) to *sapiens poeta.*

[2] Octavian, the future emperor Augustus.

mother of Brutus, after her son's death than at the height of her prosperity.

Practising generosity in that way, he made no enemies; for he never wronged anyone, and if he had suffered any injury, he preferred to forget it rather than take vengeance. He had besides an unfailing memory for kindnesses received; but as for those which he himself bestowed, he remembered them only so long as the recipient was grateful. Thus he showed the truth of the adage :

'Tis each man's character his fortune makes.[1]

And yet, before fashioning his fortune, Atticus so fashioned his character as to make it impossible for him ever to be injured justly.

12. It was by such conduct, then, that he led Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, the intimate friend of the young Caesar,[2] although through his own influential position and the power of Caesar he might have made any match he desired, to choose an alliance by marriage with the family of Atticus, and prefer the daughter of a Roman knight to women of noble birth. And the one who arranged the marriage (we must admit it)[3] was Marcus Antonius, one of the triumvirs for reorganizing the government; but although Antony's influence might have increased his possessions, Atticus was so far from desiring money, that he never resorted to that influence except to save his friends from danger or annoyance.

This, in fact, was clearly evident at the very time of the proscriptions. For example, Lucius Saufeius, 43 B.C.

[3] This apologetic remark is due to the fact that when Nepos wrote, Octavian and Antony were at odds; the marriage was probably arranged in 37 B.C.

sui, qui complures annos, studio ductus philosophiae, Athenis habitabat habebatque in Italia pretiosas possessiones, triumviri bona vendidissent consuetudine ea qua tum res gerebantur, Attici labore atque industria factum est ut eodem nuntio Saufeius fieret certior se patrimonium amisisse et recuperasse.
4 Idem L. Iulium Calidum, quem post Lucretii Catullique mortem multo elegantissimum poetam nostram tulisse aetatem vere videor posse contendere, neque minus virum bonum optimisque artibus eruditum; quem post proscriptionem equitum propter magnas eius Africanas possessiones in proscriptorum numerum a P. Volumnio, praefecto fabrum Antonii, absentem
5 relatum expedivit. Quod in praesenti utrum ei laboriosius an gloriosius fuerit, difficile est [2] iudicare, quod in eorum periculis non secus absentes quam praesentes amicos Attico esse curae cognitum est.

13. Neque vero ille vir minus bonus pater familias habitus est quam civis; nam cum esset pecuniosus, nemo illo minus fuit emax, minus aedificator. Neque tamen non in primis bene habitavit omnibusque
2 optimis rebus usus est; nam domum habuit in colle Quirinali Tamphilianam, ab avunculo hereditate relictam, cuius amoenitas non aedificio, sed silva constabat—ipsum enim tectum antiquitus constitutum plus salis quam sumptus habebat—in quo

[1] est, *Fleck.*; fuit, *MSS.*

[1] The tenses in 13–18 indicate that those chapters were revised in Nepos' second edition.

a Roman knight of the same age as Atticus, who because of his devotion to philosophy had lived for several years in Athens, had valuable possessions in Italy. When the triumvirs sold his property, after the manner in which things were done at that time, it was due to the efforts and energy of Atticus that the same messenger brought Saufeius news of the loss of his property and of its recovery. He was equally helpful to Lucius Julius Calidus, who since the death of Lucretius and Catullus is, I think I may truly say, by far the most graceful poet that our age has produced, in addition to being a good man and endowed with the highest culture. This Calidus, after the proscription of the knights was completed, because of his extensive possessions in Africa was added to the list by Publius Volumnius, Antony's chief of engineers, although he was out of the country; but he was saved by Atticus. Whether this conduct caused Atticus more trouble at the moment or gave him greater glory, it is not easy to decide, since at the time of the perils of these men it became known that his friends, whether present or absent, were the object of his care.

13. And indeed this great man was considered [1] to be as good as head of a family as he was as a citizen. For although he had an abundance of money, no one was less inclined to excess in buying or in building. At the same time, he had as fine a dwelling as anyone, and he enjoyed the best of everything. He had his home on the Quirinal in the villa built by Tamphilus, which was left him in his uncle's will, the charm of which consisted less in its construction than in its park; for the building itself was put up in early times and was rather tasteful than costly.

nihil commutavit, nisi si quid vetustate coactus est.
3 Usus est familia, si utilitate iudicandum est, optima; si forma, vix mediocri. Namque in ea erant pueri litteratissimi, anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii, ut ne pedisequus quidem quisquam esset qui non utrumque horum pulchre facere posset; pari modo artifices ceteri, quos cultus domesticus desiderat,
4 apprime boni. Neque tamen horum quemquam nisi domi natum domique factum habuit; quod est signum non solum continentiae, sed etiam diligentiae. Nam et non intemperanter concupiscere quod a plurimis videas continentis debet duci, et potius industria[1] quam pretio parare non mediocris est
5 diligentiae. Elegans, non magnificus, splendidus, non sumptuosus; omnisque diligentia munditiam, non adfluentiam adfectabat. Supellex modica, non multa, ut in neutram partem conspici posset.
6 Nec praeteribo, quamquam nonnullis leve visum iri putem, cum in primis lautus esset eques Romanus et non parum liberaliter domum suam omnium ordinum homines invitaret, scimus non amplius quam terna milia[2] peraeque in singulos menses ex ephe-
7 meride eum expensum sumptui ferre solitum. Atque hoc non auditum, sed cognitum praedicamus; saepe enim propter familiaritatem domesticis rebus interfuimus.

14. Nemo in convivio eius aliud acroama audivit quam anagnosten, quod nos quidem iucundissimum

[1] industria . . . diligentiae, *Nipp.*; diligentia . . . industriae, *MSS.*

[2] milia aeris, *MSS.*; aeris *omitted by Manutius.*

But he made no changes in it, except such as lapse of time compelled. He had slaves that were excellent in point of efficiency, although in personal appearance hardly mediocre; for there were among them servants who were highly educated, some excellent readers and a great number of copyists; in fact, there was not even a footman who was not expert in both those accomplishments. In the same way, the other artisans required by the management of a house were of first-rate quality. In spite of this, however, he possessed no slave who was not born in his house and trained at home, which is a sign, not only of his self-control, but also of his spirit of economy. For not to desire immoderately what you see coveted by many ought to be considered a mark of self-control, and to acquire property by labour rather than by money is a token of no slight regard for economy. He was tasteful rather than magnificent, distinguished rather than extravagant; and all his efforts were in the direction of elegance, not of excess. His furniture was modest, not abundant, so that it attracted attention in neither direction.

I shall not pass over the fact, although I suppose that some will regard it as trivial, that although he was one of the richest of the Roman knights, and with no little generosity invited to his house men of all ranks, we know from the entries in his day-book that he consistently limited his expenses to not more than three thousand sesterces each month. And this I state not from hearsay, but from actual knowledge; for because of our intimacy I was often familiar with the details of his domestic life.

14. No one at a dinner-party of his heard anything but a reader, which is the most agreeable form

arbitramur; neque umquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum cenatum est, ut non minus animo quam
2 ventre convivae delectarentur. Namque eos vocabat, quorum mores a suis non abhorrerent. Cum tanta pecuniae facta esset accessio, nihil de cottidiano cultu mutavit, nihil de vitae consuetudine, tantaque usus est moderatione ut neque in sestertio viciens, quod a patre acceperat, parum se splendide gesserit neque in sestertio centiens adfluentius vixerit, quam instituerat, parique fastigio steterit in utraque
3 fortuna. Nullos habuit hortos, nullam suburbanam aut maritimam sumptuosam villam, neque in Italia, praeter Arretinum et Nomentanum, rusticum praedium, omnisque eius pecuniae reditus constabat in Epiroticis et urbanis possessionibus. Ex quo cognosci potest usum eum pecuniae non magnitudine, sed ratione metiri solitum.

15. Mendacium neque dicebat neque pati poterat. Itaque eius comitas non sine severitate erat neque gravitas sine facilitate, ut difficile esset intellectu utrum eum amici magis vererentur an amarent. Quidquid rogabatur, religiose promittebat, quod non liberalis, sed levis arbitrabatur polliceri quod
2 praestare non possent. Idem in nitendo quod semel adnuisset tanta erat cura, ut non mandatam, sed suam rem videretur agere. Numquam suscepti negotii eum pertaesum est; suam enim existimationem in ea re agi putabat, qua nihil habebat

[1] By the inheritance from his uncle; see 5. 2.
[2] He did, however, have a villa, as we see from Cicero, *ad Att.* xii. 36. 2 and elsewhere.

of entertainment, at least in my opinion; and dinner was never served at his house without reading of some kind, so that his guests enjoyed the gratification of the mind as well as of the appetite. For he invited those whose tastes did not differ from his own. When that great addition was made to his fortune,[1] he made no change in his daily habits, none in his manner of life; in fact, he showed such moderation that he did not live without distinction on the two million sesterces which he received from his father, nor on ten millions more extravagantly than before; but he maintained the same elevation with both fortunes. He had no gardens, no expensive villa[2] in the suburbs or on the sea, no country estates in Italy except his properties at Arretium and Nomentum; all his income came from his possessions in Epirus and in the city of Rome. From this it can be seen that it was his habit to regulate his expenses, not by the amount of his wealth, but by reason.

15. He never lied, nor could he tolerate falsehood. Hence his affability was tempered with austerity and his dignity by good-nature, so that it was difficult to know whether his friends felt for him greater love or respect. Whenever anything was requested of him, he was circumspect in promising, because he thought that to make a promise that one could not keep was a mark of weakness rather than of generosity. He was also so careful in endeavouring to carry through what he had once consented to undertake, that he seemed to be attending, not to another's commission, but to an affair of his own. He never wearied of an enterprise which he had once undertaken; for he thought that his own reputation was involved, and there was nothing that he held dearer.

3 carius. Quo fiebat ut omnia Ciceronum, Catonis Marci, Q. Hortensii, Auli Torquati, multorum praeterea equitum Romanorum negotia procuraret. Ex quo iudicari poterat non inertia, sed iudicio fugisse rei publicae procurationem.

16. Humanitatis vero nullum adferre maius testimonium possum, quam quod adulescens idem seni Sullae fuit[1] iucundissimus, senex adulescenti M. Bruto, cum aequalibus autem suis Q. Hortensio et M. Cicerone sic vixit,[2] ut iudicare difficile sit cui
2 aetati fuerit aptissimus. Quamquam eum praecipue dilexit Cicero, ut ne frater quidem ei Quintus carior
3 fuerit aut familiarior. Ei rei sunt indicio praeter eos libros in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus sunt editi, XVI[3] volumina epistularum, ab consulatu eius usque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum missarum; quae qui legat non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum.
4 Sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, mutationibus rei publicae perscripta sunt, ut nihil in iis non appareat et facile existimari possit prudentiam quodam modo esse divinationem. Non enim Cicero ea solum quae vivo se acciderunt futura praedixit, sed etiam quae nunc usu veniunt cecinit ut vates.

17. De pietate autem Attici quid plura commemorem? Cum hoc ipsum vere gloriantem audie-

[1] fuit, *Fleck.*; fuerit, *MSS.*
[2] vixit, *Fleck.*; vixerit *MSS.*
[3] XVI, *Aldus*; XI, *MSS.*

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[1] Cato Uticensis, great-grandson of Cato the Censor. The inversion of the names is unusual, but not unexampled. Nepos seems to have tried to vary the forms of the names in this list—if the text is sound.

Hence it was that he managed all the business affairs of the Ciceros, of Marcus Cato,[1] of Quintus Hortensius, of Aulus Torquatus, and of many Roman knights besides; and from this it may be judged that it was not from indolence, but from conviction that he held aloof from affairs of state.

16. To his amiability I can bring no stronger testimony than to say that when he was a young man he was greatly beloved by the aged Sulla, and when he was old, by the young Marcus Brutus; and with the men of his own age, Quintus Hortensius and Marcus Cicero, his relations were such that it is difficult to determine with what time of life he was most congenial. And yet it was Cicero who loved him more than all others, so much so that not even his brother Quintus was dearer to the orator or more intimate. This is shown, not only by those published works in which Cicero mentions him, but also by the sixteen volumes of letters sent to Atticus from the time of his consulship to the end of his life.[2] One who reads these does not feel great need of a connected history of those times; for such complete details are given of the rivalry of the chief men, the faults of the leaders, the changes of government, that there is nothing that they do not make clear, and it may readily appear that Cicero's foresight was almost divination. For he not only predicted the events that actually happened during his lifetime, but, like a seer, foretold those which are now being experienced.[3]

17. Why should I say more about Atticus' devotion to his family than this? He himself, in my hearing,

[2] Really, from 68 B.C., five years after the consulship, to 44 B.C., the year before Cicero's death.

[3] This, like many of Nepos' statements, is exaggerated.

rim in funere matris suae, quam extulit annorum XC, cum esset [1] VII et LX, se numquam cum matre in gratiam redisse, numquam cum sorore fuisse in
2 simultate, quam prope aequalem habebat. Quod est signum aut nullam umquam inter eos querimoniam intercessisse, aut hunc ea fuisse in suos indulgentia, ut, quos amare deberet, irasci iis nefas
3 duceret. Neque id fecit natura solum, quamquam omnes ei paremus, sed etiam doctrina; nam principum philosophorum ita percepta habuit praecepta, ut iis ad vitam agendam, non ad ostentationem uteretur.

18. Moris etiam maiorum summus imitator fuit antiquitatisque amator, quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine exposuerit
2 quo magistratus ordinavit.[2] Nulla enim lex neque pax neque bellum neque res illustris est populi Romani, quae non in eo suo tempore sit notata, et, quod difficillimum fuit, sic familiarum originem subtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines
3 possimus cognoscere. Fecit hoc idem separatim in aliis libris, ut M. Bruti rogatu Iuniam familiam a stirpe ad hanc aetatem ordine enumeraverit, notans qui [3] a quoque ortus, quos honores quibusque
4 temporibus cepisset; pari modo Marcelli Claudii de Marcellorum, Scipionis Cornelii et Fabii Maximi

[1] cum ipse esset, *Dietsch.*
[2] ordinavit, *J. G. Voss*; ornavit, *MSS.*
[3] quis, *Wölfflin*; *but cf. xvii.* 1. 3 (*Nipp.-W.*).

[1] This is the work referred to in xxiii. 13. 1, *in suo Annali.* It was published in 47 B.C. It gave a history of Rome, probably to 49 B.C., with the names of the curule magistrates of each year.

justly prided himself at the funeral of his mother, whom he buried at the age of ninety, being himself sixty-seven, that he had never had occasion to seek a reconciliation with his mother, and had never quarrelled with his sister, who was about his own age. That is an indication either that no cause of complaint ever arose among them, or else that he was so indulgent towards them as to think it impious to get angry with those whom it was his duty to love. And this conduct was due, not only to Nature, although we all obey her, but also to training; for he had so thoroughly mastered the precepts of the great philosophers, that he made use of them in the conduct of his life and not merely for display.

18. He was a great imitator of the customs of the men of old and a lover of the early times, of which he had such a thorough knowledge that he gave a full account of them in the work in which he set down the chronological order of the magistrates.[1] For there is no law, no treaty of peace, no war, no illustrious deed of the Roman people, which is not mentioned in that work at its proper date, and—a most difficult task—he has so worked out the genealogies of the families, that from it we can learn the descendants of our famous men. He has treated this same subject by itself in other books; for example, at the request of Marcus Brutus he gave an account of the Junii in order, from their origin down to our own time, noting the parentage of each member of the family and the offices which he had held, with their dates. He did the same at the request of Claudius Marcellus for the Marcelli, at that of Cornelius Scipio[2] and

[2] Scipio Africanus the younger, who was an Aemilius adopted by a Scipio.

Fabiorum et Aemiliorum. Quibus libris nihil potest esse dulcius iis qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiae clarorum virorum.

5 Attigit quoque poeticen, credimus, ne eius expers esset suavitatis. Namque versibus[1] qui honore rerumque gestarum amplitudine ceteros populi
6 Romani praestiterunt exposuit ita, ut sub singulorum imaginibus facta magistratusque eorum non amplius quaternis quinisque[2] versibus descripserit; quod vix credendum sit tantas res tam breviter potuisse declarari. Est etiam unus liber Graece confectus, de consulatu Ciceronis.

19. Hactenus Attico vivo edita a nobis sunt. Nunc, quoniam fortuna nos superstites ei esse voluit, reliqua persequemur et, quantum potuerimus, rerum exemplis lectores docebimus, sicut supra significavimus, suos cuique mores plerumque conciliare
2 fortunam. Namque hic, contentus ordine equestri quo erat ortus, in adfinitatem pervenit imperatoris, Divi filii, cum iam ante familiaritatem eius esset consecutus nulla alia re quam elegantia vitae, qua ceteros ceperat principes civitatis dignitate pari,
3 fortuna humiliores. Tanta enim prosperitas Caesarem est consecuta, ut nihil ei non tribuerit fortuna quod cuiquam ante detulerit, et conciliarit quod
4 nemo adhuc civis Romanus quivit consequi. Nata

[1] namque de viris, *Halm*; namque versibus de iis, *Nipp.*
[2] quinisve, *Bosius.*

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[1] The *Imagines* of Varro was a similar work, and the so-called epitaphs in Gellius i. 24 are believed by some to have come from Varro's book. At any rate, these and the epitaphs of the Scipios give an idea of what could be said of a man in four or five lines.

Fabius Maximus for the Fabii and the Aemilii. There can be no more agreeable reading than these books for those who have any desire to know the history of distinguished men.

He also dipped into poetry; in order, I suppose, to have a taste of its charm. For he celebrated in verse those men who in distinction and in the greatness of their exploits surpassed the rest of the Roman people, recording under the portrait of each of them his deeds and his honours in not more than four or five verses; this he did so well that it could hardly be believed that such important events could be described so briefly.[1] There is also a single book of his written in Greek, on Cicero's consulship.

19. Here ends what I wrote during the lifetime of Atticus.[2] Now, since it was Fortune's decree that I should survive him, I will finish the account, and so far as I can, will show my readers by examples that as a rule—as I indicated above [3]—it is the character of every man that determines his fortune. Thus, although Atticus was content with the equestrian rank to which he was born, he attained relationship by marriage with the emperor, son of the deified Julius, after having previously won his friendship through no other cause than the refinement of his life, by which he had charmed other great men, of equal worth but of less lofty estate. For such prosperity attended Caesar, that Fortune refused him nothing which she had conferred on anyone else and granted him what up to our time no other Roman citizen has been able to gain. Furthermore, Atticus

[2] Chapters 19 and 20 were added in the second edition; see Introd. p. 361.

[3] See 11. 6.

est autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa, cui virginem filiam conlocarat. Hanc Caesar vix anniculam Ti. Claudio Neroni, Drusilla nato, privigno suo, despondit; quae coniunctio necessitudinem eorum sanxit, familiaritatem reddidit frequentiorem.

20. Quamvis ante haec sponsalia non solum cum ab urbe abesset, numquam ad suorum quemquam litteras misit quin Attico scriberet quid ageret, in primis quid legeret quibusque in locis et quam diu
2 esset moraturus, sed etiam cum esset in urbe et propter infinitas suas occupationes minus saepe quam vellet Attico frueretur, nullus dies temere intercessit[1] quo non ad eum scriberet, cum modo aliquid de antiquitate ab eo requireret, cum modo[2] aliquam quaestionem poeticam ei proponeret, interdum
3 iocans eius verbosiores eliceret epistulas. Ex quo accidit, cum aedis Iovis Feretrii in Capitolio, ab Romulo constituta, vetustate atque incuria detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu Caesar eam reficien-
4 dam curaret. Neque vero a M. Antonio minus absens litteris colebatur, adeo ut accurate ille ex ultumis terris[3] quid ageret curae sibi haberet
5 certiorem facere Atticum. Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is qui iudicare poterit quantae sit sapientiae eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non solum aemulatio, sed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantam fuit intercedere[4] necesse inter Caesarem atque Antonium,

[1] intercessit, *Lambin and Cod. Schotti*; intercesserit, *the other MSS.*

[2] cum modo, *Leid.*; quo mo, *A*; quo non, *the other MSS.*

[3] ex ultumis (ultimis, *Roth*) terris, *Aldus*; exul tum (cum, *B H*) his terris, *A B H*; exul cum litteris, *F R.*

had a grand-daughter by Agrippa, to whom he had united his daughter in her first marriage. This grand-daughter, when she was barely a year old, Caesar betrothed to his stepson Tiberius Claudius Nero, son of Drusilla, a union which sealed the friendship of the ruler with Atticus and made their intercourse more frequent.

20. Even before this betrothal, when Octavian was absent from the city, he never sent a letter to any one of his friends without letting Atticus know what he was doing, in particular what he was reading, where he was going, and how long he intended to stay; and even when he was in Rome, but because of his countless engagements could not enjoy Atticus' society as often as he wished, hardly even a single day passed that he did not write to him, now asking some question about ancient history, now putting before him some difficult passage in the poets, sometimes in jesting fashion trying to induce him to write longer letters. It was owing to that intimacy that when the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which had been built on the Capitol by Romulus, through lapse of time and neglect was without a roof, and was falling into ruin, Caesar was led by Atticus' advice to have it restored. Mark Antony too, although far away, carried on a correspondence with Atticus, and even took pains to send him word from the ends of the earth of what he was doing. What this means will more easily be understood by one who can judge how great tact it requires to retain the intimacy and good-will of men who were not only rivals in affairs of the greatest importance, but also such enemies as Caesar and Antony inevit-

[4] intercedere, *Aldus*; incidere, *MSS., omitted by Bosius.*

cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romae, sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet.

21. Tali modo cum VII et LXX annos complesset atque ad extremam senectutem non minus dignitate quam gratia fortunaque crevisset—multas enim hereditates nulla alia re quam bonitate consecutus est[1]—tantaque prosperitate usus esset[2] valetudinis, 2 ut annis triginta medicina non indiguisset, nactus est morbum, quem initio et ipse et medici contempserunt; nam putarunt esse tenesmon, cui 3 remedia celeria faciliaque proponebantur. In hoc cum tres menses sine ullis doloribus, praeterquam quos ex curatione capiebat consumpsisset, subito tanta vis morbi in imum[3] intestinum prorupit, ut extremo tempore per lumbos fistulae puris eruperint. 4 Atque hoc priusquam ei accideret, postquam in dies dolores accrescere febresque accessisse sensit, Agrippam generum ad se arcersi iussit et cum eo L. Cornelium Balbum Sextumque Peducaeum. 5 Hos ut venisse vidit, in cubitum innixus, "Quantam," inquit, "curam diligentiamque in valetudine mea tuenda hoc tempore adhibuerim, cum vos testes habeam, nihil necesse est pluribus verbis commemorare. Quibus quoniam, ut spero, satisfeci, me nihil reliqui fecisse quod ad sanandum me pertineret, reliquum est ut egomet mihi consulam. Id vos ignorare nolui; nam mihi stat alere morbum 6 desinere. Namque his diebus quidquid cibi sumpsi,

[1] est, *added by Fleckeisen, before* consecutus, *Lambin.*
[2] esset, *Lambin*; est, *MSS.*
[3] imum, *Ascensius*; unum, *MSS.*

ably became, when each desired to be the ruler, not only of the city of Rome, but of the whole world.

21. In this fashion Atticus completed seventy-seven years, and up to that advanced age increased in dignity, as well as in importance and fortune—for he acquired many inheritances through no other cause than his good qualities. He also enjoyed such excellent health that for thirty years he required no medical treatment. But just at that time he fell ill of a complaint of which at first both he himself and his physicians made light; for they thought it was a dysentery, for which speedy and easy remedies were usually available. When he had suffered from this trouble for three months without any pain except what was caused by his treatment, suddenly such a violent form of the disease attacked his rectum, that finally fistulas discharging pus broke out through the lower part of his back.

Even before this occurred, feeling a daily increase of pain attended with fever, he gave orders that his son-in-law Agrippa should be summoned, and with him Lucius Cornelius Balbus and Sextus Peducaeus. As soon as he saw that they had arrived, raising himself upon his elbow, he said: "How much care and attention I have devoted to trying to restore my health at this time, it is not necessary for me to tell you at more length, since you have been witnesses to my efforts. Having by these, as I hope, satisfied you that I have left nothing undone which would tend to restore me, it remains for me to consider my own welfare. I did not wish you to be ignorant of my purpose; for I am resolved to cease to nourish my malady. As a matter of fact, whatever food I have taken during these last days, by prolonging my

ita produxi vitam ut auxerim dolores sine spe salutis. Qua re a vobis peto, primum ut consilium probetis meum, deinde ne frustra dehortando impedire conemini."

22. Hac oratione habita, tanta constantia vocis atque vultus, ut non ex vita, sed ex domo in domum
2 videretur migrare, cum quidem Agrippa eum flens atque osculans oraret atque obsecraret ne id [1] quod natura cogeret ipse quoque sibi acceleraret,[2] et, quoniam tum quoque posset temporibus superesse, se sibi suisque reservaret, preces eius taciturna sua
3 obstinatione depressit. Sic cum biduum cibo se abstinuisset, subito febris decessit leviorque morbus esse coepit. Tamen propositum nihilo setius peregit itaque die quinto postquam id consilium inierat, pridie Kal. Apriles Cn. Domitio C. Sosio consulibus
4 decessit. Elatus est in lecticula, ut ipse praescripserat, sine ulla pompa funeris, comitantibus omnibus bonis, maxima vulgi frequentia. Sepultus est iuxta viam Appiam ad quintum lapidem in monumento Q. Caecilii, avunculi sui.

FRAGMENTA

1. Verba ex epistula Corneliae Gracchorum matris ex libro Corneli Nepotis de Latinis Historicis excerpta.[3]

1. Dices pulchrum esse inimicos ulcisci. Id neque maius neque pulchrius cuiquam atque mihi esse

[1] ne id, *Lambin*; ne ad id, *MSS.*

[2] *A and B have a blank space of about half a line after* acceleraret.

[3] *Cod. Gif., according to Savaro and Patavius.*

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[1] For the meaning of *bonis*, see note 1, p. 670.

life has increased my suffering without hope of a cure. Therefore I beg you, first, that you approve my resolution; then, that you do not try by useless exhortations to shake it."

22. When he had finished this speech with such firmness of voice and expression that he seemed, not to be quitting life, but moving from one dwelling to another, Agrippa for his part with tears and kisses begged and implored him not to hasten by his own act the decree of nature, but since even then it was possible that he might survive the crisis, to preserve his life for his own sake and that of his loved ones; but Atticus discouraged his prayers by his obstinate silence. Accordingly, when he had abstained from food for two days, on a sudden the fever abated and the disease began to be less violent. Nevertheless, he persisted in his resolution, and so died, on the fifth day after he had made his decision, which was the thirty-first of March, in the consulship of Gnaeus 32 B.C.
Domitius and Gaius Sosius. He was carried to the grave in a modest litter, as he himself had directed, without any funeral procession, but attended by all the good citizens [1] and a great throng of the commons. He was buried near the fifth milestone of the Appian Way in the tomb of Quintus Caecilius, his maternal uncle.

FRAGMENTS

1. Extract from a letter of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, from the book of Cornelius Nepos on the Latin Historians.

1. You will say that it is glorious to take vengeance on one's enemies. That seems to no one greater and more glorious than it does to me, but only if it can be

videtur, sed si liceat re publica salva ea persequi. Sed quatenus id fieri non potest, multo tempore multisque partibus inimici nostri non peribunt, atque uti nunc sunt erunt potius quam res publica profligetur atque pereat.

Eadem alio loco.

2. Verbis conceptis deierare ausim, praeterquam qui Tiberium Gracchum necarunt, neminem inimicum [1] tantum molestiae tantumque laboris, quantum te ob has res, mihi tradidisse; quem oportebat omnium eorum [2] quos antehac habui liberos partis [3] tolerare atque curare ut quam minimum sollicitudinis in senecta haberem, utique quaecumque ageres, ea velles maxime mihi placere atque uti nefas haberes rerum maiorum adversum meam sententiam quicquam facere, praesertim mihi cui parva pars vitae superest. Ne id quidem tam breve spatium potest opitulari, quin et mihi adversere et rem publicam profliges? Denique quae pausa erit? ecquando desinet familia nostra insanire? ecquando modus ei rei haberi poterit? ecquando desinemus et habentes et praebentes molestiis insistere? [4] ecquando perpudescet miscenda atque perturbanda re publica? Sed si omnino id fieri non potest, ubi ego mortua ero, petito tribunatum; per me facito quod lubebit, cum ego non sentiam. Ubi mortua ero, parentabis mihi et invocabis deum parentem. In eo tempore non pudet te eorum deum preces expetere, quos vivos atque praesentes relictos atque desertos

[1] inimicum, *omitted by Gif.* (?). [2] meorum, *Roth.*
[3] partis eorum, *MSS.*; *omitted in ed. of Savaro.*
[4] insistere, *Nipp.*; desistere, *MSS.*

[1] For *multis partibus* = *multo*, see Cic. *Epist.* i. 2. 2, *multis partibus plures*; and viii. 9. 3.

[2] With *habentes* and *praebentes* supply *molestias* from *molestiis*.

done without injury to one's country. But inasmuch as that cannot be, long and surely [1] shall our enemies not perish but remain as they now are, rather than that our country should be ruined and perish.

Another passage from the same letter:

2. I would not hesitate to take oath in set terms that except for the murderers of Tiberius Gracchus no enemy has caused me so much annoyance and trouble as you have because of these events—you who ought, as the only survivor of all the children that I have had in the past, to have taken their place and to have seen to it that I had the least possible anxiety in my old age; you, who ought to have wished that all your actions should above all be agreeable to me, and should consider it impious to do anything of great importance contrary to my advice, especially when I have so brief a portion of my life left. Cannot even that brief span aid me in preventing you from opposing me and ruining your country? Finally, where will you make an end? Will our family ever cease from madness? Will it ever be possible to observe moderation? [2] Shall we ever cease to insist on causing and suffering trouble? Shall we ever be ashamed of embroiling and harassing our country? [3] But if any change is impossible, sue for the tribunate after I am dead; do whatever you like, so far as I am concerned, when I shall no longer be aware of it. When I am no more, you will offer funerary sacrifices in my honour, and invoke the god of our family. Are you not ashamed at that time to ask for the prayers of those as gods, whom you abandoned and deserted when they were alive and present with you? [4] May great

[3] *Miscenda atque perturbanda re publica* is ablative of cause; for the construction cf. Plautus, *Bacch.* 379.

[4] The *di parentes* were the shades of deceased ancestors.

habueris? Ne ille sirit Iuppiter te ea perseverare nec tibi tantam dementiam venire in animum. Et si perseveras, vereor ne in omnem vitam tantum laboris culpa tua recipias uti in nullo tempore tute tibi placere possis.

2. Cornelius Nepos in libro De Historicis Latinis de laude Ciceronis.[1]

1. Non ignorare debes unum hoc genus Latinarum litterarum adhuc non modo non respondere Graeciae, sed omnino rude atque inchoatum morte Ciceronis relictum. Ille enim fuit unus qui potuerit et etiam debuerit historiam digna voce pronuntiare, quippe qui oratoriam eloquentiam rudem a maioribus acceptam perpoliverit, philosophiam ante eum incomptam Latinam sua confirmarit[2] oratione. Ex quo dubito, interitu eius utrum res publica an historia magis doleat.

Idem.

2. Locuples ac divina natura, quo maiorem sui pareret admirationem ponderatioraque sua essent beneficia, neque uni omnia dare nec rursus cuiquam omnia voluit negare.

3. Nepos Cornelius ad . . . Ciceronem ita scribit.[3] Tantum abest ut ego magistram esse putem vitae philosophiam beataeque vitae perfectricem, ut nullis magis existimem opus esse magistros vivendi quam plerisque qui in ea disputanda versantur. Video enim magnam partem eorum qui in schola de pudore et continentia praecipiant argutissime, eosdem in omnium ibidinum cupiditatibus vivere.[4]

[1] *On the first page of Cod. Guelferbytanus Gudianus,* 278, *saec. xiii, of Cicero's "Philippics." Apparently formed part of the preface of the book "De Historicis Latinis."*

[2] confirmarit, *Lieberkühn*; confirmavit, *MSS.*

[3] *Lactantius, Inst. Div.* iii. 15. 10.

[4] *See for other brief quotations Suetonius and Gellius, Index, s.v. Cornelius Nepos.*

Jupiter forbid you to persist in that course or to allow such madness to enter your mind. But if you do persist, I fear that through your own fault you may bring such trouble upon your whole life that you can never make peace with yourself.

2. Eulogy of Cicero from the book of Cornelius Nepos on the Latin Historians.

1. You ought not to be unaware that this [1] is the only branch of Latin literature that even in my own time cannot be compared with what the Greeks accomplished, and that it was left wholly rude and unfinished by the death of Cicero. For he was the only man who could, or even sought to, give history a worthy utterance, since he highly polished the rude eloquence handed down from our forefathers, and gave Latin philosophy, which before his time was uncouth, the finish of his style. Which leads me to doubt whether his loss brought greater grief to our country or to history.

2. Another extract from the same :

Bountiful and divine mother Nature, in order to win greater admiration and make a better distribution of her gifts, has chosen neither to give everything to one man, nor, on the contrary, to refuse everything to anyone.

3. Cornelius Nepos wrote as follows to Cicero:

So far am I from thinking that philosophy can teach how to live and is the perfecter of a happy life, that I believe that none have more need of learning how to live than the greater number of those who are engaged in teaching philosophy. In fact, I observe that a great part of those same men who in the schools argue most subtly about moderation and self-restraint pass their lives a prey to all the passions.

[1] Namely, history.

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Datames (XIV), XIV. 1. 1, 2; 2. 3 (*bis*), 4; 3. 5; 4. 3, 5 (*bis*); 5. 1–3; 6. 3, 5, 7; 7. 2; 8. 3, 6; 9. 1, 4; 10. 1, 2 (*bis*); 11. 1, 3 (*bis*), 4
Datis, I. 4. 1; 5. 4. One of the two Persian commanders at Marathon
Decelea, VII. 4. 7. A place in the northern part of Attica

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Delphi, I. 1. 2; II. 2. 6; IV. 1. 3. A town in Phocis in central Greece, seat of the oracle of Apollo

Delphicus, -a, -um, adj. from Delphi: *deus*, IV. 5. 5; *oraculum*, VI. 3. 2

Delus, III. 3. 1. Delos, the centre of the Cyclades in the Aegean Sea

Demades, XIX. 2. 2. An Athenian orator contemporary with Demosthenes

Demaenetus, XX. 5. 3. A Syracusan

Demetrius Phalereus, I. 6. 4; XIX. 3. 1, 2. Demetrius of Phalerum, famous as orator, statesman, philosopher and poet. He lived from 345 to about 283 B.C., and governed Athens for Cassander from 317 to 307

Demetrius (Poliorcetes), XXI. 3. 1, 3. Demetrius, the Taker of Cities. He made himself ruler of Macedonia in 294 B.C., but was deposed and imprisoned by Seleucus; he died in 284 B.C.

Demosthenes, XIX. 2. 2, 3. The celebrated Athenian orator (381–322 B.C.)

Dercylus, XIX. 2. 4. An Athenian envoy

Diana, XXIII. 9. 2

Dinon, IX. 5. 4. The author of a history of Persia; he lived about 350 B.C.

Diomedon, XV. 4. 1, 2, 4. A man of Cyzicus

Dion (X), X. 1. 1 (*ter*), 2, 4; 2. 2, 3 (*ter*), 4, 5; 3. 1 (*bis*); 4. 1–3; 5. 1, 3, 5, 6; 6. 3, 4; 8. 1, 3–5; 9. 1, 3, 6; 10. 1; XX. 2. 1

Dionysii, X. 1. 1; XX. 2. 2

Dionysius (Maior), X. 1, 3 (*bis*), 5; 2. 1, 4; XX. 2. 2; XXI. 2. 2. Tyrant of Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.C.

Dionysius (Minor), X. 1. 1; 2. 5; 3. 1 (*bis*), 3; 4. 2; 5. 1, 4, 5, 6 (*bis*); XX. 2. 1 (*bis*), 3 (*ter*); 3. 3. Tyrant of Syracuse from 367 to 344 B.C.

Dionysius, XV. 2. 1. A musician of Thebes

Dodona, VI. 3. 2. A city of Epirus with a celebrated oracle of Zeus (Jupiter)

Dolopes, V. 2. 5. A Thessalian people, settled also in the island of Scyrus

Domitius, Cn., XXV. 22. 3. Consul in 32 B.C.

Drusilla, XXV. 19. 4. Surname of Livia Drusilla, wife of the emperor Augustus and mother of Tiberius

E

Elis, VII. 4. 4. A division of Greece, in the north-western part of the Peloponnesus

Elpinice, V. 1. 2, 4. Daughter of Miltiades; sister and wife of Conon

Ennius, Q., XXIV. 1. 4. The celebrated Roman epic and dramatic poet (239–169 B.C.)

Epaminondas (XV), Praef. 1; XI. 2. 5; XV. 1. 1, 3; 4. 1; 5. 3; 6. 3; 7. 1, 3, 5; 8. 1, 3; 9. 1, 3; 10. 3, 4; XVI. 4. 1 (*bis*), 2, 3; 5. 2; XVII. 6. 1

Ephesus, II. 8. 7; XVII. 3, 2. A city on the western coast of Asia Minor, famous for its temple of Artemis (Diana)

Epirotes, sing. (sc. *rex*), XXI. 2. 2. Of Epirus, Epirote; plur., XIII. 2.1. The people of Epirus

Epiroticae possessiones, XXV. 14. 3

Epirus, XVIII. 6. 1; XXV. 8. 6; 11. 1, 2. A country north-west of central Greece and west of Thessaly

Eretria, I. 4. 2. A city of Euboea

Eretriensis, IV. 2. 2. A native of Eretria

Eryx, XXII. 1. 2, 5. A mountain of north-western Sicily, famous for its temple of Venus

Etruria, XXIII. 4. 2. A country of Italy, north-west of Rome, modern Tuscany

Euagoras, XII. 2. 2. King of Salamis in Cyprus

Euboea, I. 4. 2; II. 3. 2, 3. A large island off the eastern coast of Boeotia and Locris

Eumenes (XVIII), XVIII. 1. 1; 2. 2, 4; 3. 3, 4; 4. 1–4; 5. 1; 6. 3, 5; 7. 3; 9. 1, 2; 10 1, 4; 11. 2, 3, 5; 12. 2; 13. 1, 2

Eumenes, XXIII. 10. 2, 3, 5; 11. 1–4. Eumenes II, king of Pergamum from 197 to 158 B.C.

Eumolpidae, VII. 4. 5; 6. 5. A family of priests at Athens, descendants of

Eumolpus, the reputed founder of the Eleusinian mysteries
Euphiletus, XIX. 4. 3. An Athenian
Europa, I. 3. 1, 4; 4. 1; II. 2. 4; 5. 3; XII. 2. 1; XVII. 2. 1
Europaei adversarii, XVIII. 3. 2
Eurybiades, II. 4. 2. A Spartan admiral
Eurydice, XI. 3. 2. Mother of Philip II, king of Macedon
Eurysthenes, XVII. 1. 2; 7. 4. A king of Sparta

F

Fabiani milites, XI. 2. 4. Soldiers of Fabius, referring to Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator; see note.
Fabii, XXV. 18. 4
Fabius Labeo, XXIII. 13. 1. Consul in 183 B.C.
Fabius Maximus (Cunctator), Q., XXIII. 5. 1, 2; XXIV. 1. 2. Appointed dictator in 217 B.C. after the battle at Lake Trasumenus; famous for his policy of delay in dealing with Hannibal
Fabius Maximus, Q., XXV. 18. 4. Consul in 45 B.C.
Falernus ager, XXIII. 5. 1. A district in north-western Campania and south-eastern Latium, famous for its wine
Feretrius, XXV. 20. 3. A surname of Jupiter, as God of Trophies
Flaccus, *see* Valerius
Flamininus, *see* Quintius
Flaminius, C., XXIII. 4. 3. Consul in 217 B.C.; defeated by Hannibal at Lake Trasumenus
Flavius, C., XXV. 8. 3. A friend of Brutus
Fregellae, XXIII. 7. 2. A city in south-eastern Latium on the river Liris
Fulvia, XXV. 9. 2, 4. Wife of Mark Antony
Furius, L., XXIII. 7. 6. Consul in 196 B.C.

G

Galba, *see* Sulpicius
Gallia, XXIII. 3. 4
Gellius Canus, Q., XXV. 10. 2, 4. A friend of Atticus
Geminus, *see* Servilius
Gongylus, IV. 2. 2. An Eretrian
Gortynii, XXIII. 9. 1, 4. The people of Gortyn, a city of Crete
Gracchus, *see* Sempronius
Graece, XXV. 4. 1 (*bis*); 18. 6. Adv. to Graecus
Graeci, I. 3. 4; IV. 4.4; VII. 2. 2; XI. 2. 4; XV. 1. 2. The Greeks
Graecia, Praef. 5, 7; I. 3. 3; 4. 1; 6. 3; II. 2. 4, 6; 3. 2; 4. 5; 5. 3; 7. 4, 6; 8. 2; 9. 4; 10. 2, 4; III. 1. 5; 2. 2, 3; IV. 1. 2; 2. 4; VI. 1. 3; VII. 9. 3; IX. 4. 4; 5. 2; XI. 2. 1, 3; XII. 1. 3; XIV. 8. 2; XV. 2. 3; 5. 4, 6 (*bis*); 8. 4; 10. 4; XVI. 2. 4; XVII. 2. 1; 4. 7; 5. 2 (*bis*), 3; XXI. 1. 3; Frag. 2. 1
Graecus, -a, -um, adj. to Graecia: *civitas*, VII. 7. 4; IX. 5. 2; *gens*, XXI. 1. 1; *historici*, X. 3. 2; *lingua*, I. 3. 2; VII. 2. 1; X. 1. 5; *litterae*, Praef. 2; XVI. 1. 1; XXIII. 13. 3; *res*, XXIV. 3. 2; *sermo*, XXIII. 13. 2; *urbes*, VII. 5. 6
Graii, Praef. 3; II. 9. 2; VII. 7. 4; XVIII. 1. 5. An old form equivalent to Graeci
Graius, -a, um, adj. to Graii: *Hercules*, XXIII. 3. 4.; *saltus*, XXIII. 3. 4
Grynium, VII. 9. 3. A town of Phrygia, famous for its temple of Apollo

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Hadrumetum, XXIII. 6. 3, 4. A city of northern Africa, not far from Carthage
Haliartus, VI. 3. 4. A city of Boeotia, on Lake Copais
Halicarnasius, VI. 3. 5. A native of Halicarnassus, a city of Caria.
Hamilcar (XXII), XIII. 4. 5; XXI. 3. 5; XXII. 1. 1, 3; 2. 3; 3. 2, 3; 4. 1; XXIII. 1. 1; 2. 3. Father of Hannibal
Hammon, VI. 3. 2. A surname of Jupiter; really an Egyptian deity, Amon or Amun, identified with Jupiter by the Romans
Hannibal, XXII. 1. 1. Father of Hamilcar
Hannibal (XXIII), XIII. 4. 5; XXI. 3. 5; XXII. 3. 1, 3; 4. 3; XXIII. 1. 1 (*bis*); 2. 2 (*bis*); 3. 2; 7. 4, 6; 8. 1,

2; 9. 4; 10. 3; 11. 1, 4, 7; 12. 1–4; 13. 3; XXIV. 1. 2

Hasdrubal, XXII. 3. 2 (*bis*); XXIII. 3. 1. Brother-in-law of Hannibal

Hasdrubal, XXIII. 3. 3; XXIV. 1. 2. Brother of Hannibal

Hellespontus, II. 5. 1; 9. 3; IV. 2. 1; VII. 5. 6; XIII. 3. 1; XVII. 4. 4; XVIII. 3. 2, 3; 5. 1. The strait between the Aegean Sea and the Propontis, the modern Dardanelles

Helvius, C., XXIV. 1. 3. Cato's colleague in the aedileship

Hephaestio, XVIII. 2. 2. One of Alexander's generals

Heraclides, X. 5. 1; 6. 3, 5. A Syracusan

Hercules, XVII. 1. 2; XXIII. 3. 4

Hermae, VII. 3. 2; *see* note

Hetaerice ala, XVIII. 1. 6. A troop of Alexander's cavalry

Hicetas, XX. 2. 3. Tyrant of Leontini, a city of Sicily near Syracuse

Hilotae, IV. 3. 6. The serfs of the Spartans

Hipparinus, X. 1. 1. Father of Dion.

Hipparinus, X. 1. 1. Son of Dionysius the elder

Hippo, XXII. 2. 4. A city on the northern coast of Africa, west of Carthage

Hipponicus, VII. 2. 1. Father-in-law of Alcibiades

Hispania, XXII. 3. 1; 4. 1, 2; XXIII. 2. 3; 3. 1–3; *Hispania Citerior*, XXIV. 2. 1; *Hispaniae*, XXIV. 3. 4. The two provinces of Spain in the time of Cato

Hister, I. 3. 1. A name applied by the Greeks to the Danube, and by the Romans to the lower part of that river, the upper part being called Danubius

Histiaeus, I. 3. 5. Tyrant of Miletus

Homerus, X. 6. 4; XIV. 2. 2

Hortensius, Q., XXV. 5. 4 (*bis*); 15. 3; 16. 1

Hystaspes, XXI. 1. 2. Father of Darius I, king of Persia

I

Iason, XIII. 4. 2. Jason, tyrant of Pherae in Thessaly from 378 to 370 B.C.

Iones, I. 4. 1. The Ionians, inhabitants of Ionia

Ionia, I. 3. 1; VII. 4. 7; 5. 6; IX. 2. 1; 5. 2; XIV. 2. 5. A country in the west-central part of Asia Minor, bordering on the Aegean Sea

Iphicratenses, XI. 2. 4. Soldiers of Iphicrates

Iphicrates (XI), XI. 1. 1; 2. 4; 3. 2; XII. 3. 4; XIII. 3. 2, 4 (*bis*); 4. 4

Ismenias, XVI. 5. 1. A Theban

Italia, VII. 4. 4; X. 5. 4, 6; XXII. 4. 2; XXIII. 1. 2; 2. 1; 3. 3, 4 (*bis*); 5. 4; 8. 1; 10. 1; XXIV. 3. 4; XXV. 4. 2; 8. 6; 9. 2; 10. 1; 12. 3; 14. 3

Italicus, -a, -um, adj. from Italia: *civitas*, XXIV. 3. 3; *dux*, XX. 2. 4; *res*, XXIV. 3. 2

(Iulius) Caesar, (C.), XXV. 7. 3; 8. 1, 3. The dictator

(Iulius) Caesar (Octavianus), (C.), XXV. 12. 1 (*bis*); 19. 3, 4; 20. 5. Afterwards the emperor Augustus

Iulius Calidus, L., XXV. 12. 4. A Roman poet

Iulius Mocilla, L., XXV. 11. 2

Iunia familia, XXV. 18. 3

(Iunius) Brutus, M., XXV. 8. 1–6; 9. 3; 10. 1; 11. 2, 4; 16. 1; 18. 3. With Cassius, head of the conspiracy against Caesar

(Iunius) Brutus (Albinus), (D.), XXV. 8. 1 (included in the word *Bruti*)

Iustus, III. 1. 2, 4. A surname given to Aristides

K

Karthaginienses, X. 1. 5; XIII. 4. 5; XX. 2. 4; XXII. 1. 2, 3; 3. 3; XXIII. 7. 1, 4; 8. 1; *legati*, XXIII. 7. 2; *Karthaginiensis*, XXII. 1. 1; XXIII. 1. 1

Karthago, XXII. 2. 1, 2 (*bis*), 4; XXIII. 2. 3; 3. 1; 7. 4, 6

L

Labeo, *see* Fabius

Lacedaemon, Praef. 4; I. 4. 3; II. 7. 1; IV. 5. 1; V. 3. 3; VI. 3. 3; VII. 4. 5. The chief city of Laconia in the south-eastern part of the Peloponnesus

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Laco, VII. 10. 2; XIII. 1. 3; XVII. 2. 3, 5; 3. 6; *Lacones*, XIV. 1. 2; 4. 2; XVII. 7. 3. Laconian, Spartan

Laconice, XIII. 2. 1. Another name for Laconia

Lamachus, VII. 3. 1. An Athenian general

Lamprus, XV. 2. 1. A teacher of music at Athens

Lampsacus, II. 10. 3. A city of Mysia, on the Hellespont

Laphystius, XX. 5. 2 (*bis*), 3. A Syracusan

Latine, XXV. 4. 1. Adv. to Latinus

Latinus, -a, -um, adj. from Latium: *litterae*, Frag. 2. 1; *philosophia*, Frag. 2. 1; *sermo*, XXV. 4. 1

Lemnii, I. 1. 4. The people of Lemnos

Lemnus, I. 1. 4, 5; 2. 4, 5. Lemnos, an island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea

Leonidas, II. 3. 1. King of Sparta; he fell at Thermopylae in 480 B.C.

Leonnatus, XVIII. 2. 4. One of Alexander's generals

Leotychides, XVII. 1. 2, 4. Nephew of Agesilaus and son of Agis, king of Sparta

Lesbus, XII. 3. 4. Lesbos, an island in the Aegean Sea, near the coast of Mysia

Leucosyri, XIV. 1. 1. The White Syrians, a name applied to the inhabitants of Cappadocia

Leuctra, XV. 8.3; XVII. 6. 1. A town of Boeotia, scene of the defeat of the Lacedaemonians by Epaminondas in 371 B.C.

Leuctrica pugna, XV. 6. 4 (*bis*); 10. 2; XVI. 2. 4; 4. 2; XVII. 7. 1. *See* Leuctra

(Licinius) Lucullus, L., XXV. 5. 1. Consul in 74 B.C.

Ligures, XXIII. 4. 2. The people of Liguria, in the south-western part of Cisalpine Gaul

Longus, *see* Sempronius

Lucani, XXIII. 5. 3. The people of Lucania, a division of south-western Italy, south-east of Campania and Samnium

Lucretius, (T.), XXV. 12. 4. The celebrated Roman poet (*circ.* 99 to 55 B.C.)

Lucullus, *see* Licinius

Lusitani, XXIV. 3. 4. The people of Lusitania, nearly corresponding to modern Portugal

Lutatius Catulus, C., XXII. 1. 3, 5 (*bis*). Consul in 241 B.C.

Lyco, X. 9. 6. A Syracusan

Lycus, VII. 5. 4; VIII. 1. 1. Father of Thrasybulus

Lydi, XIV. 8. 2. The people of Lydia

Lydia, IX. 2. 1; XIV. 2. 5. A country in the central western part of Asia Minor

Lysander (VI), VI. 1. 1, 3, 4; 3. 3; 4. 1, 3 (*bis*); VII. 8. 1, 2, 5, 6; 10. 1; IX. 1. 2; 4. 5; XVII. 1. 5

Lysimachus, XVIII. 10. 3; 13. 3; XXI. 3. 1, 2 (*bis*). One of Alexander's generals

Lysis, XV. 2. 2. A Pythagorean philosopher from Tarentum

M

Macedo, XI. 3. 2; XIII. 3. 1; *Macedones*, XVIII. 1. 2, 3; 3. 3; 7. 1 (*ter*); 10. 2; 13. 1; XIX. 3. 1; XXI. 2. 1; *milites*, XVIII. 3. 4

Macedonia, XVIII. 2. 4; 4. 4; 6. 1–3; XIX. 3. 2

Macrochir, *see* Artaxerxes I

Magnes, XIV. 5. 6. A native of Magnesia

Magnesia, II. 10. 2–4. A city of Caria, on the river Meander

Mago, XXIII. 7. 3, 4; 8. 1. 2 (*bis*). Brother of Hannibal

Mamercus, XX. 2. 4. Tyrant of Catana, in Sicily

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(Manlius) Torquatus, L., XXV. 1. 4; 4. 5. Consul in 65 B.C.

(Manlius) Torquatus, A., XXV. 11. 2; 15. 3

Manlius Volso, Cn., XXIII. 13. 2. Consul in 189 B.C.

Mantinea, XV. 9. 1. A city of Arcadia

Marathon, I. 4. 2. A plain on the eastern coast of Attica

Marathonius, -a, -um, adj. from Marathon: *pugna*, I. 6. 3; II. 2. 6; *tropaeum*, II. 5. 3; *victoria*, II. 6. 3

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Marius, C., XXV. 1. 4; 2. 2. Son of the famous Marius

Massagetae, XXI. 1. 2. A nomadic people of Scythia living in the plains north-east of the Caspian Sea

Maximus, *see* Fabius

Media, XVIII. 8. 1. A country of Asia, on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea

Medica vestis, IV. 3. 2

Medus, IV. 1. 2; *Medi*, XVIII. 8. 4; *Medi satellites*, IV. 3. 2

Meneclides, XV. 5. 2, 5 (*ter*). A Theban orator

Menelai portus, XVII. 8. 6. A harbour on the northern coast of Africa, between Egypt and Cyrenae, where Menelaus, was said to have landed on his way home from Troy

Menestheus, XI. 3. 4; XIII. 3. 2. Son of Iphricrates

Mercurius, VII. 3. 2

Messena, XVI. 4. 3, or Messene, XV. 8. 5. Capital of Messenia in the south-western part of the Peloponnesus, restored by Epaminondas in 369 B.C.

Micythus, XV. 4. 1 (*bis*), 3. A Theban youth

Milesius, I. 3. 5. A native of Miletus, a city on the western coast of Asia Minor

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Myus, II. 10. 3. A city of Caria, on the river Meander

N

Naxus, II. 8. 6. Naxos, the largest of the Cyclades

Nectanabis or Nectenebis, XII. 2. 1; XVII. 8. 6. A king of Egypt in the first half of the fourth century B.C.

Neocles, II. 1. 1, 2. Father of Themistocles

Neontichos, VII. 7. 4. A town of Thrace on the Propontis

Neoptolemus, XVIII. 4. 1. One of Alexander's generals

Neptunus, IV. 4. 4

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Nicanor, XIX. 2. 4, 5; 3. 4. A Macedonian officer

Nicias, VII. 3. 1. An Athenian statesman and general at the time of the Peloponnesian war

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Nisaeus, X. 1. 1. Son of Dionysius the elder, of Syracuse

Nomentanum praedium, XXV. 14. 3. An estate at Nomentum, a town in the Sabine district north-east of Rome

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